

ANCIENT GREECE

From the Mycenaean Palaces
to the Age of Homer



Edited by
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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CONTENTS

Contributors and Editors	viii
Abbreviations	xv
Introduction	1

Part I Political and Social Structures

1 The formation of the Mycenaean palace <i>James C. Wright</i>	7
2 <i>Wanaks</i> and related power terms in Mycenaean and later Greek <i>Thomas G. Palaima</i>	53
3 Mycenaean palatial administration <i>Cynthia W. Shelmerdine</i>	73
4 The subjects of the <i>wanax</i> : aspects of Mycenaean social structure <i>John T. Killen</i>	87
5 Ἄναξ and βασιλεύς in the Homeric poems <i>Pierre Carlier</i>	101
6 Kin-groups in the Homeric epics (Summary) <i>Walter Donlan</i>	111

Part II Continuity – Discontinuity – Transformation

7 The Mycenaean heritage of Early Iron Age Greece <i>Oliver Dickinson</i>	115
8 Coming to terms with the past: ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC <i>Joseph Maran</i>	123
9 Late Mycenaean warrior tombs <i>Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy</i>	151

- 10 The archaeology of *basileis* 181
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian
- 11 From Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age copper metallurgy in
mainland Greece and offshore Aegean Islands 213
Maria Kayafa
- 12 *Ethne* in the Peloponnese and central Greece 233
Catherine Morgan

Part III International and Inter-Regional Relations

- 13 Gift Exchange: modern theories and ancient attitudes 257
Beate Wagner-Hasel
- 14 *Basileis* at sea: elites and external contacts in the Euboean Gulf
region from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the
Iron Age 271
Jan Paul Crielaard
- 15 Aspects of the ‘Italian connection’ 299
David Ridgway
- 16 From the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* to the Cypriote *pa-si-le-wo-se*:
the *basileus* in the kingdoms of Cyprus 315
Maria Iacovou
- 17 Phoenicians in Crete 337
Nicholaos Chr. Stampolidis and Antonios Kotsonas

Part IV Religion and Hero Cult

- 18 From kings to demigods: epic heroes and social change c. 750–600 BC 363
Hans van Wees
- 19 Religion, *basileis* and heroes 381
Carla Antonaccio
- 20 Cult activity on Crete in the Early Dark Age: Changes, continuities
and the development of a ‘Greek’ cult system 397
Anna Lucia D’Agata

Part V The Homeric Epics and Heroic Poetry

- 21 The rise and descent of the language of the Homeric poems 417
Michael Meier-Brügger
- 22 Homer and Oral Poetry 427
Edzard Visser

23	Some remarks on the semantics of ἄναξ in Homer <i>Martin Schmidt</i>	439
24	Historical approaches to Homer <i>Kurt A. Raaflaub</i>	449
Part VI The Archaeology of Greek Regions and Beyond		
25	The palace of Iolkos and its end <i>Vassiliki Adrimi-Sismani</i>	465
26	Early Iron Age elite burials in East Lokris <i>Fanouria Dakoronia</i>	483
27	Athens and Lefkandi: a tale of two sites <i>Irene S. Lemos</i>	505
28	The Early Iron Age in the Argolid: Some new aspects <i>Alkestis Papadimitriou</i>	531
29	The world of Telemachus: western Greece 1200–700 BC <i>Birgitta Eder</i>	549
30	Knossos in Early Greek times <i>J. N. Coldstream</i>	581
31	Praisos: political evolution and ethnic identity in eastern Crete c.1400–300 BC <i>James Whitley</i>	597
32	The gilded cage? Settlement and socioeconomic change after 1200 BC: a comparison of Crete and other Aegean regions <i>Saro Wallace</i>	619
33	Homeric Cyprus <i>Vassos Karageorghis</i>	665

Index

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Contributed Works

Aegean and the Orient

Cline, E. H. and Harris-Cline, D. (eds) (1998), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997 (Aegaeum 18)*, Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.

Ages of Homer

Carter, J. B. and Morris, S. P. (eds) (1995), *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

A-NA-QO-TA

Bennet, J. and Driessen, J. (eds) (1998–99), *A-NA-QO-TA: Studies Presented to J. T. Killen (Minos 33–34)*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Archaic Greece

Fisher, N. and van Wees, H. (eds) (1998), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, London: Duckworth.

Celebrations of Death

Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds) (1990), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens*, Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Chronology and Synchronisms

Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Zavadil, M. (eds) (2003), *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Colloquium Mycenaeum

Risch, E. and Mühlestein, H. (eds) (1979), *Colloquium Mycenaeum: Actes du sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975*, Neuchâtel et Genève: Faculté des lettres, Neuchâtel, et Librairie Droz.

Crisis Years

Ward, W. A. and Sharp Joukowsky, M. (eds) (1992), *The Crisis Years: The*

12th Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris, Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete

Karageorghis, V. and Stampolidis, N. (eds) (1998), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th cent. B.C.: Proceedings of the International Symposium Rethymnon, 13–16 May 1997*, Athens: University of Crete and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Cyprus 11th Century

Karageorghis, V. (ed.) (1994), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Nicosia 30–31 October 1993*, Nicosia: University of Cyprus and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Defensive Settlements

Karageorghis, V. and Morris, Chr. E. (eds) (2001), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean after c.1200 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Workshop Held at Trinity College Dublin, 7th–9th May, 1999*, Nicosia: Trinity College Dublin and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Early Greek Cult Practice

Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds) (1988), *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986*, Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Economy and Politics

Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds) (2001), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States: Proceedings of a Conference held on 1–3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.

Euboica

Bats, M. and D'Agostino, B. (eds) (1998), *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard and Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Floreat Studia Mycenaea

Deger-Jalkotzy, S., Hiller, S. and Panagl, O. (eds), (1999), *Floreat Studia Mycenaea, Akten des X Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1–5 Mai 1995 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 274)*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Forschungen in der Peloponnes

Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed.) (2001), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier '100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen', Athen 5.3.–7.3.1998*, Athens: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.

Fortetsa

Brock, J. K. (1957), *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos (BSA Supplementary Volume 2)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Greek Renaissance

Hägg, R. (ed.) (1983), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981*, Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.

Greek Sanctuaries

Marinatos, N. and Hägg, R. (eds) (1993), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, London/New York: Routledge.

Homeric Questions

Crielaard, J. P. (ed.) (1995), *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology, Including the Papers of a Conference Organised by the Netherlands Institute at Athens*, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.

Isthmia

Morgan, C. (1999), *Isthmia VIII: The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Princeton University Press.

Italy and Cyprus

Bonfante, L. and Karageorghis, V. (eds) (2001), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity 1500–450 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, November 16–18, 2000*, Nicosia: C. and L. Severis Foundation.

Knossos North Cemetery

Coldstream, J. N. and Catling, H. W. (eds) (1996), *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 28)*, London: The British School at Athens.

Laconia Survey

Cavanagh, W., Crouwel, J., Catling, R. W. V. and Shipley, G. (eds) (2002), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey, Vol. 1: Methodology and Interpretation*, London: The British School at Athens.

La Crète mycénienne

Driessen, J. and Farnoux, A. (eds) (1997), *La Crète mycénienne: Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes (BCH Suppl. 30)*, Athènes: École française d'Athènes.

Lefkandi I

Popham, M. R., Sackett, L. H. and Themelis, P. G. (eds) (1980), *Lefkandi I, The Iron Age: The Settlement; The Cemeteries (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 11)*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Lefkandi II.1

Catling, R. W. V. and Lemos, I. S. (1990), *Lefkandi II, The Protogeometric Building at Toumba: Part I: The Pottery (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 22)*, Oxford: Thames and Hudson.

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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
AD	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
AE	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
AION, ArchStAnt	<i>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
AWE	<i>Ancient West & East</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
CCEC	<i>Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes</i>
DdA	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
Ergon	<i>Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>

<i>JRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>KCh</i>	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά</i>
<i>MeditArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>OpRom</i>	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
<i>PAE</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>QuadAEI</i>	<i>Quaderni di Archeologia Etrusco-Italica</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RendLinc</i>	<i>Rendiconti, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>RendPont</i>	<i>Rendiconti, Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RP</i>	<i>Révue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>

4. Other Abbreviations

LBA	Late Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
EH	Early Helladic
MH	Middle Helladic
LH	Late Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
MM	Middle Minoan
LM	Late Minoan
SM	Sub-Mycenaean
SMin	Sub-Minoan
PG	Protogeometric
EPG	Early Protogeometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
LPG	Late Protogeometric
SPG	Sub-Protogeometric
G	Geometric
EG	Early Geometric
MG	Middle Geometric
LG	Late Geometric

In memory of Dinos Leventis, classicist and patron of Greek studies

INTRODUCTION

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

Supplied by the generosity of the A. G. Leventis Foundation the Third A. G. Leventis Conference 'From *wanax* to *basileus*' was organised by Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos at the University of Edinburgh, 22–25 January 2003. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy was at the time the third Leventis Visiting Professor. The subject of the conference was chosen first because the research interests of the organisers focus on the centuries between the collapse of the Mycenaean palace states (*c.*1200 BC) and the beginning of the archaic period of Ancient Greece (*c.*700 BC) which until recently have been called 'The Dark Age of Greece'. The term is still used by classical archaeologists, ancient historians and linguists, as well as by scholars of adjacent fields such as Near Eastern studies and European Prehistory. The second reason for organising this conference was the fact that many significant discoveries made during recent decades together with new approaches and intensive research on various aspects of cultural developments require a fresh and comprehensive revision of the period. Obviously the new state of research has rendered the term of a 'Dark Age of Greece' highly questionable. Yet since the seminal surveys by A. Snodgrass, V. Desborough and F. Schachermeyr no monographic treatment covering the entire period and all its cultural aspects and developments has been published. The organisers felt that it might not be possible any longer for a single author to perform such a task. Therefore distinguished scholars from all over the world were invited to gather in Edinburgh in order to re-examine old and new evidence on the period. The subjects of their papers were chosen in advance so that taken together they would cover the field with an interdisciplinary perspective, approaching the period under consideration from various disciplines.

On these premises the papers cover a wide range of themes. They compare, as well as contrast, aspects of the Mycenaean palace system with the political and social structures emerging after its collapse. Archaeological papers are offered by scholars who have been working and specializing in specific areas of Greece, a number of whom are involved with sites which have changed the study of the period, such as Lefkandi, Knossos, Dimini and regions such as central and western Greece. There are moreover studies of the linguistic developments of

Linear B texts as well as on the dialects of Greek and on the developments of early Greek oral poetry including the Homeric epics.

The themes and subjects of this book are divided into six groups.

Political and social structures are covered by papers focusing on political, administrative and social organisations. On the one hand the origin and development of Mycenaean palatial architecture and of the 'megaron' in particular are covered, and the recent results of research on the Linear B texts are presented. On the other hand there are papers dealing with the social and political structures referred to in the Homeric epics. It is clear from these contributions that Homeric terms were used in a fundamentally different way from those of the Mycenaean palace organisation, even if certain titles and technical terms survived. Sadly, it was not possible to include the full text of Walter Donlan's presentation, but a summary is given in chapter 6.

The second group of papers is dedicated to questions of continuity, discontinuity and transformation between the Mycenaean Palace Period and its aftermath. This group starts with the Late Helladic IIIC period which followed immediately after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. It is now assumed that this period – though still Mycenaean in character – played a major role in the transformation of the Mycenaean cultural heritage. Papers in this section deal with LH IIIC domestic architecture, tombs and symbolism as testimonies to the transformation of the Mycenaean concept of elites and rulers. At the same time they discuss architectural features and their importance in elucidating differences and similarities in the political and social structures of both periods. The transmission of Mycenaean skills of metalwork and the technological achievements of the post-Mycenaean periods are also taken into consideration, and it is considered to what extent survivals ought to be seen in terms of a transformational process rather than as testimonies to cultural continuity. The last paper outlines the various forms of state formation during the Early Iron Age and especially the importance of the role played by *ethne* in such developments.

Papers in the section on international and inter-regional relations reveal that there was a fundamental change of patterns in inter-regional exchanges after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. In this context, aspects of gift exchange in the Homeric epics and a critique of modern theories and their use or abuse of certain Homeric terms are also examined. Links with the western and eastern Mediterranean during the palace period and afterwards are investigated, and the important role in the exchange network of the Early Iron Age played by the Phoenicians is pointed out. The paper delivered at the conference by Christopher Mee covering the area of diplomatic relationships and exchange of goods between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age is not included in this book. He had submitted a similar version of his paper to the forthcoming *Companion to the Bronze Age* edited by Cynthia W. Shelmerdine.

Fortunately, this topic has been covered by a fair number of conferences and studies of specific aspects.¹

The papers referring to religion and hero cult suggest that there was no connection between the hero cults of the archaic period and the concept of divine kingship during the Mycenaean palace period. Instead, a wider perspective of hero cult, religion and political leadership during the Early Iron Age is offered. As a particular case, aspects of continuity and discontinuity in Cretan religious practice from L(ate) M(inoan) III C to the end of the Protogeometric period are discussed, including warrior rites in Protogeometric Crete.

The section on the Homeric epics and heroic poetry *per definitionem* covers linguistic and philological investigations. Papers deal with the linguistic developments in Homer and the impact of oral poetry on the composition of the Homeric epics. Moreover, the use of the Homeric epics as a historical source is also addressed.

Finally, the archaeology of Greek regions is covered by papers offering summaries of recent discoveries and comprehensive surveys on important regions and areas. The importance of these contributions lies not only in the presentation of recently discovered archaeological material but also in the fact that various aspects and regions are introduced by specialists of the period and often by directors of major archaeological sites.

Considering the wide range of subjects covered in an interdisciplinary fashion, the editors are confident that the Proceedings of the Third Leventis Conference of 2003 in Edinburgh will provide an essential and fundamental source of reference on the later phases of the Mycenaean and the Early Iron Ages of Greece for many years.

Finally, it is our pleasant duty to acknowledge the support and help of the following institutions and individuals. Above all, our thanks are due to the A. G. Leventis Foundation and Mr George David for the generous financial support for the conference and the publication of the proceedings. Our gratitude also extends to the University of Edinburgh and to the then Head of Classics, Professor Keith Rutter, who kindly helped with the editorial work. Carol Macdonald and especially James Dale of the Edinburgh University Press were most helpful throughout the production of this volume. We owe them many thanks.

1 Most recently the subject has been covered by a number of publications such as: Gale, N. H. (ed.) (1991), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, Jonsered: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90, Åström; Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*; Vivian Davies, W. and Schofield, L. (eds) (1995), *Egypt, The Aegean and the Levant, Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*, London: British Museum Press; Cline, E. H. and Harris-Cline, D. (eds) (1998), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997*, Liège and Austin Texas: Aegaeum 18; Stambolidis, N. C. and Karageorghis, V. (eds) (2003), *Ploes: Sea Routes – Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c.BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th–October 2nd 2002*, Athens: University of Crete and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Part I

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

THE FORMATION OF THE MYCENAEAN PALACE

James C. Wright

Par définition, le palais est exclusivement le domicile du Wanax, c'est-à-dire le bâtiment dont les dimensions sont supérieures à celles des constructions typiques des habitats. Le palais avec ses bâtiments adjoints – sa complexité structural – figure comme résidence royale. (Kilian 1987a: 203)

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE ORIGINS OF MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE

Any discussion of the origins and formation of the Mycenaean palaces must begin with the insightful studies of Klaus Kilian, especially his contribution to the Strasbourg Colloquium of 1985 (Kilian 1984; 1987a, b, c, d; 1988a, b; 1990). He pointed the way for understanding the palace in the context of the evolving socio-political structure of the Mycenaean state with appropriate attention to the role of the *wanax* and, presciently, to influences from Crete (Kilian 1988b). His argument is based on the notion that the core plan of the palace, the so-called ‘megaron’ (Darcque 1990), though ultimately derived from the plan of the typical MH residence, is elaborated in size, architectural details, decorations, and furnishings that reflect the ‘. . . mode de vie, des fonctions économiques, religieuses, administratives et politiques . . .’ (Kilian 1987a: 203–5; 1984). The palace he asserts is at the top of the hierarchy, the central seat of religion and political power, the centre of military and economic activities, and the primary node of exchange in the territory of the polity (Kilian 1987a: 204–5; see also Carlier 1987). His argument, however, does not give us licence to presume a virtual straight line of development from the free-standing rectangular house of the MH period to the so-called ‘megaron’ of the palaces (see Kilian 1988c: fig. 11; Schaar 1990; Hiesel 1990: 239–46). Although such a development may seem apparent from an examination of the formal properties of the plans of the Mycenaean palaces, the process that led to the uniform plan was neither orderly nor direct. When we assemble the evidence for the formation of palatial structures from region to region, we see that it

differs from one to another and was not coordinated; only in the latest period (about LH III A2) was the planning of the palaces sufficiently uniform as to indicate the kind of homology that is posited in Renfrew's peer polity model (Renfrew 1975: 13–21; 1986). Nor was the architectural form of the Mycenaean palaces independent of Mycenaean social structure, for it emerged from the social matrix of an evolving society on the mainland of Greece that was influenced by its contacts with the more highly organised societies of the Minoan palaces and the entrepôts of the Cycladic islands. Principles of social organisation (family structure, kinship, rules of marriage and descent), however, are social rules, not rules for architecture. They only become articulated and visible in architecture through repetition and through the accumulation of social and political value, and these are processes that do not develop uniformly, but vary according to local circumstances and traditions (from a sociological perspective this is the argument of Giddens 1984: 16–40, 83–92, 132–58, 163–206 and Bourdieu 1980: 52–65).

In studying the formation of any monumental architecture, it is necessary to examine the multiple strands that lead to the selection of a particular plan and a particular form. The problem here is to explain how it is that the so-called 'megaron' came to be the core plan of the palace.¹ This happened despite the evident engagement of mainland elites during the late Middle and early Late Bronze Ages with the cosmopolitan islanders at Ayia Irini, Phylakopi, Akrotiri, and elsewhere, and with the nobility of the Minoan centres, both of which provided other models for monumental architecture. But the mainland did not exist during this time as a cultural whole, and the agents from its various regions had different modes and levels of contacts with the many possible entities elsewhere in the Aegean. It is, then, perhaps remarkable how widely the axial 'megaron' plan occurs in developed Mycenaean society – in palaces, mansions,² houses (Darcque 2005: 149–62; 321–6; Hiesel 1990: 3–84, 244–6) and sacred structures (Whittaker 1996, 1997: 120–38; Albers 1994, 2001). How this happened is the subject of the following essay.

Let us begin with the familiar outline of development. We have good reason from the remains at many settlements (e.g. Eutresis: Goldman 1931: 31–62; Asine: Nordquist 1987: 69–90) to think that the rectangular buildings were family houses (Kilian 1987a: 204–13). In the LH I succession of houses at Tsoungiza (Figure 1.1a) we can see a choice to build a core rectangular structure with central hearth

1 On the term 'megaron' see, Darcque 1990; with regard to the megaron as the core of the palace plan, Graham (1960) saw a very strong Minoan influence in the architecture of the Mycenaean palaces, something acknowledged by Dickinson (1994: 153–7) who, however, also recognised a distinctive Mycenaean adaptation of Minoan elements to suit Mycenaean preferences. This matter is examined in detail in the recent dissertation of M. Nelson (2001); see also Rutter 2005: 20–7; Schaar 1990.

2 By axial 'megara' I include Hiesel's *oikos* 1 and 2 and the *Antenhaus* types (Hiesel 1990: 5, 203–4). By mansions I mean the elaborate residences and industrial centres such as the House of the Sphinxes, the House of the Oil Merchant; see Darcque 2005: 341–66.

and post and then to add additional rooms at the side and end (Wright 1990: 347–53). This is in fact an old habit observable throughout the MH in the reservation of the back room of an apsidal or rectangular structure for storage, which can be entered either from within the house or from outside it (Lerna: Zerner 1978: 35–8; Eutresis: Goldman 1931, houses C and D; Korakou: Blegen 1921: 76–8, house F). That the core room has a special purpose is often witnessed by the placement of a built central hearth. The placement of a post or posts centred in the room establishes a relationship between hearth and column, and that invites elaboration as demonstrated by the subsequent monumentalisation of the hearth, the columns around it, and the opening in the roof through which smoke ascends to the sky. Here the integrative potential for function, form and meaning to come together is ripe, but unfortunately we lack evidence to know what, if any, meaning was attached to these features during the late Middle and earliest Late Bronze Ages.

We can broaden our view at this time by looking at Malthi, (Figure 1.1b) and there see in the apparently precocious settlement plan a centripetal principle at work in (a) the encircling fortification wall, (b) the interior terrace, (c) the open space in front of the main room 1, with its (d) column and (e) central hearth (Valmin 1938: pl. III). Although we may think this plan foreshadows the organising principle behind the plan of the citadels with their palaces (Wright 1994: 49–60; see now Cavanagh 2001), there is no justification in seeing in this the germ of the citadel and palace plan. Rather I argue that we are looking at the material remnant of a particular social behaviour that is tied to the emergence of a form of leadership that grows out of communities where lineages predominate. At Malthi we may have the instance of a village where one lineage group was ascendant and where its headman and his family lived in the main house, which was also a place of socio-political gathering. The nearby evidence of a suite of rooms for probable craft activities may indicate the desire of the headman to have some immediate control over important craft production (Valmin 1938: 102–5, 368–9). Whether or not we would find the same plan and organisation elsewhere depends upon the extent to which other places had achieved the same level and kind of socio-political integration as at Malthi. For example, at Peristeria the plan (Figure 1.1c) is similar in the existence of an early encircling fortification wall but different in the apparent lack of a dense series of residences within it (Marinatos 1964: 206–9; 1965: 169–74; 1966; 1967a, 1967b; Korres 1977: 296–352). Significantly, the fortification encloses monumental burials, exemplified by the elaborate tholos with cut ashlar facade bearing incised double axe and branch signs (Marinatos 1964: pl. 159a; Nelson 2001: 132, 186). At Epano Englianos during late MH the site grew to nearly 5.5 ha, achieving dominance over much of the landscape, and here too architectural remnants indicate a growing settlement (Davis et al. 1997: 427–30; Nelson 2001: 209–12). By LH I substantial architectural remains indicate the establishment of monumental structures and a formal gateway, which in the next period (LH



Figure 1.1a Plan of the LH I houses at Tsoungiza, EU 7, drawing by the author.
1.1b Plan of Malthi, level III, adapted from Valmin 1938, pl. 3. *1.1c* Plan of Peristeria,
 adapted from Korres 1977

II) aligned with a monumental tholos tomb (IV) established at the eastern limits of the site of habitation.³

This disposition in Messenia towards centralised defensible and planned settlement that incorporates monumentalised burials signifies that ascendant lineages were consolidating their dominance at strategic locations. (Malthi is an exception with the tholos tomb placed on a hillock some half kilometer from the settlement: Valmin 1938: 206–25). The defensive nature of these indicates conflict among communities as they contested, probably, for territorial power. Habitation throughout the wider region was dynamic as settlements rose and fell in size and patterns of settlement adjusted to shifts in power, as Shelmerdine has observed (2001: 125–6) when speaking about the situation in Messenia between late MH and LH IIIA. This phenomenon seems to have been widespread (Hiesel 1990: 249–50). In Attica, Kiafa Thiti and probably Brauron, were fortified acropolis type settlements (Lauter 1989: 146–9; Papadimitriou 1956: 79–80, said to be MH in date). Conditions were no doubt similar in the Argolid, for at Mycenae there seems to have been an early circuit (Rowe 1954) although Mylonas (1966: 168–9) did not think this wall was MH in date because he found LH IIIB sherds in the fill behind it. At Argos on the Aspis buildings were constructed within a defensive circle as at Malthi (Touchais 1996: 1321–3; 1998, 1999).

At Tiryns MH remains document extensive settlement, including atop the Oberburg, although we can no longer accept Müller's (1930: 15–6) argument for a massive, MH terrace wall around the Oberburg (see Kilian 1990: 104). In Lakonia at the Menelaion a settlement was perched atop the naturally defensible outcrop overlooking the upper Eurotas Plain; by MH III this site was the dominant one of the region and apparently had begun to build monumental structures, judging from the evidence of a dressed block of *poros* limestone incorporated into Mansion I (Figure 1.2a).⁴

THE STIMULI AND SOURCES OF MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE

There is no reason to argue that these developments were uniform or coordinated. They arose due to the competition among different elites who were consolidating their position within their own territories and were developing

3 Nelson 2001: 213–18. Nelson (p. 213) suggests that the gateway and the tholos were built contemporaneously, but Dickinson (1977: 62–3) places the tholos later in LH IIA. This chronological problem notwithstanding, it is no doubt significant, as Nelson argues, that the two are in alignment as I pointed out in 1984 (1984: 26).

4 Barber 1992: 1 and n. 6; Darcque (2005: 95) does not believe this block was used for a wall, but rather may have been intended as a base or anta; this view conforms with Nelson's observations (2001: 186) about this masonry being transitional from his pseudo-ashlar to orthostate styles. He misquotes Barber (Nelson 2001: 67, n. 165) concerning the block; it was found built into the remains of the first mansion, not the last and Darcque (2005: 95) points out that a total of eight such blocks were found incorporated into Mansion I and II.

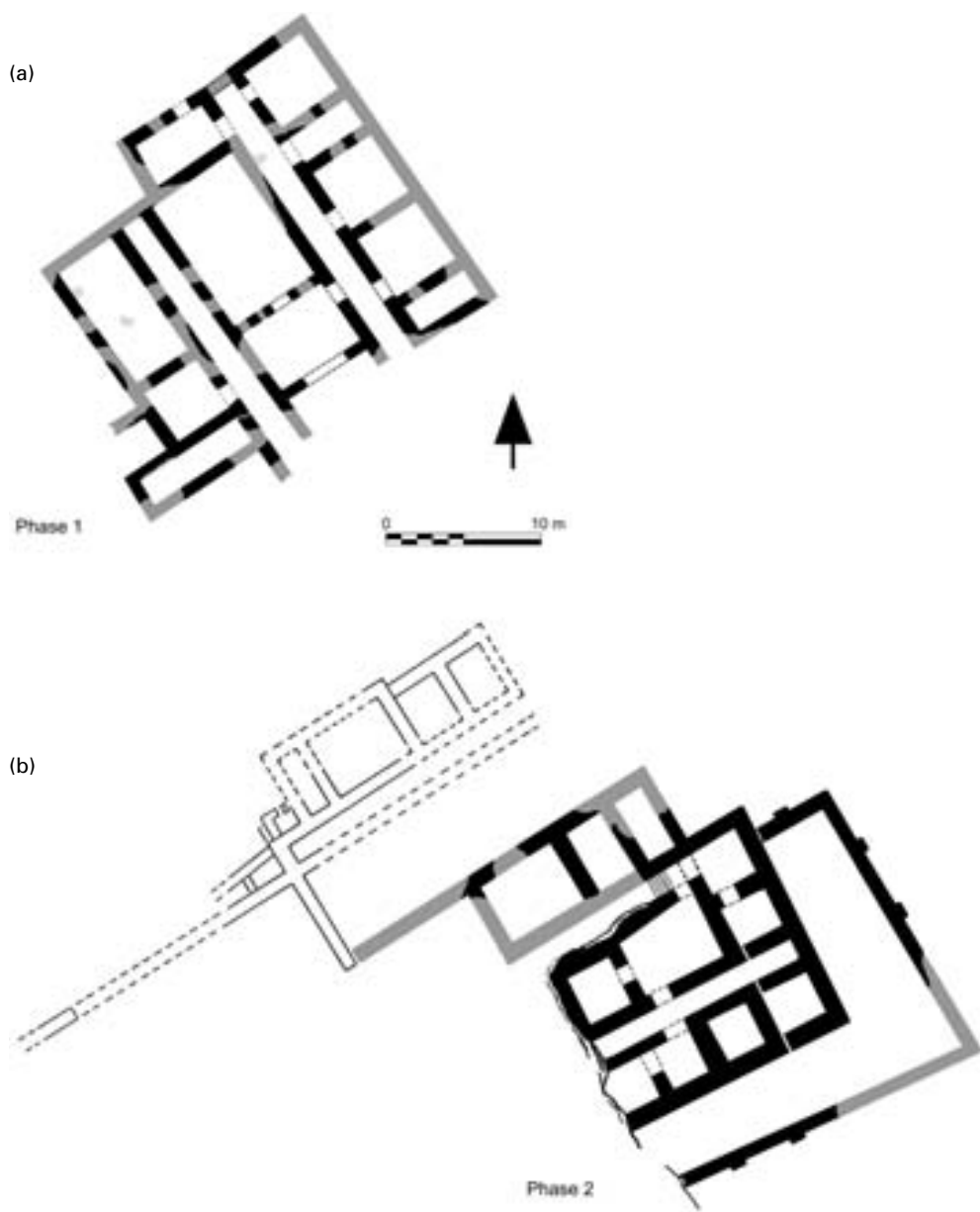


Figure 1.2a Plan of Mansion I at the Menelaion, adapted by the author from Catling 1974–1975, fig. 17. *1.2b* Later building at the Menelaion, adapted from Catling 1974–1975, fig. 17

relations with external sources, certainly in the islands and on Crete, and possibly elsewhere. For some these relations were well established, going back even to the Early Bronze Age, as argued by Rutter and Zerner for different areas of the Peloponnesos and by Hägg for Messenia (Rutter and Zerner 1983; Korres 1984; Hägg 1982, 1983; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 113). We lack sufficient evidence of the form and plan of settlements and their buildings to generalise and thus may neither view Malthi as representative nor think that subsequent developments would be convergent. In fact, as the political evolution of Mycenaean society continued in the succeeding periods (roughly LH II–IIIA), the nature of competition changed. Whereas formerly elites struggled for ascendancy within their community and throughout their immediate region, now they began to compete in areas more widespread: with other elites in their larger region, among nascent polities as conflict arose along territorial boundaries, and presumably also in the wider arena of Aegean relations. At this time architecture assumed a new importance for it was a natural display of the ability of a leader to command many resources: labour for construction, the specialised labour of crafts persons, and local and exotic materials. The last two are significant since they are also symbolic of access to highly restricted resources, both the services of craftspersons (masons, carpenters, plasterers, fresco painters) and materials such as timber, perhaps special wood for details, lime-plaster, and good quality limestone. In this sense the construction of monumental architecture, whether as palace or tomb, is the same kind of aggrandising display as that of wealth deposited in high-status tombs (shaft graves, tholos and chamber tombs). Furthermore, as a place for meeting, whether to conduct business, carry out community obligations and rituals, or for religious worship, these structures assumed an increasingly central role in the life of the community and also acted as theatres of display. The immediate sources for crafts persons and materials are Crete and the islands (Darcque 2001: 106–7; Kilian 1987d: 21), but we cannot discount other places, such as Anatolia, the Near East and Egypt, as recently advanced by Mühlenbruch (2003; cf. Kilian 1987d: 35–6).

EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

We do not have direct evidence of the relationships forged between elites at one centre on the mainland with the established leading orders in the islands and on Crete and places farther afield. Dickinson has famously argued for a ‘special relationship’ between Mycenae and Crete (Dickinson 1977: 54–6, esp. 55), and this is quantifiable when taking into account the uneven distribution of wealth at mainland centres as evidenced by the wealth in the Shaft Graves and many chamber tombs at Mycenae in comparison to elsewhere (see Wright 1995, pl. XXVIII; and Shelton 1993 for an assessment of the total number of chamber tombs around Mycenae). There are also differences in the kinds of artefacts found at different

sites, for example at Mycenae, Vapheio and Dendra,⁵ and these may be evidence of the guest-friendship established between peer elites at different places. In architecture, such special relations should also be manifest. At Pylos for example, Nelson has carefully documented the many phases of construction atop the ridge at Epano Englianos and brilliantly argued that the early phases of the palace (dating between LH II and LH IIIA) are heavily influenced by the tradition of Minoan masonry and probably Minoan architectural planning, as witnessed by the 'ashlar' phase of LH IIIA that consists of buildings likely clustered around an open court (Figure 1.3; Nelson 2001: 180–205). Similar evidence of Minoan influence is not apparent at the citadels in the northeastern Peloponnesos, although Nelson (2001: 130–1, 142) cites the orthostate in the megaron Room IV at Tiryns, nor in central Greece, although often suggested for the House of Kadmos (Dakouri-Hild 2001: 105–6; Keramopoulos 1930: 89–90), and we should probably see in these differences some reflection of the special relationships maintained by different centres. Aside from the postulated Mycenae-Crete relationship, there are others. Broodbank, Kyriatzi and Rutter have argued that Kythera mediated the relationship between Lakonia and Messenia and Crete (Rutter forthcoming; Broodbank, Kyriatzi and Rutter 2005: 33–6). In the north-eastern Peloponnesos Aigina may have played a similar role both as a centre by itself and in directing access to the Aegean, specifically to the islands of the Cyclades and the 'western string' (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 22, also 86–8; Caskey 1971: 378–81 [Tomb 40 now renumbered as Tomb 28]). Ayia Irini on Keos long had a special relationship with central Greece (Overbeck 1982).

Throughout the Mycenaean period the evidence from all categories of artefacts informs us that mainlanders were eclectic in their appropriation of foreign styles and preferred to adapt them to their own ends (e.g. Andreou 2003). In fact this propensity is apparent early in the MH period as Kilian-Dirlmeier has convincingly pointed out (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 122). She argues that the archaeological record indicates that throughout Central and southern Greece there was a fairly uniform access to external sources of wealth but emphasises that it was neither synchronous in all areas nor uniform in the selection of objects (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 114–21). The archaeological indications of the appearance of aggrandising elites in different communities shows a process at work that is highly variable from place to place and subject to no rule other than that which produces effective display of prestige within the community that forms the audience.

Let us consider the state of affairs from the middle of MH through LH II, a long period of at least three hundred years that covers the transformation from a thinly populated landscape with few signs of central settlements and economic activity to one of dense settlement clustered around central places vitally engaged

5 Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV: the silver stag of Anatolian origin (Koehl 1995; Vermeule 1975: 15); Vapheio: the bronze 'Syrian' axe head (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987: 203–4); Dendra: the octopus cup (Hurwit 1979) and the wishbone-handled cup with bucrania like that from Enkomi (Matthäus 1985: 120–3; in general see Cline 1991).



Figure 1.3 Plan of Palace at Pylos, drawing by author with reference to Nelson 2001, fig. 81

in economic activity. One of the things that has bedevilled the study of this period is the sense we gain of a pattern amid what is in fact much variation. So as much as we might want to assert the appearance of formal types, they are not susceptible of quantifiable proof. There are several reasons for this. First, this is a period of socio-political formation. There were no rules, rather there was much competition, which encourages variation within the boundaries of comprehensible symbolic display. Architecture, as much as if not more so than other categories of culturally constructed objects, is a form of display. As Kilian-Dirlmeier observes, competing groups acquired luxuries at many different centres of production or ownership scattered throughout the Aegean (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 114–21),

and even further abroad. They also commanded the producers of luxuries to manufacture items they commissioned (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 122; Vermeule 1975; Davis 1974, 1977; Matthäus 1980: 339–43). But the extent to which these rising elites were able to do this varied dramatically from place to place; that is why there is such a disparity in the distribution of luxury items among such premier places at Mycenae, Vapheio, and Peristeria, to name only a few. This disparity, however, was governed by the need to communicate in a vocabulary known to the intended audience (Clark and Blake 1994: 25–6), and this rule explains not only variation from community to community but also the adaptation of foreign styles for local purposes.

MORTUARY ARCHITECTURE AND LOCAL BUILDING TRADITIONS

A good example of display through a local vocabulary of expression, and one which is of signal importance for the study of the formation of an architectural style, is the architecture of burial receptacles. Since a death provides the opportunity for the kin and lineage to affirm their common bonds, display their status, claim their relation to ancestors and consolidate existing coalitions while building new ones, the act of burial is charged with symbolism and is an especially important stage for display (Parker-Pearson 1999: 45–71). In this practice the elaboration of architecture was tied to local custom. Burying groups began to magnify traditional burial facilities by differentiating them from other burials. Examples are the cist grave and tumulus, for which increasing variability in the architecture is characteristic: the various forms of tumuli, large built cist tombs, grave circles, and shaft graves (Müller 1989; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 83–106; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place: passim*). Once the chamber and tholos tombs are invented, they too begin to be elaborated. Chamber tomb cemeteries begin in LH I and proliferate throughout the Mycenaean era, becoming the primary burial form for Mycenaean communities. In many instances they take on architectural forms, for example in the rectangular shape of the chamber with a gabled roof, in the addition of benches as interior furnishings, and in elaboration of the entrance, where the door and façade sometimes show architectural details adopted from palace architecture e.g. the chamber tomb cemeteries at Ellenika, Messenia (Koumouzelis 1996: 1222, n. 5), Aidonia (Krystalli-Votsi 1996: 23); and the painted tomb at Thebes (Spyropoulos 1971). The tholos tomb perhaps best reflects the mainlanders' propensity to adapt and elaborate rather than merely to borrow. Introduced first in Messenia, the tholos tomb appears in contexts that indicate its strong relationship to the tumulus, for example at Koryphasion and Voïdokoilia in Messenia and at Thorikos in Attica (Korres 1979, 1981; Lolos 1989; Servais and Servais-Soyez 1984: 45–6, 60, 66–7; Cremasco and Laffineur 1999; and on the importance of the tholos as an expression of local communities, see Bennet 1999: 15). Granted that Messenian-Minoan relations were early on sufficiently well developed for us to acknowledge an impetus for this monumen-

tal tomb form from the age-old tradition of above-ground ‘tholoi’ in Crete, the Mycenaean tholos is a purely mainland invention (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 45–7). As it evolves and is adopted throughout the Peloponnese and central Greece during LH II–III its architectural form, size and embellishment is developed using a purely Mycenaean vocabulary (Mee and Cavanagh 1984).

Nowhere is this more apparent than at Mycenae, where, as long ago observed by Wace (1921–23: 283–402), there is a strong local development in the use of materials and their placement in the tholoi. Beginning with a tradition of building in rubble, the tombs are progressively monumentalised by the placement first of ashlar *poros* masonry and second of dressed conglomerate placed in strategically visible locations (Figure 1.4; Wright 1987: 177–82). Although the introduction of ashlar masonry is a widespread phenomenon beginning perhaps as early as late MH and in Messenia directly attributable to the influence of Minoan masonry (with the probable active participation of Minoan masons: Nelson 2001: 187–91; Barber 1992: 1, n. 6; and see Vermeule 1964: 41, fig. 6; Sakellarakis 1967: 277, 287–8; Pelon 1976: 208, n. 5), because of the widespread availability of *poros* limestone, it becomes part of a Mycenaean style. With it comes the introduction of stucco, sometimes painted, as in the Berbati tholos (Pelon 1976: 178; see also Tiryns, Pelon 1976: 181, fig. 3). In the environs of Mycenae, the availability of conglomerate offered the opportunity for local masons to develop a very distinctive style, and this process can be followed in detail in the tholos tombs and subsequently in the architecture of the citadel (Wright 1987: 179–82; Küpper 1996: 115–19; Nelson 2001).

TOMB	POSITION							TECHNIQUE	
	Chamber	Lintel	Stomion	Façade	Dromos base at façade only	Entire base of dromos	Entire dromos	Hammered	Sawn
<i>Use of conglomerate</i>									
Cyclopean									
Epano Phournos									
Aegisthus 1st		●							
Panagia		●	●		●				
Aegisthus 2nd		●		●	●				
Kato Phournos		●	●	●				●	
Lion		●	●	●				●	
Genii	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	
Atreus	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Klytemnestra	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●

Figure 1.4 Diagram of stones used in the tholoi at Mycenae

At first roughly shaped conglomerate is employed to span the lintels of tholos tombs, then it is introduced as an orthostate course in the chambers (Figure 1.4). After a while it replaces or is used in combination with *poros* in the *stomion*, and then spreads to the *dromos*. Finally, the end of LH IIIA2 or at the beginning of LH IIIB (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 36; Cavanagh and Mee 1999: 94), it is used throughout the tomb and technically elaborate means of dressing it are introduced (Wright 1982; 1987; Küpper 1996: 8, 14). It is at this time that this masonry style is employed as the key visual element in a 'royal' building program that extended from the bridge at Ayios Giorgos to the Atreus tholos (and its external terrace), the Klytemnestra tholos, the Lion Gate entrance and its flanking bastions, and in the details of thresholds, column bases and antae throughout the palace (see also Küpper 1996: 115–18; Maran 2003: 275).

The importance of recognising the local evolution of these architectural practices cannot be underestimated. As I have argued elsewhere, they were powerful visual markers of the ascendancy of the ruling power at Mycenae (Wright 1987: 183–4; 1995: 74; Küpper 1996: 122 and fig. 220). It is especially noteworthy that this special style appeared at key locations in neighbouring citadels: at Tiryns in the primary entrance gate, the 'Steintor' and employed also throughout the palace for details and at Argos in an unknown structure that may have graced the Larissa. In these places, the display of conglomerate surely marked a very close relationship (if not subordination) of these places with Mycenae. Finally, this style continued to have a strong influence during the Iron Age, as evident in the massive terrace built at the Argive Heraion during the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC (Wright 1982; Antonaccio 1992: 91–6; 1994: 95–6).

This example illustrates the importance of tracing the evolution of local traditions in the craft of architecture and of recognising the power of an architectural style that on the one hand reflects local tastes and preferences and on the other represents an evolving component of Mycenaean stylistic identity. This argument admits for variation in this evolution from region to region while also pointing to an increasing standardisation as emerging palatial centres interacted and became interdependent. This process of standardisation is also apparent in many other craft traditions, for example in the proliferation of the chamber tomb, in the use of plaster and frescoes and in the production of pottery.

PALACE FORMATION

We can now return to the problem of the formation of the palaces. Evidence today permits a much more detailed understanding of the architectural formation of the palaces than in the past. Thanks to recent excavations at Tiryns we now have a sequence of buildings atop the Oberburg that begins in LH I, continues in LH II–III A1, and then reaches its culmination in the buildings of LH III A2 and LH IIIB (Figure 1.5). Kilian and Maran argue that these document the formation of a palace at Tiryns, replete with formal stepped entrance and

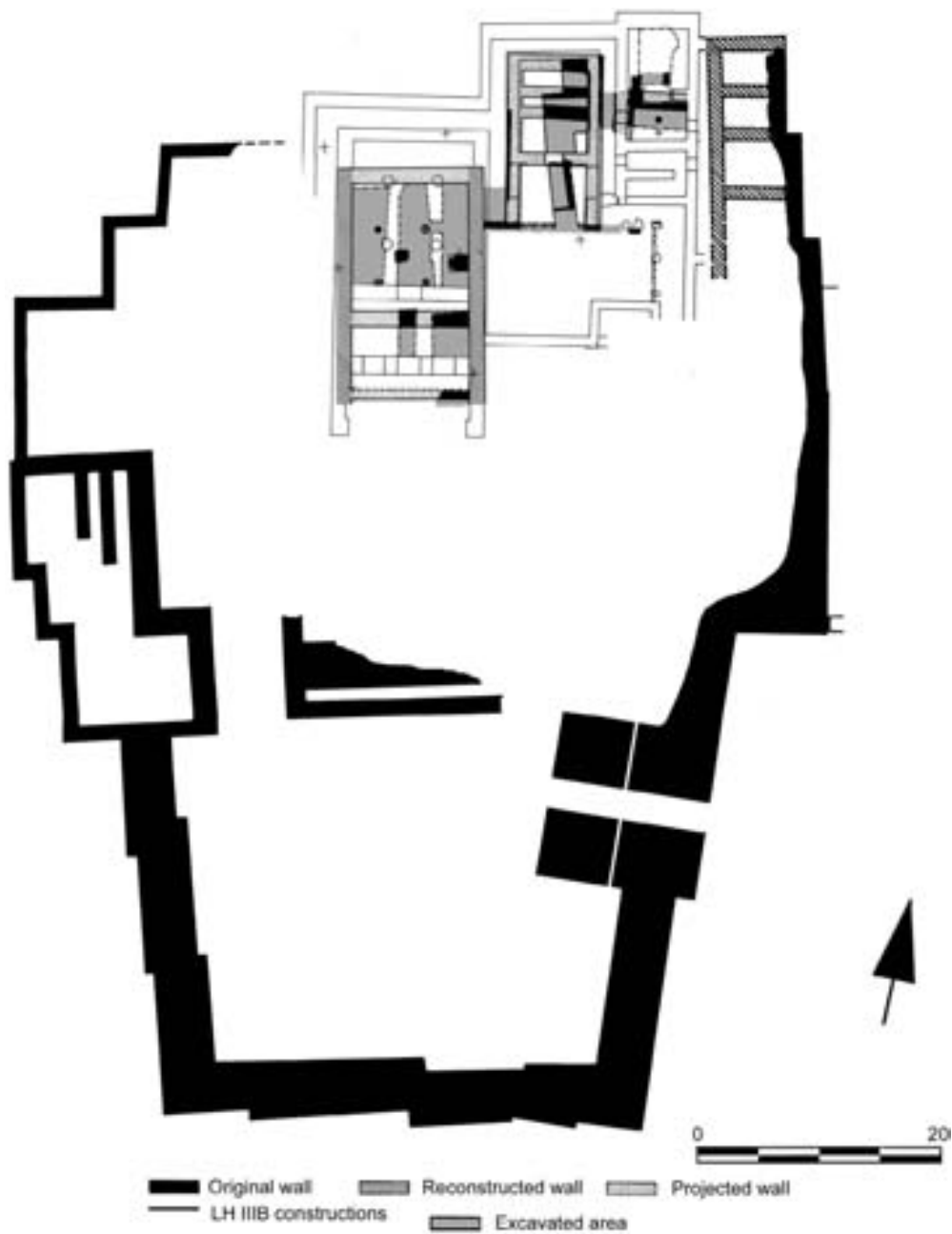


Figure 1.5 Plan of citadel at Tiryns during LH IIIA, adapted from Kilian 1987a, fig. 7; 1989, pl. Δ

decorative fresco (Kilian 1987a: 209, fig. 6; 1987b, 1988b; Maran 2001a). On the basis of the most recent research Kilian's notion of a Doppelpalast seems indisputable, even as his evaluation of the dates is now understood to have been somewhat early and the formal Megaron dates to LH IIIA1–2 (Maran 2001a: 23 and n.5). It seems certain that a similar process occurred at Mycenae, and likely at other citadel centres where such evidence is no longer preserved (Wace 1921–1923: 181–6, 203–4; 1949: 81; Kilian 1987c), but that is not to say that developments were uniform. Only at the Menelaion does the evidence support an argument for a linear development in the local architecture from LH II through LH III (Figure 1.2).⁶ The plan of the Mansion with the large rectangular room at the core flanked by corridors and secondary rooms at the sides looks like a logical step from the rectilinear plans of the West and East Buildings at Tsoungiza (Figure 1.1a). LH IIIA marks the rebuilding and reorientation of the mansion in order to enlarge it (Figure 1.2b), and this is followed by a larger complex following a similar plan in IIIB (Catling 1974–1975: 12–5; 1975–1976: 13–15; 1976; Barber 1992). This seems a natural evolution towards the formalisation of the plan that Hiesel named the 'corridor type house', but at present it is unclear how widespread this development was, particularly as Hiesel's classification and Darcque's analysis indicate that there was widespread variation in vernacular plan throughout the Mycenaean period (Hiesel 1990: 111–44, 240–50; Darcque 2005: 341–55). Kilian maintains, however, that such a building exists at Kakovatos dating to LH II, which he reports consisted of a rectangular colonnaded hall with flanking corridor (Kilian 1987a: 212, fig. 8; 1987d: 33).

Rutter has recently proposed that the corridor type plan evolved in the north-eastern Peloponnesos (Rutter 2005: 27–8; Hiesel 1990: 249). As we have just seen, the evidence is yet unclear to confirm this, but it is useful to think about this probability in comparison with the earlier appropriation of the tholos tomb from Messenia during LH II (Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 44–8; Dickinson 1977: 62–3; note that the early tholoi at Thorikos [LH I] demonstrate the spread of this type outside Messenia earlier than into the Argolid). Along with the invention of the tholos in Messenia is the strong evidence at Peristeria of Minoan influence in the incised Minoan 'masons' marks' in the *poros* limestone ashlar blocks that face the *stomion* of Tholos 1 (Marinatos 1964: pl. 159a; Vermeule 1964: 41, fig. 6). This early appearance of ashlar masonry is matched by the evidence for it at Pylos (Nelson 2001: 187–91). One may venture the suggestion that while both the tholos and ashlar masonry were introduced into the Argolid from Messenia, contemporaneously (LH II–III A1) local preferences at Mycenae and Tiryns led to the formation of the megaron and

6 Barber 1992; perhaps this tradition extends back to LH I given the dressed limestone block that was built into the LH II 'mansion'. We must also take note of the substantial free-standing rectangular buildings of LH II date in the Unterstadt at Tiryns in Trench F (Gercke and Hiesel 1971: 6–8, Beilagen 3, 4, 6) and the remarkable LH IIIA building 49, west of the citadel, with its pebble mosaic (Podzuweit 1977).

corridor plan, similar to (and perhaps in concert with) that at the Menelaion (compare also the LH II–III A1 buildings in the Understadt at Tiryns; Gercke and Hiesel 1971). At Pylos, in contrast, the first monumental edifice is marked by the use of orthostates during LH II (including the substantial building X), the plan of which does not appear to resemble the megaron corridor plan (Nelson 2001: 221, 226, fig. 80). In LH IIIA a formal plan appears (Figure 1.3), and this represents an increase in size and elaboration beyond the core plan laid down by its predecessor. It includes the well-known ashlar constructed northeast façade (Figure 1.3), the central room complex of rooms 64 and 65, and a formal stepped entrance flanked by massive walls at the southwest (Nelson 2001: 218, fig. 81). It is unclear if this complex contained a central megaron. In any event the changes in architectural form at Pylos between LH I and LH IIIA imply an evolving plan and stronger relations with Crete than we suspect elsewhere.

The LH IIIA1–2 megaron at Tiryns sets the stage for the elaborate and typical Mycenaean palace plan known so well from LH IIIB. If this plan was established at this time also at Mycenae and at Thebes (Dakouri-Hild 2001: 105, who thinks the House of Kadmos is of the corridor plan, and who suggests a date around LH III A2), it may be that it was introduced at other places as they fell under Mycenaean domination (Hiesel 1990: 250). For example, at Phylakopi Renfrew's team demonstrated that the megaron and corridor complex there was constructed in LH IIIA (Figure 1.6a).⁷ On Crete there is a long history of scholarship that argues for Mycenaean architecture being implanted during LM III (Oelmann 1912; Hayden 1981, 1987; Cucuzza 1997; La Rosa 1985, 1997; Hallager 1997). At least four buildings stand out for consideration here: at Ayia Triada buildings A-B-C-D and P; at Plati building B; at Gournia building He 31–8 (Figure 1.6b).⁸ As Hayden and Cucuzza have observed these structures in plan resemble Hiesel's corridor house (Shear's type D1 house) (Shear 1988), but the same cannot be said for the much larger A-B-C-D structure at Ayia Triada (the remains of which are very incomplete and which Nelson has compared in its ashlar masonry to the LH IIIA ashlar building at Pylos (Cucuzza 1997: 74 n. 9; 2001: 169–71; Hayden 1987: 213–16; Nelson 2001: 189). At Plati building A is of less interest to us than its successor, building B, which also reflects the corridor house plan (Hayden 1987: 211–13). The date of the construction of the buildings at Ayia Triada is now fixed in LM III A2, and this coincides with the evidence from the new excavations at Khania for the Mycenaean settlement (Hallager 1997: 178–80). At Gournia building He was dated by Furumark to LM IIIB (Hayden 1987: 210, n. 52). These

7 Renfrew 1982: 40–1, fig. 4.1; interestingly the megaron is almost the same size and plan of the similarly oriented main building of the Phylakopi III period (LBA I–II; Renfrew 1982: 39), thus raising the probability of there being continuity between the two.

8 Oelmann 1912; Hayden 1987: 210–16; Cucuzza 1997: 74–5, 79; La Rosa 1992, 1997: 355–64; in addition to these Hayden (1981, 1987) considers one-, two- and three-room structures and La Rosa (1992, 1997) and Cucuzza (1997) discuss the *sacello* and the Northwest Building, while Hallager (1997: 178–9) argues that the planning of the architecture at Khania undergoes a radical transformation with the reconstruction of the settlement during LM III A2/B1.

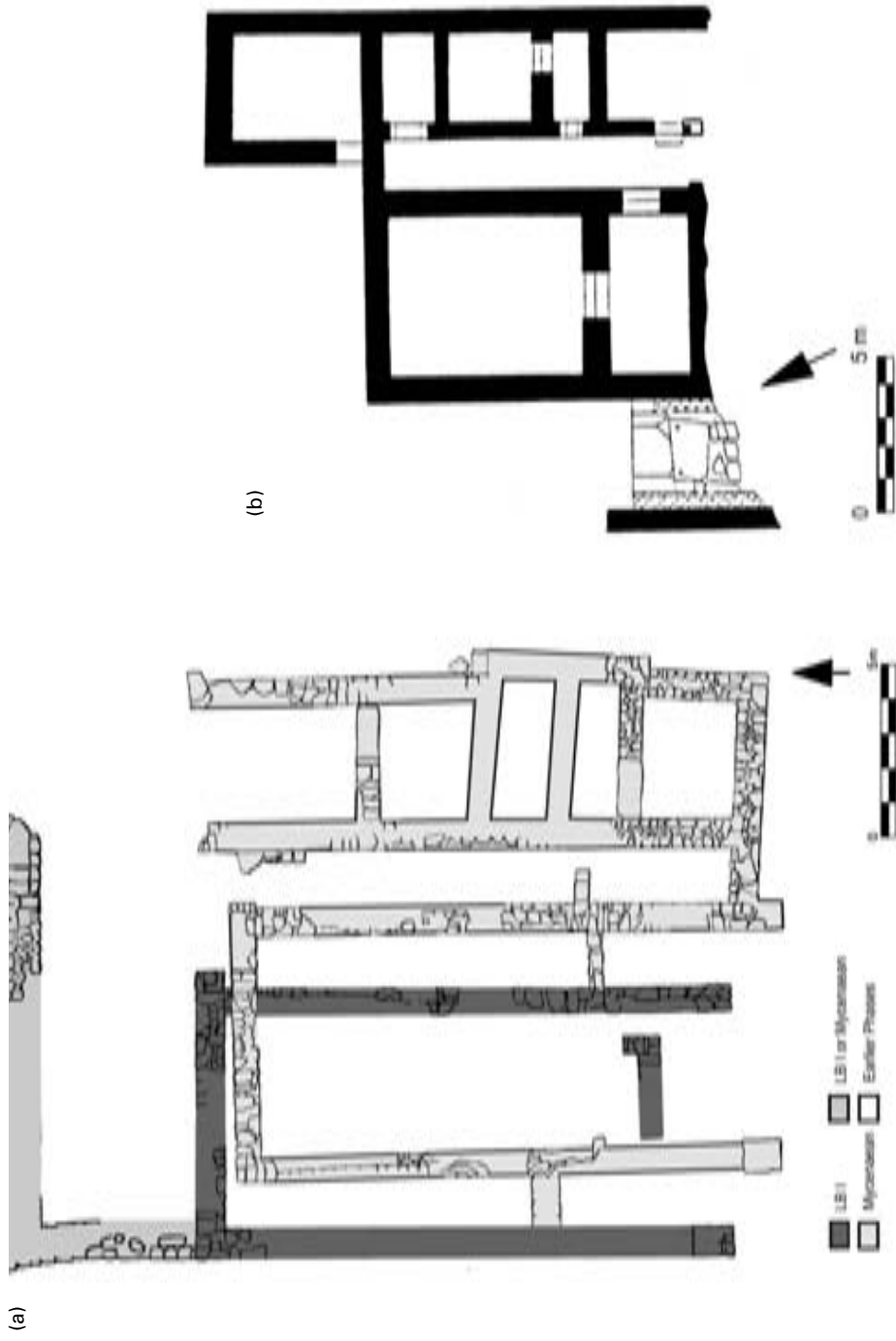


Figure 1.6a Plan of Megaron complex at Phylakopi, adapted from Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, fig. 4.1. 1.6b. Plan of building HE at Gournia, adapted from Hayden 1987, fig. 34

dates reflect the diffusion of this type of building by Mycenaeans during the period when they were expanding their control over the islands and Crete; a period presumably by consolidation of the palace centres.

Building during LH IIIA1 is marked by the widespread appearance of monumental plans, elaborate architectural craftsmanship, and the beginning of decorative programs. At Mycenae and at Thebes ('House of Kadmos') we are not well enough informed to know if the palace complexes were initially constructed in LH IIIA and are uncertain about their plans.⁹ Mycenaean fresco painting also flourishes at this time when programmatic scenes are first applied in the palaces, many borrowing heavily from Minoan traditions (Lang 1969: 221–4; Immerwahr 1990: 106–13, 110–11; Shaw 1980, 1996, 1997). As we have seen, similar developments are traceable at Tiryns, where in addition, Müller argues the citadel was first fortified and provided a monumental gate (Figure 1.5; Müller 1930; Kilian 1987a: fig. 7; Wright 1978; Küpper 1996:34). At this time (LH IIIA1–2) on the outskirts of the palaces and within their territories there appeared second- and third-tier architecture that emulates palace forms. In the territory of Pylos these are represented by the construction of the two sequential buildings of LH II and of LH III A1 at Nichoria (IV-4C and IV-4A). At Mycenae (Figure 1.7) the Ramp House, Tsountas House, Petsas House, and the Houses Outside the Citadel, appear between LH IIIA and early LH IIIB (Nichoria: *Nichoria II*, 433–43; Mycenae: Darcque 2005: plans 27, 31, 39–40, 102–3). The special nature of some of these structures is now well understood and includes workshops for producing perfumed oils, carving of ivory, and possibly storage of pottery (Shelmerdine 1985; Tournavitou 1995; 1997a, 1997b).

LH IIIA marks the emergence of a mainland-based culture as a series of recognisable and repeated forms and styles that follow distinguishing organising principles unique to what we term 'Mycenaean' culture.¹⁰ Beginning in LH IIIA Mycenaean pottery achieves a high degree of uniformity (Furumark 1941: 101–8, 504–5, 511, 521; Mountjoy 1986: 11–18, 63, 169). It is the period in Crete when Mycenaean influence is strongly felt, for example in the palace at Knossos, in its administrative documents, in burial practices, and in pottery (Rehak and Younger 2001: 440–54, esp. 442 and 471–2; Preston 2004; *La Crète Mycénienne*; D'Agata and Moody 2005), and also at Khania and at Ayia Triada. During LH IIIA territories first appear to be consolidated around palaces, as evidence from recent surveys makes clear (Wright 2004a: 126–8; Mycenae: Davis and Cherry 2001:

9 Kilian (1987a: 207 and fig. 3) adapts the plan of the 'House of Kadmos' published by Symeonoglou (1973: pl. 4) and heavily restores it: there is no evidence for the megaron unit, and as Rutter pointed out (Rutter 1974) the building could date to LH IIIB or as argued by Dakouri Hild (2001: 95–106) not earlier than LH III A2.

10 Kilian (1987d: 33–6) reviewed the question of the indigenous nature of the Mycenaean palaces in comparison to Crete and the Near East; Mühlenbruch's (2003) attempt to find principles of planning and organisation of the Mycenaean palaces in Near Eastern ones is unconvincing; see also Darcque 2001.

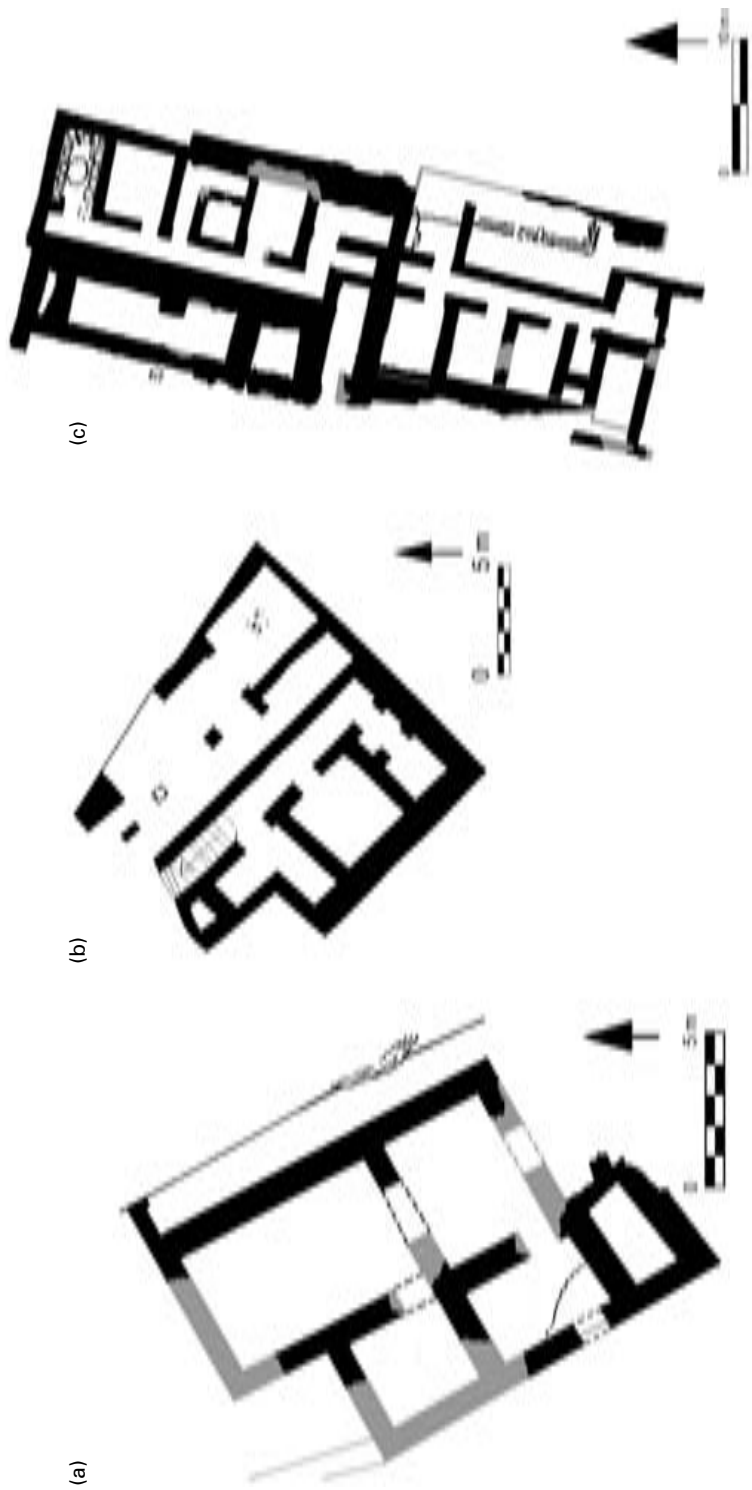


Figure 1.7a The Ramp House, Mycenae, adapted from Wace 1921–23, pl. 1. *1.7b* Tsountas House, Mycenae, adapted from Hiesel 1990. *1.7c* Houses Outside the Citadel, drawing by author

154–6; Schallin 1996: 170–3; Messenia: Davis et al. 1997: 420–1; Bennet 1999, 2001). The achievement of this level of socio-political integration marks the emergence of the first state-level polities on the Mainland, yet the evidence of continuing regional variation highlights the extent to which these peer polities of the Mainland, while sharing salient cultural traits, also competed with each other in their display. (This formation is repeated in the historic period with the evolution of city-states and ethnos-states, which also shared ethnic markers: language, religion, iconography, architectural forms [Doric and Ionic], etc., see Hansen 2000: 17–19, 141–87, 599–602). What follows at probably all the palace sites are architectural phases that correspond largely to the familiar plan of the palace (Nelson 2001: 201). In the planning of architecture the concept of centripetal organisation is consciously applied, whereby the approach to the central ‘megaron’ is organised by processing inwards through a series concentric rings pierced by gates that open onto courts (Cavanagh 2001). This is best illustrated in the organisation of the final stage at Tiryns.

THE MYCENAEAN PALACES IN LH IIIB

In architectural arrangements and renovations of LH IIIB these principles are elaborated. The iconic form of the palace that we can only begin to recognise during LH IIIA now comes to dominate the architectural tradition, probably both as a conscious implantation by the rulers of the palaces and as an emulation by others building at secondary and tertiary locations throughout the territories. At this time Hiesel’s ‘corridor-type house’ becomes a recognisable type (Figures 1.7–8) with widespread application and distribution (Hiesel 1990: 111–45 *passim*). It appears in administrative-craft complexes, such as the ‘Houses Outside the Citadel’ and the buildings within the West Extension of the citadel wall at Mycenae, and at Tiryns, to name a few (Figure 1.8; Hiesel 1990: 111–57). At the level of domestic architecture, the houses of the Panagia Complex at Mycenae well illustrate the pervasiveness of this plan (Shear 1986; Darcque 2005: 351–2; Hiesel 1990: 149–53). Elsewhere at Mycenae we see it in the extensive complex sheltered within the extension of the west wall (including the Cult Center) and at Tiryns it appears in the structures of the Unterburg (Figure 1.8; buildings V, VI; Kilian 1979: 400–4; Kilian, Podzuweit and Weisshaar 1981: 178–80; Kilian, Hiesel and Weisshaar 1982: 400–3). The type is represented elsewhere, for example at Zygouries, the Menelaion, Pylos, Mouriadha, and Thebes (Hiesel 1990; Darcque 2005: 351).

As Darcque has pointed out, the most elaborate of these structures are not properly classifiable as domestic, for they display many features of palatial architecture: use of massive rubble masonry that evokes Cyclopean terraces and walls, systematic employment of half-timbering, internal built staircases, cut stone elements (bases, antae, thresholds), and frescoes (Darcque 2005: 357–66: chapter 3). They also are both production centres and record-keeping centres with

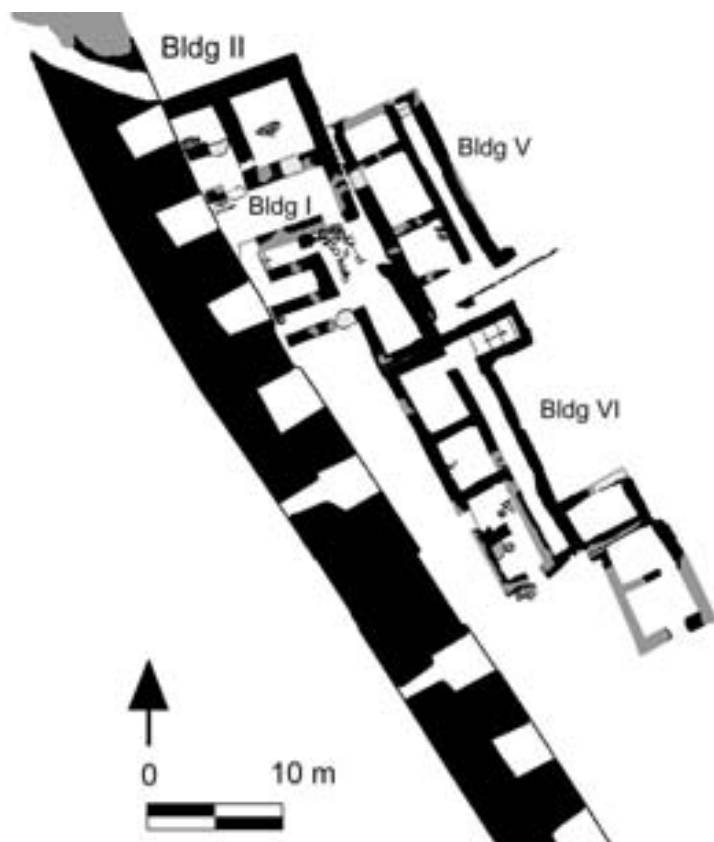


Figure 1.8 Buildings V and VI in the Unterburg, Tiryns, adapted from Kilian 1983, fig. 23

Linear B tablets and sealings (Shelmerdine 1997; Tournavitou 1997a, b). In these respects they are like McEnroe's type 1 and 2a 'villa's' on Crete (McEnroe 1982), and their purpose is no doubt similar – to carry out in the vicinity of the palace and throughout its region administrative activities that can no longer be handled by the palace alone.¹¹ These are likely the places where functionaries worked and lived, and all kinds of specialised activities took place within them. The specialised administrators of these complexes had a vested interest in the maintenance of the socio-political hierarchy, as it insured their proximate position to power, and it was natural for them to emulate the ruling elite and thereby reify their position in terms of social gesture and material display (Elias 1978: 110; Burns 1999: 64–83; Carlier 1987: 271–3; Palaima 2004: 102–6; and Shelmerdine 1997). Of course the clearest indication of the formation of

¹¹ I do not think, however, that this similarity in any way implies a similarly organised political structure, since it is my contention that the Minoan palaces and their territories are corporate in form while the Mycenaean ones are organised on an executive model (Blanton 1998: 149–70).

specialised architectural forms at a secondary centre for economic activities is at Gla (Iakovides 1989, 1998, 2001). Here a striking contrast is evident in the emulation of the palace plan in the primary residential-administrative quarters, whose plan and organisation is followed in the administrative units of the storage and industrial areas in the lower quarter (Figure 1.9). More than any other location, Gla displays the extent to which principles of formal planning in Mycenaean architecture have been adopted. In the employment and replication of the

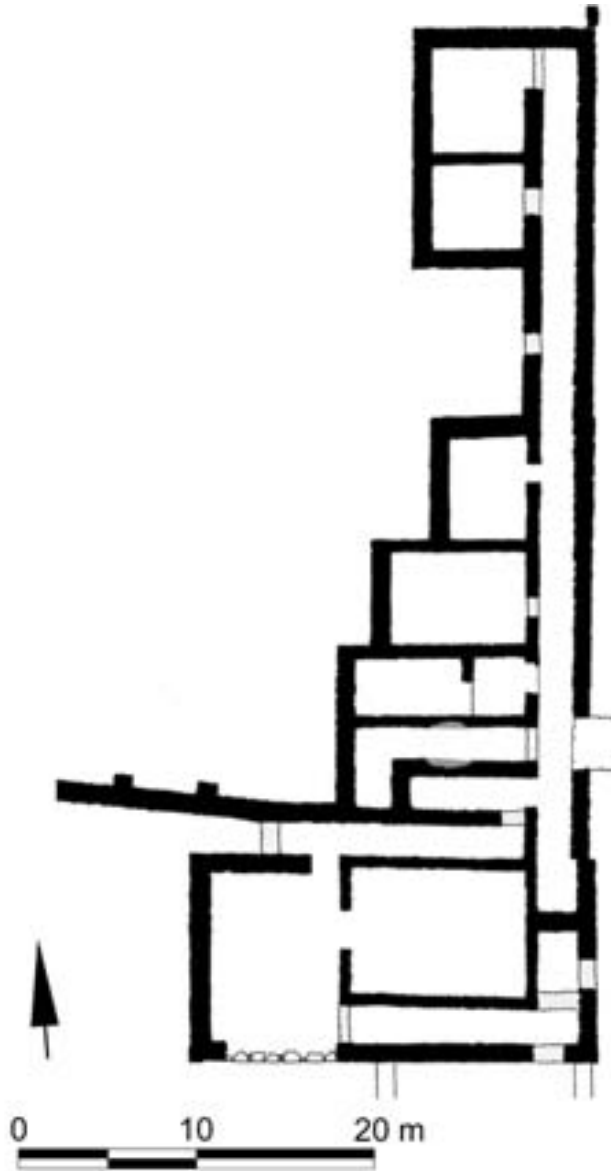


Figure 1.9 Buildings E and Z at Gla, adapted from Iakovides 2001, plan 19

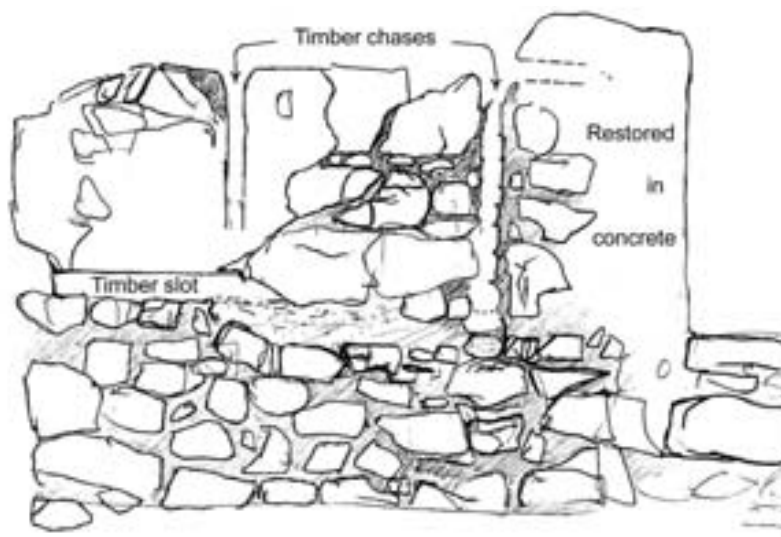
megaron, the corridor, and the two-room suite, the logic and hierarchy of Mycenaean administration, as well as no doubt elite social order, is displayed (Iakovides 1989: 220–3, 306–7; 2001: 80–4; Kilian 1987d: 28–32).

INNOVATION AND VARIATION

LH IIIB was also a time of innovation, largely through elaboration of existing forms. At most locations palaces and fortifications were rebuilt and expanded, and in these constructions we can detect – but only with difficulty – the influence of external craftsmanship and style. These are apparent in the techniques of wall construction, of cutting and preparing hard stones for decorative elements, and in details of Cyclopean construction. Most of these can be related to Hittite architecture, although it is difficult to document the nature of the relationship between Hittite and Mycenaean architecture (Küpper 1996: 118–19; Neve 1989: 404–6; Loader 1998: 123–51; Maran 2003: 266–75).

WALL CONSTRUCTION

In his examination of wall construction at Pylos, Nelson has demonstrated that the presence of wooden chases in the walls is not the evidence of a timber framework constructed to hold the wall in place, as is the function of Minoan timbering (Nelson 2001: 73–98; Shaw 1973: 139–57; Blegen 1965: 117–20). Instead he argues convincingly that at Pylos the timbers formed frames for moulds for pouring the wall in sections that consist of rubble and a mortar mix; then the frames were removed and the interstices between each section were filled with a lime mortar (Nelson 2001: 158–9, 166). This technique creates walls as a series of pillars rather than the customary process of building in courses. According to Nelson the timbers were removed for use in the next section, but sometimes they were left in place, because they had become stuck in the wall. When the palace burned these timbers left impressions, and the mortar between the pillars left a crumbly slag-like fill that excavators thought they recognised as chases of a timber framework. Dörpfeld originally recognised these traces at Tiryns in the wall construction of room XLIII, although he, as others who followed him, did not understand them (Müller 1930: 180–2). Other examples are apparent at Mycenae, where it was first documented by K. Schaar, who thought it a variant of a timber support system (Schaar 1967: 46–8, 67–71). He documented the employment of this system in the House of the Columns basement, the basement of Tsountas' House (Figure 1.10), in the House of the Sphinxes, and in Petsas' House (Schaar 1967: 52–6). I have confirmed in my own investigation all of these instances except Petsas' House (but see Papadimitriou and Petsas 1950: 211–12) and additionally in the so-called Building of Artists and Artisans, the South House, the Granary, the south face of corridor 37 north of the Megaron Court, the House of the Shields, and the House of the Sphinxes. Nelson makes a strong case for this technique appearing only in



Sketch of basement wall Tsountas House and reconstruction showing placement of timbers

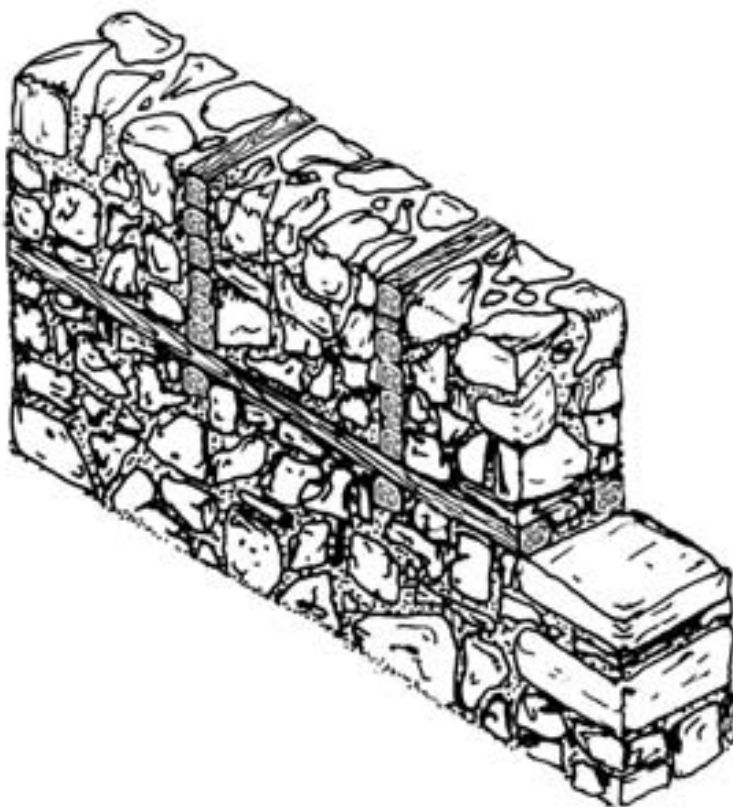


Figure 1.10 Timbered wall in Tsountas House, sketch by author

the constructions of the LH IIIB period, and none of the other examples need date earlier than the beginning of that period. Since there are no predecessors of it in the Aegean (Nelsoy 2001: 163–8; Rutter 2005: 28–9), we must look elsewhere for models that the Mycenaean may have drawn upon.

This technique has a long pedigree in Anatolia, although differently interpreted. Examples are known in much earlier contexts (late third through early second millennia) from Beyçesultan and Kültepe in Turkey (Figure 1.11a; Naumann 1971: 101–12; Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 21–2 and fig. 11; Özgüç 1959: 75, 83).¹² These show walls built of columns of mud brick with wood chases that run through the walls between the brick pillars in precisely the same manner as at much later Pylos. This system is also known from Boğazköy in buildings of the later Empire Period (14th–13th c. levels Büyükkale III a–c) where the supporting elements of the walls are pillars of mud brick (Naumann 1971: 96). Naumann singled out buildings A, E and Temple I as well-preserved examples (Figure 1.12; Naumann 1971: 95–6). He described the walls as built of an alternation of mud brick pillars and rubble filling within a wooden frame, and notably describes the fillings using terms that equally apply to the burnt remains at Pylos: ‘burnt limestone, partly powderised, partly a slag-like puffy mass . . . charcoal, white burnt limestone, red-burnt earth, gray ash with individual sherds . . . burnt fill of red earth, slag, small clumps of stones and lime, all burnt together.’¹³ He argues that a predecessor of this system can be seen at Kültepe IB in the Karum Kaneš, where a building is constructed of stacked mud bricks alternating with shaped stone pillars (Özgüç 1959: 75). Other examples are cited from buildings A and E on Büyükkale (Figure 1.12a) and Tarsus, and Naumann ventures that this system was widespread during the Empire Period (Naumann 1971: 96 and fig. 92). He does not classify this system of wall construction as one of ‘half-timbering’ but instead as a ‘wiederholter Rost’ – a repeating gridded-framework – which could hold together the rubble filling mixed with mortar (Naumann 1971: 98–9). Neve subsequently published numerous examples from Büyükkale and the Oberstadt (Figure 1.12; on Büyükkale notably Buildings A, B, D, E, F, K: Neve 1982: 92–3, 134, 95–6 [Bldg F], 98–9 [Bldg D], 104–7 [Bldg A], 107–11 [Bldg K], 111–13 [Bldg B], and in the Oberstadt notably Temples 7, 15, and 17: Neve 1999: 40–2 [Temple

12 Naumann (1971: 102 and 106–8) viewed this system as an aberration, since elsewhere at Kültepe the normal practice seems to have been the placement of upright posts between mudbrick pillars: Özgüç 1950: 127 and pl. II. See, however, the publication of houses from level II at Kültepe, where at least in one instance a wall was constructed with horizontal stacked timbers running through the width of the wall (Özgüç 1959: 19, 83, fig. 21).

13 Naumann 1971: 95: ‘Kalkstein; verbrannte, teils pulvrige, teils blasig schlackige Masse . . . Holzkohle, weiß gebrannter Kalkstein, rötlich gebrannte Erde, graue Asche. Vereinzelt Tafeln, Scherben . . . Kohle, Brandschutt, gerötete Erde, Schlacken, kleine Steinchen und zu Kalk gewordene Steinklumpen, alles fest zusammengebacken.’ Compare Neve 1982: 93: ‘Die durch eine verheerende Feuersbrunst zu einer homogenen Masse verbackenen Wände bestanden aus Lehmziegelblöcken und einer kalkig bis schlackig-blasig verbrannten Substanz aus Lehm und Steinen, die die Lücken zwischen den einzelnen “Ziegelpfeilern” sowie die Mauerecken und Kreuzungspunkte ausfüllte.’

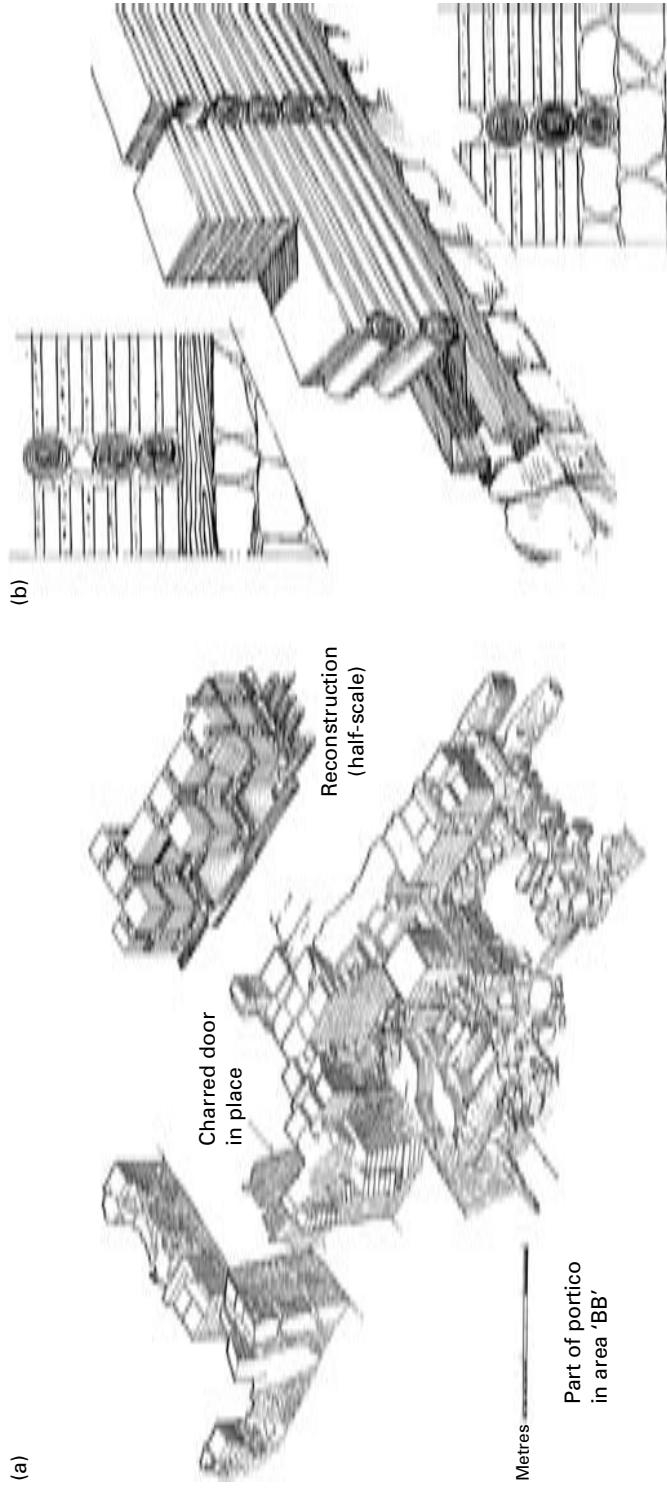
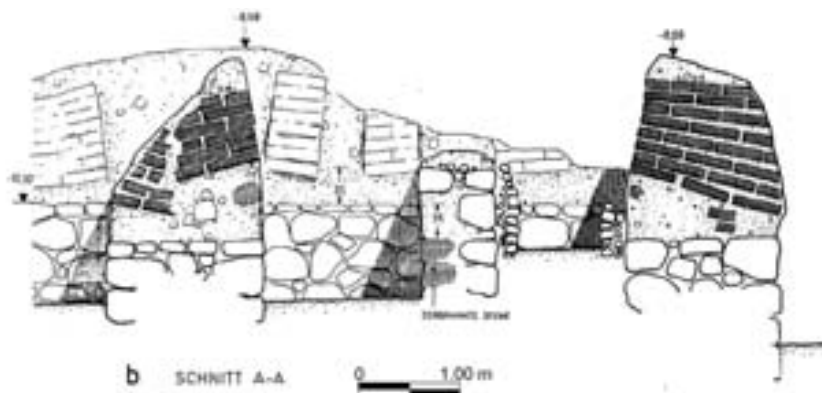


Figure 1.11a Timbered wall at Kültepe, level II, adapted from Özgüç 1959, fig. 21. Figure 1.11b Timbered wall at Beycesultan, Room 32 of 'Burnt Palace', after Lloyd and Mellaart 1965, fig. A11

(a)



(b)

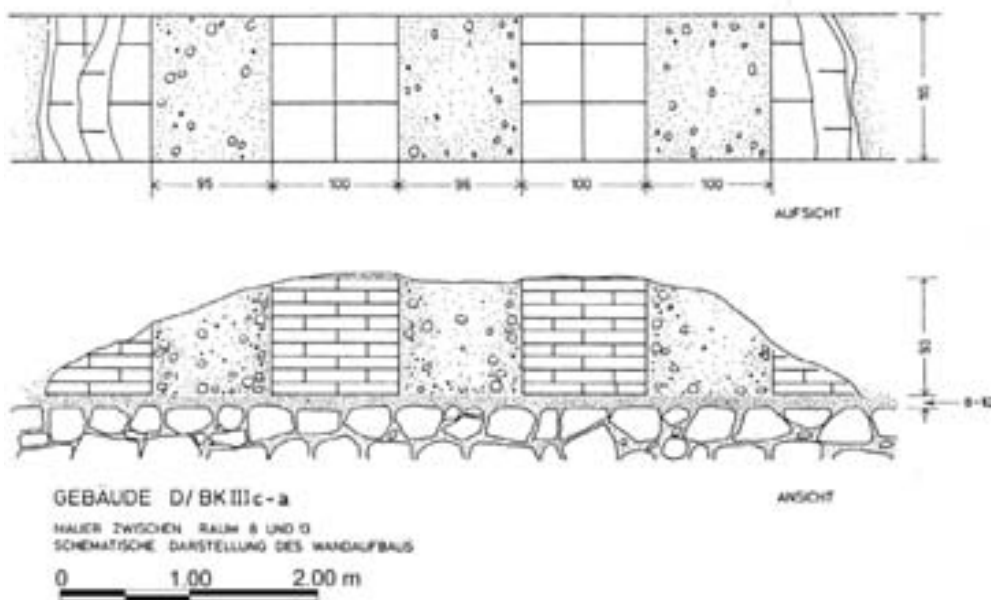


Figure 1.12a Bogazköy building E, adapted from Neve 1982, fig. 39a. 1.12b Bogazköy building D, adapted from Neve 1982, fig. 43

7], 68 [Temple 15], 85–6 [Temple 17]). In these examples the piers are of stacked mudbrick or rubble, which Neve thinks was held together by large wooden beams (between 42 and 50 cm in size) that were placed both vertically and horizontally. He interprets the wooden frame as the primary support system and the mudbrick and rubble to be only fill for the wall (Neve 1982: 93). Despite this interpretation it is hard to think that the filling of walls would have had no structural purpose; this is especially so in the laid rubble fill in some of the temples. Differences of interpretation notwithstanding, the structural similarities between this old

Anatolian system and that employed in the latest phases of the Mycenaean palaces are surely owed to some exchange of technology, probably accomplished through the exchange of craftsmen (Zaccagnini 1983). (Other Anatolian examples are known from a third Hittite palace at Maşat [Özgüç 1978: 52–9, pl. 5] and the much earlier palace at Acemhöyük [Neve 1982: 93], the last of which I have personally examined; they consist of massive rounded wooden beams that run through the walls between stacked piers of mudbrick).

TECHNICAL APPLICATIONS

When we turn to the cutting and preparation of hard stones for decorative elements, we again are faced with innovations. Some of these began in LH IIIA but they are most strongly represented in the final installations of LH IIIB (Küpper 1996: 115–18). Hard limestone and conglomerate are used for antae, column bases, thresholds, jambs, and lintels. They are cut by saws to produce smooth faces and drilled to receive circular dowels. The tools used for these treatments are different from those employed on soft limestone. Circular dowel holes were drilled using cylindrical bronze tube-drills using sand (or emery) and water as an abrasive.¹⁴ Küpper argues that this technique was introduced as early as LH IIIA1 (in the early throne foundation at Tiryns which Maran now dates LH IIIA1–2), although for the production of stone vases it had been known since the Early Bronze Age (Warren 1969: 158–65; Küpper 1996: 13–14, and n. 117; 118–19). The earliest known instances of these in masonry are in blocks from the Chrysolakkos mortuary complex at Mallia, dating as early as MM IB (Shaw 1973: 70 and figs 62–3). They are otherwise unknown in Cretan architecture and not probably related to the Mycenaean practice. Dowel holes drilled in this technique are known in Hittite architecture, notably at Boğazköy, where they are cut into the upper faces of orthostates (Naumann 1971: 111–14). Küpper cautiously does not attribute the Mycenaean technique to the Hittites, which would necessitate a transfer as early as 1400 BC (Küpper 1996: 14, 118–19; see also Naumann 1971: 114, n. 97; cf. Maran 2003: 270). Nonetheless, the technique of using a cylindrical drill, presumably of bronze, that creates holes between about 2.5 and 5.0 cm in diameter (with notable numbers at 2.8, 3.2 and 3.6 cm) finds its closest comparative data in the Empire period constructions at Boğazköy (Küpper 1996: 11 and chart 12, figs. 100–8; Naumann 1971: 111–14; Neve 1989: 400 and pl. 29). Perhaps the transfer went in the opposite direction, from the Mycenaeans to the Hittites, just as it did in the Archaic period when Ionian masons worked at Pasargadae in Persia (Nylander 1970).

This possibility was suggested by Neve in his study of the evidence for saws and their use in Hittite architecture (Neve 1989: 402–6). He observed that the largest

14 Küpper 1996: 9–11; Dörpfeld 1886; and Petrie 1910: 73 (cited in Casson 1933: 28) suggested emery; J. Shaw (1973: 70 and n. 3) thought these were reed or bamboo because of the difference in sizes, and this idea is supported by Evelyn (1993: 77–85).

collection of bronze saws come from Crete (Knossos, Ayia Triada, Mallia, and Zakros) and are much earlier than any known in the Anatolia and the Near East (Neve 1989: 402; for a complete list see, Evelyn 1993: 26–40, esp. 34–5). He noted that the spread of the techniques of using drills and saws to cut hard stones throughout the Hittite Empire (at Alaca Hüyük, Maşat and Tarsus) coincided with the time of intensive contacts with peoples living in the West, which could have stimulated the exchange of technology and craftspersons – an idea that has received considerable support with the results of the new excavations at Miletus (Neve 1989: 406; Niemeier 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Maran 2003: 271–2; on craftspersons see Zaccagnini 1983). This theory is advanced by taking into account the use of the pendulum saw, probably the most technologically advanced device used in architecture during the second millennium. This machine, as brilliantly deduced by Küpper from the evidence of many blocks at Tiryns (Figure 1.13), was used for cutting anta blocks and thresholds at Tiryns, Mycenae and Gla, and also for special purposes, as in the Atreus and Klytemnestra tholoi (Küpper 1996: 16–21, 22–4). Schwandner, who first proposed this device, also records its use at Boğazköy (Schwandner 1990: 221–2, figs 9–10). Here again the majority of evidence is from Mycenaean palaces, so the technology may be recognised as a Mycenaean invention, but its appearance at Boğazköy further strengthens the suggestion of a technological interchange between the two cultures during the late fourteenth and throughout the thirteenth centuries BC.

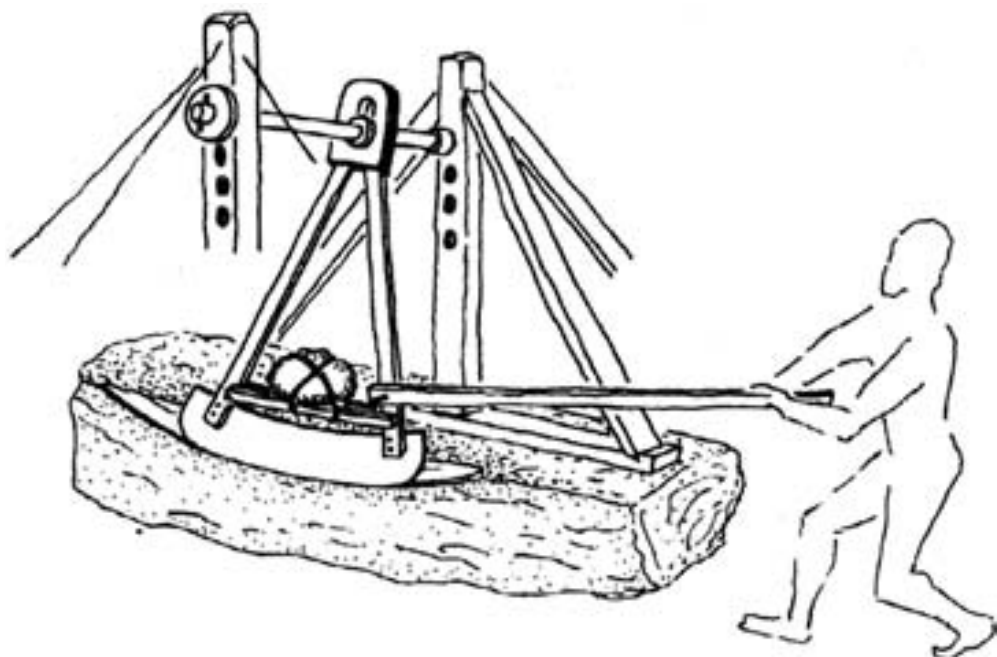


Figure 1.13 Pendulum stone saw, after Schwandner 1990, fig. 8

CYCLOPEAN WALLS

The use of corbelling in the Cyclopean masonry of the Mycenaean palaces is a distinctive technique, widely and diversely employed at Tiryns in the fortification walls (for entrances, stairways, and interior corridors and galleries, e.g. Figure 1.14) but found also at Mycenae in its walls and in the underground 'Perseia' springhouse (Küpper 1996: 35–8; Maran 2003: 261–4). Although the earliest instance of this technique in the Aegean is the underground springhouse in the fortifications at Ayia Irini on Keos dating to LM I (Caskey 1971: 365–7), there are no comparable examples except in Anatolia and north Syria. There it appears in the postern beneath the Postern Wall of the Old Hittite period (Büyükkale IVC) in the sixteenth to fifteenth centuries BC at Boğazköy and at Alişar in its underground passage beneath the fortification (Neve 1982: 39–45), and later examples are known from Boğazköy, Alaça Hüyük, Gavurkale, and Ras Shamra that belong in the thirteenth century (Naumann 1971: 124–31, 302–4). Naumann and Neve also relate this technique to the monumental 'arched' gates in the fortifications of Boğazköy built during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (1237–1209 BC). Neve examines corbelling in the Totenkult of Suppiluliumas I, built by Suppiluliumas II at the end of the century (post 1207 BC: Naumann 1971: 130–1; Neve 1990: 161–5; dates from Bryce 1998: xiii). He argues that the long history of corbelled construction in Anatolia demonstrates its Hittite origins, and he goes so far as to claim that the Hittites even invented the true arch (Neve 1990: 164–5; rightly disputed by Küpper 1996: 119). Küpper states that the clearest example of technical similarity between Hittite and Mycenaean wall constructions is in the construction of the corbelled vaulted galleries. In contrast he thinks that the Cyclopean masonry itself is quite dissimilar to that of the Hittite fortifications, and cites the penchant at Boğazköy for polygonal masonry as opposed to the rougher Cyclopean of the Mycenaean citadels. He also points out that the pseudo-ashlar facing of conglomerate employed at Mycenae has no parallels in the East. As I have argued above, this technique is local to Mycenae, and there seems to me no reason to think that the Mycenaeans would have copied or imitated Hittite wall construction once they had developed their own styles, and in fact, the masonry styles of most of the Mycenaean fortifications are distinctive, in part owing to the use of local materials, but surely also a reflection of the preferences and traditions of local masons.¹⁵ We should not, however, discard the

15 This also accounts for the observed technical differences between Mycenaean and Hittite corbelling, since the Mycenaeans were familiar with this technique from their long tradition of using it in tholos tombs; see for this Naumann 1971: 304; Wright 1978: 220–8, where it is observed, contra Maran 2003: 268, that in Mycenaean corbelling the apex can be covered by a slab or have a kind of key block inserted. Of note here is that at Tiryns the doors of the eastern gallery chambers have key blocks while those of the southern gallery chambers do not, e.g. Müller 1930: fig. 23, pl. 15. The difference is accounted for by noting that the vault of the east gallery is formed by one course and a wedge while the southern gallery chambers are formed of two courses, the last one with the facing closing blocks – cf. Müller's comments, (1930: 34) that the explanation of the differences is to be sought in the selections of blocks.



Figure 1.14 Corbelling at Tiryns, photograph by the author

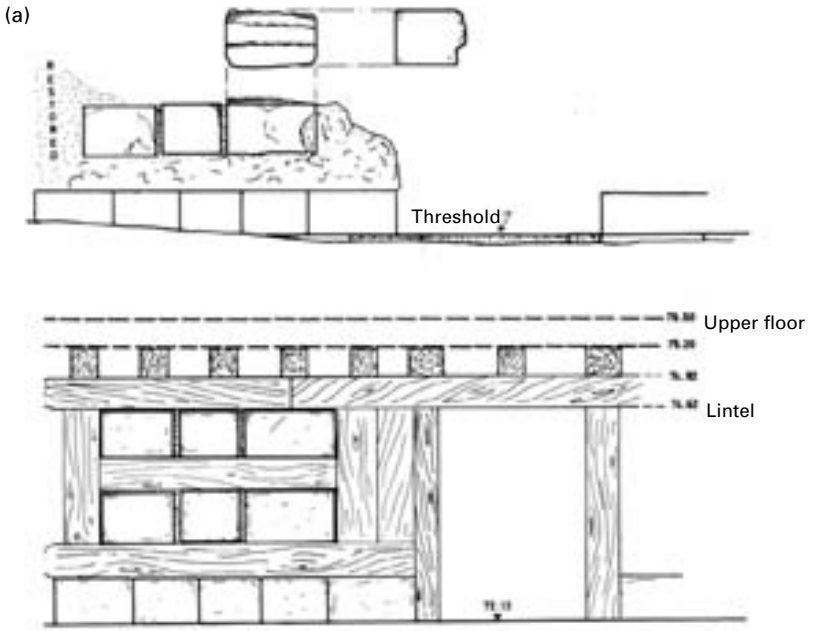
notion that the Mycenaeans learned from the Hittites about this form of construction. That the Mycenaeans adapted techniques and technology to their own ends is hardly surprising, since that seems to be one of the outstanding characteristics of Mycenaean culture.

THE PALACE AS PRESTIGE OBJECT AND THE ROLE OF RITUAL AND FEASTING

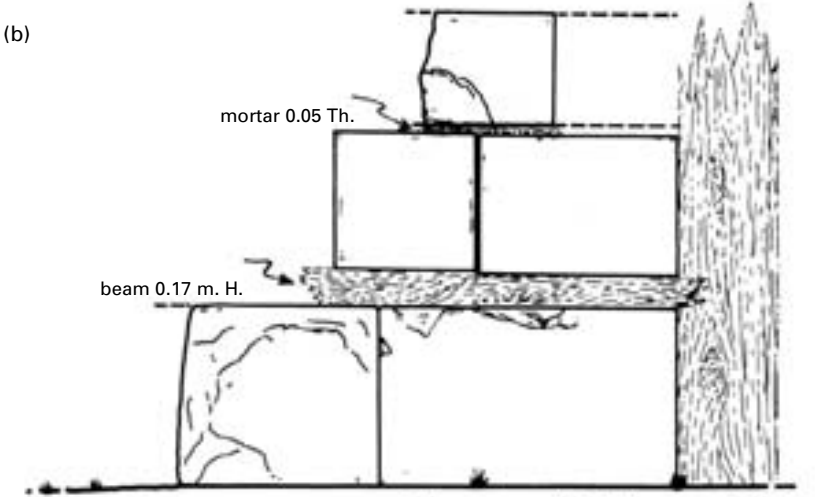
Only during LH IIIA2 and IIIB can we speak confidently of the emergence of peer polities. On the basis of the inscribed stirrup jar trade alone we know that these polities had considerable economic interaction, which must also signify close political and social interaction. The homologous nature of these polities can be logically understood as the product of the competitive interaction among those rising elite groups who were able to consolidate their control over different regions. But now they communicated with each other as ruling, potentially dynastic, peers. Part of the display they practised was in the erection of palaces and fortified citadels. There is much evidence that they shared craftsmen with each other. This is observed in the close similarity in plan and proportion of the palace 'megara', in their interior furnishings of throne, hearth, colonnade, and frescoes and in details such as the carved stone revetments from Tiryns, Thebes, Mycenae, and Gla; the stuccoed floor decoration including the preference for dolphins and octopuses at Pylos, Tiryns, Gla. Particularly telling is the close correspondence in the ashlar masonry at Mycenae and Thebes (Figure 1.15a, b), where the evidence strongly supports the notion of the work having been done by craft groups working in the same tradition. It seems also likely that fresco painters were shared among the palaces. These aspects of palatial architecture create the monumental prestige edifice that works as a complex structuring symbol of the world order of Mycenaean society as it was conceived and practised by the ruling order.

The last phase of monumental building on the citadels and at the capitals of the Mycenaean fledgling states illustrates the extent to which a cultural *koine* had been created for architectural forms. The close correspondence in the form, plan and organisation of the last palaces, and the apparent sharing of craftspersons for construction and detailing offer good evidence of peer polity interaction. Yet the distinctive features that seem to be evidence of technological exchange with the Hittites illustrates another dimension of this process, and that is the continuing search for novelty to introduce features that emphasise difference and superiority in architectural display. In different ways each Mycenaean capital achieved a distinctive architectural style.

In this form the palace is the focus of political, economic, social, ideological, historic and myth-historic practices and beliefs. In a real sense the palace is a cultural cloak that the ruling elite wrap around themselves, and in which they symbolically envelop their retinue, clients and commoners. But these structures were no mere symbols. They were used for activities that promoted the legitimacy of



MYCENAE: MEGARON PORCH
Facade, elevation
actual state and possible
restoration



THEBES
House of Kadmos
Partial restored elevation of
poros ashlar wall, room A

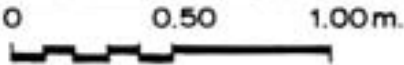


Figure 1.15a Ashlar masonry at Mycenae, drawing by the author. 1.15b Ashlar masonry at Thebes, drawing by the author

the rulers and consolidated an identity that we recognise as 'Mycenaean'. In two recent studies this issue has been examined in terms of the role of open spaces and courts in Mycenaean architecture (Cavanagh 2001; Davis and Bennet 1999; see also Kilian 1987d). Through a general analysis of open spaces Cavanagh has decisively demonstrated the hierarchical organisation of space in the Mycenaean palaces characterised by increasingly restricted access as one progresses inwards to the megaron (Cavanagh 2001: 130–2). Cavanagh importantly emphasises the lack of areas of public gathering, but points to the importance of procession (2001: 129–31; see also Küpper 1996: 122 and fig. 219). In their study of the Southwestern Building at Pylos, its court and accompanying frescoes Davis and Bennet (2001: 115–16) point out that the disposition of different frescoes in principal areas of the palace illustrates three themes (Figure 1.3): hunting, warfare, and feasting and sacrifice, respectively in the 'megaron' suite of rooms 5–6, in the court and 'megaron' of the Southwestern Building, rooms 63–5, and in the rooms above 43, 46 and 48. Of these 43, 46 and 6 also have paintings of griffins, signifying the special nature of these rooms. Rooms 46 and 6 of course are also central rooms with elaborate central hearths. There may be some reason for thinking that these distributions provide insight into the functional meaning of the Doppelpalast, and as Davis and Bennet note, Hiller has previously suggested Room 64 as a potential seat for the *lawagetas* (Hiller 1987; Kilian 1987d: 32). Of further significance is the faunal evidence recently published by Isaakidou, Halstead, Davis and Stocker that indicates that Court 63 was a major place for feasting (Isaakidou et al. 2002; Davis and Stocker 2004). It is important to recognise that one of the major activities which took place in the palaces, in their courts and perhaps also in the secondary 'megaron' complex was feasting (Wright 2004b: 9), primarily as the social accompaniment to a variety of ritual practices, of which processions were a major element. Public processions and public and private feasts are a powerful way to promote group solidarity, among a small elite peer group, between the ruling elite and their functionaries, and for the larger community of the palace town and its territory (for territories see Dabney, Halstead and Thomas 2004). These practices provide opportunities for the affirmation of identity, its hierarchical structure and the legitimacy and authority of the ruling order. In so far as these activities take place around the area of the palace as well as within it and in association with its iconic 'megaron' forms, their practise is conditioned by and focused upon the specific architectural form and setting of the palace and its courts.¹⁶

The practice of feasting in architectural settings, such as sitting around the hearth of a simple household and eating and drinking or feasting in the palaces, is also one that integrates social relations and social structure. At Tsoungiza the

16 The issue of the relationship of cult buildings to the palaces and their spatial and architectural organisation needs further analysis, especially in light of Cavanagh's (2001: 129–30) observations about Grave Circle A and processions and also the considerable discussion of this matter by Albers (2001) and Whittaker (1996, 1997).

LH I floor deposit associated with the main room with its built circular hearth and central column base consists of a set of dining and serving vessels. It is not difficult to imagine that the gold and silver vessels from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were used similarly in the headmen's domiciles there. The age-old practice of feasting and drinking in such places no doubt gave deep meaning to the architectural form, especially the interior arrangement and proportion of the seats of power in Mycenaean Greece.

How powerful may be understood when we consider those buildings that date to the period LH IIIC, for many closely follow the core plan of the palaces, and their distribution bespeaks the continuing importance of maintaining the cultural order of the period of the recently destroyed palaces. 'Megara' (Hiesel's *oikos* 2 and Antenhäuser; Hiesel 1990: 38–83) were constructed at Tiryns, Ayios Kosmas, Mouriatadha, Korakou, Midea, Asine, and Lefkandi (Figure 1.16). A number of these most likely were constructed as seats of authority (Midea, Tiryns and Mouriatadha). Maran has argued convincingly that that was the case for Building T at Tiryns (Figure 1.16a), placed directly in the cleared-away remains of the great 'megaron' and respecting its altar, hearth and throne emplacement (Maran 2001a, b). If these late structures evoked the traditional order, they must also have served as the locus of ritual practices, especially commensal activity, which amplified the meaning of an enduring seat of political and religious authority. By respecting

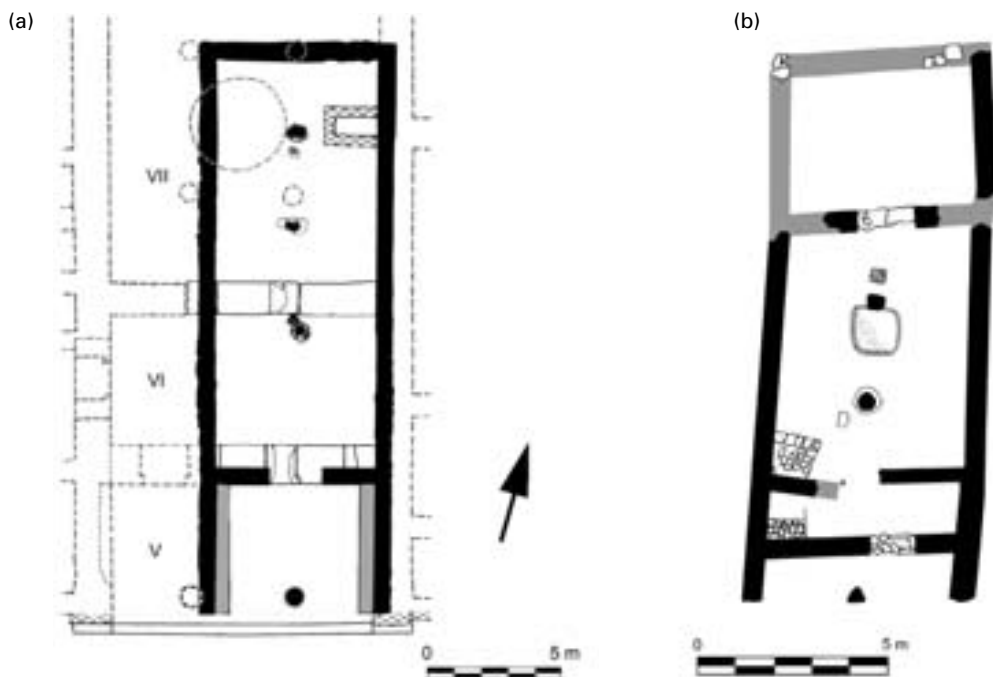


Figure 1.16a Building T at Tiryns, after Maran 2001a. 1.16b House L at Korakou, adapted from Blegen 1921, fig. 112

the interior furnishings of columns, hearth and throne, the builders reasserted the metaphorical coupling of fire and sky and ruler and deity within this now traditional architectural form (Wright 1994: 45–6; Darcque 2005: 175–7, 301–3).

This architectural form may now be understood as having achieved through the focus placed upon it by the ritual demands of the Mycenaean state the status of a powerful built and inhabitable symbol, the space and place of which was an *axis mundi* for anyone who identified with the culture we call Mycenaean. In its original form during the Middle Bronze Age as the residence of families it housed the nuclear family and its associates. Through social practices within it and through the repetition of furnishings and architectural form it is not difficult to envisage how this built space came to be associated with the head of household, who in the instance of primary lineages became a leader in the community. In this manner the house form can have begun to be also a place of political, economic, social and ideological power. What was practised in it over these many generations would have amplified and politicised this primarily domestic building. It should little surprise us, then, when the super-organic structure of Mycenaean society collapsed and decomposed, what remained was still the family and its lineage and the age-old practices that were performed in the household, especially the household of the head man. Thus in the ‘megaron’ architecture of LH IIIC and the reappearance of the apsidal architecture of the Protogeometric period we may see the architectural setting for these social practices reappearing, only to be elevated once again in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods to a monumental form, as Mazarakis Ainian has argued (*Dwellings*).

CONCLUSION

This view of the formation of the Mycenaean palace plan argues that it must be understood as a product of the social and political formation of Mycenaean society. I contend that this formation occurred in three processes. The first is the interaction and competition of rising elites in different communities, which promoted the formation of local architectural expressions of power and prestige. Second are the consolidation of territories by elites at their centres and the construction of complex monumental structures that we recognise as palaces. Third is the formation of early states which are the product of peer polity interaction and which in architectural terms are manifest in a uniform Mycenaean architectural style.

Architecture organises space into places of cultural habitation (Tuan 1977: 101–17). Structures orient meaning and are places where meaning is performed (Tilley 1994: 202–8). Because of this dynamism we cannot simply ‘read’ architecture, as if its meaning were codified in a universal dictionary of architectural forms, not least because so much architecture, whether vernacular or monumental, undergoes many uses that extend over generations. Architecture is a palimpsest and its historical meaning is protean (Preziosi 1979, 1983; Tuan 1977).

This observation underscores a critical difficulty of the discipline of archaeology, since, lacking access to the informants who imbued architecture with meaning and who took meaning from it, in our desire to interpret is also the temptation to promote one moment in a building's history over others (Riegl 1982). All the more, then, are we obliged to survey in detail the broadest appropriate temporal and spatial horizons in order to construct an outline of meaning of the architecture of any archaeologically constructed and historically documented culture. We should try to understand the architecture not merely as a formal development of an object we seek to classify but rather as an evolving expression of Mycenaean society and especially as an instrument of the ruling order of the various palatial centres. Here we engage the problem of understanding the roles of elites and of the *wanax*. This office of the Linear B tablets, like the palaces, was created out of the social and political circumstances of the evolution of Mycenaean society, and as the needs of leadership changed, so did the needs of its architecture. The Mycenaean palace, then, is a mutable material representation of the symbolic, social, political, economic and religious roles that are subsumed under the authority and power of the *wanax*.

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WANAKS AND RELATED POWER TERMS IN MYCENAEAN AND LATER GREEK

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There have been numerous advances in scholarship¹ (since Carlier, Royauté and Palaima 1995²) affecting the interpretation of the two lexical items (*wa-na-ka* = later *wanaks* and *qa-si-re-u* = later *basileus*) and related terms (e.g., *lāwāgetās* and *e-ke-ra₂-wo*) associated with the concept ‘king’ within Greek language and culture. Here I shall deal with them systematically under various subject headings that I hope are more than arbitrary. My main aim is to demonstrate that the most recently proposed etymologies of the term *wanaks* either confuse the functions of the *wanaks* within the Mycenaean texts for the essential meaning (and ideological basis) of the word itself or are attractive as explanations for the meaning of the term, but ultimately unconvincing in accounting for its history.

I argue that the essential meaning of the *wanaks* has to do, as in Hittite, with ‘birth, begetting and fertility’ and then with ‘lineage’.³ I then discuss many aspects of the attested functions of the *wanaks* in Mycenaean society.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF *WA-NA-KA*, *QA-SI-RE-U* AND *E-KE-RA₂-WO*: LINEAR B, HITTITE AND HOMER

There are no convincing, that is, widely accepted, Indo-European etymologies of the Mycenaean terms *wa-na-ka* (later Greek ἄναξ) and *qa-si-re-u* (later Greek

1 I dedicate this paper to the late Kees Ruijgh whose scholarly erudition, integrity, deep humanity and generosity are sorely missed by all of us who still work at the Mycenaean texts that he understood so deeply and explicated so clearly. I was helped in writing this paper by discussions with graduate students in Austin, particularly Kerri Cox, Amy Dill, Stephie Nikoloudis and Dimitri Nakassis. Mark Southern and Sara Kimball advised me on some Hittite matters. All flaws in what I present here are mine.

2 See also Carlier 1990 and 1995 and Kilian 1988.

3 I rely on the Hittite evidence for four reasons: (1) the contemporaneity and proximity of the Hittite culture to the Mycenaean; (2) the relatively ample written historical documentation pertinent to activities and functions of specific Hittite kings and to the ideology and practice of Hittite kingship; (3) the Hittites had reached a level of state formation more advanced than the Mycenaeans and under roughly parallel conditions; (4) the Hittite institution of kingship was heavily influenced by preceding indigenous and surrounding cultures, which I have come to believe is also the case with Mycenaean kingship.

βασιλεύς). The standard etymological dictionary (Chantraine 1968/1990: vol. 1, s.v. ἄναξ and βασιλεύς) assumes both terms are non-Greek loan words. The reconstruction of the role of the *wanaks* in Mycenaean society offered in Palaima 1995 took this as a starting point, positing non-Indo-European origins for both terms. I argued then that *qa-si-re-u* derived from the pre-existing mainland culture with which the arriving Indo-European speakers merged. The term *qa-si-re-u* and the power figures whom it identified understandably survived into the relatively short-lived Mycenaean palatial culture (and after its collapse) at the village level of social, economic and political organisation. I also suggested that *wa-na-ka* might have derived from Minoan high culture which the Mycenaean elite clearly used as a source for prestige borrowing in the spheres of ritual, ideology and material culture.

It should be noted that Ruijgh 1999: 521 (going back to his seminal work Ruijgh 1967: 385 n. 166) flatly declares that the term *ἄνακτ-* is ‘sans doute préhellénique’ and gives it a meaning of ‘maître souverain’. This follows a time-honoured tradition of deducing the meaning of this inscrutable term from an understanding of how the word is used in Homer, the Linear B texts and later Greek (particularly in Cyprus where it refers, according to Aristotle Frag. 483 Rose, to the sons and brothers of the king or *basileus*). Ruijgh, for example, argues, from the use of *wanaks* and its feminine counterpart *wanassa* as epithets of deities, that the Homeric use of *basileus* with Zeus is metaphorical. What distinguishes the two terms, in Ruijgh’s view, is that the underlying meaning (‘la valeur fondamentale’) of the term *wanaks* is ‘divine sovereignty’, while the term *basileus* indicates in the historical period ‘mortal sovereignty’ and in the Bronze Age identifies mortal ‘roitelets’ (Ruijgh 1999: 525–7).

Ruijgh then goes further, analysing Homeric periphrases for prominent heroes. In fact, he takes the term ἥρως (*heros*) itself as a prehellenic term designating nobility, ‘seigneur’ *vel sim.* From the periphrases containing the terms ἱερός (*hieros*) and ἴς (cf. Latin *vis*) he argues that supernatural ‘force’ is a necessary quality of the Mycenaean king and later traditional heroes. He then posits that the formulae involving the words *ἱερὸν ἴς and γῶϊᾱ (later Greek βίᾱ) plus genitives or adjectival forms of proper names are survivals of Mycenaean noble titles or forms of address (cf. such English expressions as ‘your majesty’, ‘your honour’, or ‘your highness’). Ruijgh also proposes, on the basis of Homeric parallels (for instance, Priam and Hector, Oeneus and Meleager, Laertes and Odysseus), that the *lāwāgetās* was the prince ‘heir apparent’ entrusted with directing military matters when the *wanaks*, who generally had such authority and responsibilities, was incapable of so doing because of age or absence. Ruijgh explains the absence of the term *lāwāgetās* in the Homeric tradition purely on metrical grounds. Its metrical shape (— — —) was unsuited to hexameter.

Ruijgh also mines Homeric personal names (Ruijgh 1999: 529–30) in an interesting way. Noting the occurrence of Ἀστν-άναξ and Ἰφι-άνασσα as names respectively of a prince and princess of royal blood, Ruijgh argues that the terms *wanaks* and *wanassa* are reserved for use within royal and divine families. He then

proposes that the prehellenic culture from which *wanaks* was borrowed would have employed particular kinds of endocentric determinative compound name-formations. It follows then that the influence of this practice might be seen in Mycenaean *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka*, which Ruijgh interprets as a proper name *Πρεσγυ- Φανάξ* (with the meaning ‘roi de rang prééminent’). It should be noted, however, that one other fairly reasonable interpretation of *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* has been proposed (Aura Jorro, *DMic II*: s.v.).

There is obviously much that is tantalising in such speculations, and I myself am more inclined to favour certain forms of *argumenta ex Homero* than is currently fashionable. Nonetheless, it seems to be settling for too little to posit that the ‘meaning’ of *wanaks* is ‘sovereign master’, because: (1) *wa-na-ka* is used in Linear B and *wanaks* is used in Homer to designate a single elevated king at a rank above or considerably above the more numerous individuals known each as a *basileus* and (2) in Homer the term is used as an epithet of Zeus and other deities. This is to confuse ‘function’ with ‘essential meaning’, that is, it posits that the word *wanaks* means ‘sovereign master’ because the *wanaks* in Linear B and Homer seems to be a ‘sovereign master’. But I think Ruijgh’s scholarly instincts are correct. I have long thought that Ἄστυ-άναξ and Ἰφι-άνασσα are key terms for establishing what the meaning of **wanak-* might be.

Hajnal 1998: 60–9 has proposed an interesting new Indo-European etymology for *wanaks*. It is a proposal of considerable merit. Hajnal starts by positing that *lāwāgetās* and *wanaks* are a ‘Begriffspaar’ (a conceptual pair). This has much to recommend it considering how the two figures are linked in important texts like Pylos Er 312.

Hajnal therefore looks for parallel structure in their forms. He sees the terms as once having been strictly parallel formations, after which the term *lāwāgetās* was modernised with an *-etās* ending. We should note that such words as *ku-na-ke-ta-i*, *o-wi-de-ta-i*, *ko-to-ne-ta*, *su-qo-ta*, *qo-u-qo-ta*, *ai-ki-pa-ta*, *po-ku-ta*, *mi-ka-ta*, *e-re-ta*, *e-qe-ta* and *do-po-ta* show how productive this suffix was in certain spheres of Mycenaean economic and social terminology. The last two items (*e-qe-ta* = ‘follower’) and (*do-po-ta* = ‘house-master’) function in the sphere of elite social ranking and ritual. Thus analogical innovative pressure is here *a priori* reasonable. Here is Hajnal’s reconstruction:

lāwāgetās ultimately from **/lah₂uo- h₂g-/*

wanaks ultimately **/un-h₂ág-/* with the first element traced to IE **uen(H)-* meaning ‘gewinnen, Gewinn’

these lead to

**/lah₂uo- h₂g-t/* ‘Person, die waffenfähige Bevölkerung leitet’

**/un-h₂ág-t/* ‘Person, die Gewinn mit sich führt, erzielt’.

The implications of Hajnal’s proposal are, in my opinion, worth exploring.

The idea of the *wanaks* as ‘he who brings gain/profit’ is historically attractive, given how Wright 1995 explains the transformation from mainland chieftains to Mycenaean kings in terms of acquisition and controlled distribution and manipulation of prestige commodities, artefacts and symbols.⁴ We can even imagine that the more prestigious term (*wanaks*) was treated conservatively when the less prestigious term (*lāwāgetās*) was modernised by use of the popular agent-noun suffix *-etās*.

What then are the implications of Hajnal’s proposal? If a term like **lāwaks* was used originally for the office of ‘leader of the armed Volk’, then the absence of this term from the epic tradition has to be explained. **lāwaks* has a different metrical shape than *wanaks* (– – vs. – –), but it would not present the compositional problems caused by *lāwāgetās* (– – – –). Unless, then, the poems as we have them left out references to this political office as a kind of thematic fluke, the metrical unsuitability of the new formation *lāwāgetās* would have to provide, if we follow the implications of Hajnal’s argument, a *terminus post quem* for the generation of the story cycles contained in epic. That is, they would have to originate after the innovation **lāwaks* > *lāwāgetās*.

There is also a strong tradition in Homer, *Od.* 19.109 ff. and Hesiod, *Theog.* 225–47 (and even in Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*) for the ideological notion of the *wanaks* (and later *basileus*) as intercessor with the divine sphere and guarantor of the general prosperity of his community. Given the potential length of the traditions that could convey such notions (Ruijgh 1995), it seems reasonable to trace them back to the formative stages of Greek culture where we find already in our written records the essential terminology with which such notions are expressed. Within this ideological framework, Hajnal’s etymology makes appropriate sense of compound names such as Ἀστν-ἀνάξ (that is, ‘he who secures profit for the town’) and Ἰφν-ἀνάσσα (‘she who secures profit by force’).

On the negative side, it is one thing to imagine the innovation through *-etās* obtaining from the analysed form before the change of original /g/ to /k/. It is harder to imagine once the nominative and all other stem-forms had become //lāwāk-/. Besides arguing that the more prestigious term was treated conservatively while the less prestigious term was modernised, one could also make an argument from the transparency of meaning of the component elements. Thus one could argue that **lāwaks* > *lāwāgetās* occurred because of the transparent meaning of the component elements within early Greek (*lāwos* and *ag-*), but that *wanaks* > *wanāgetās* did not take place because the first element was not used in any easily recognised free-standing noun-form. I hope you see then that I found much that is attractive in this proposal and have even thought of additional reasons for liking it, even if, ultimately, I prefer not to accept it.

4 See also Palaima 1999 on the distinction between Mycenaean goblets and Minoan chalices in the important ritual text PY Tn 316, and Palaima 2003b on Minoan heirloom tripods used in major palatial commensal ceremonies.

Chantraine 1968, vol. 1, s.v. ἄναξ argues, from the use of the epithet ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν nearly uniquely for Agamemnon (and in conjunction with the common metaphorical notion of the ‘king’ as ποιμένι λαῶν), that the underlying meaning of what he considers a loan word is ‘protecteur’. But this is to let a single metaphorical usage in the Homeric texts dictate opaque etymology.

In etymological (and Mycenaean and Homeric) terms I would start with the analogy to contemporary Hittite society. The etymological connection of the Hittite terms *hassu-* ‘king’ (and *hassussara* ‘queen’) and *hassa-* ‘progeny, issue, offspring, descendant’ is not completely certain.⁵ However, if the etymological connection of the terms is not a mirage, then we might build a case that the underlying meaning of the term *wanaks* is connected with ‘birth’ and ‘generation’. This would be consistent with the importance of blood-line connection (1) discussed by Palmer for Germanic kings (Palmer 1955: 18–53, esp. 32–7);⁶ (2) seen in the importance of Mycenaean (and later archaic) burial and ancestor cult (as discussed by Wright 1995: 70 and Kilian 1986: 284), and (3) embedded in such Homeric and Hesiodic notions as ‘Zeus-born’ and ‘Zeus-nourished’ kings.

We would then derive the original meaning (and ideological basis) of the term *wanaks* not from the specific roles and functions the *wanaks* is seen performing in the Linear B tablets and the Homeric poems, but from a fundamental and primal Indo-European notion that is at the very basis of his power and authority: linkage through blood-ties to ancestral and divine power and guarantor through his own fertility of the purity and health of his people. Not only does the Hittite term for the royal line stress the importance of kinship and genealogical linkage with the divine sphere,⁷ but the Hittite king took his functions as the highest human

5 Puhvel 1991: s.v. explains *hassu* as ‘Born One’ or ‘Begotten One’ with an extended meaning of ‘best-born’. Puhvel and Tischler 1978: s.v., compare the derivation of Germanic words for ‘king’ (**kuningaz*, *chuning*, *König*, *king*) from the Indo-European root that also means ‘beget’ or ‘be born’, from which also comes Latin *gigno*. Nagy 1974: 71–100, has even proposed a further connection of both *hassu-* and *hassa-* with *hassa-* ‘fire altar, hearth’. For an up-to-date assessment of Hittite royal ideology and functions, see Kimball 2002. For the importance of ancestor cult specifically as a basis for Mycenaean kingship, cf. Kilian 1986: 284, and especially Wright 1995: 70.

6 Palmer relies on Tacitus’ description of Germanic kingship (*Germania* 7): *reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt* and argues that the king in Indo-European societies ‘governed not by his personal qualities (*virtute*) but by his degree of “nobility”, that is “affinity” to earlier kings, who for their part in the last resort traced their descent to some distinguished popular hero or claimed a divine ancestor.’ Thus Palmer rejected ‘martial prowess’ as the main determinative of Mycenaean kingship.

7 This certainly plays a role in the divine genealogies of ‘Zeus-born’ and ‘Zeus-nourished’ kings in Greek tradition: cf. Homer, *Od.* 6.7 ff. for the lineage of the kings of Scheria stemming from Nausithous. The link to royal ancestors and to the divine (often one and the same) is usually not a later artificial development, but something that serves as a vital ideological basis for kingship from the outset, even in societies wherein direct succession through blood lines is unstable. For Hittite, cf. Gurney 1958: 121: ‘The belief that the reigning Hittite king impersonated the spirit of the royal ancestor Labarnas appears to date from the earliest times. Since the name of this ancestor is Hattic, it is unlikely that this belief originated with the Indo-European element in the Hittite nation.’

authority connected with the sacred realm extremely seriously, to the point where the need to perform rituals for the gods could and did outweigh other considerations, that is, his role as military commander.⁸

Further important clues are provided here by Watkins' discussion (Watkins 1986) of Laroche's theories about the name of Priam (*Priamos*) and Paris in the *Iliad*.⁹ These are identified as Luwian *Pariya-muwas* and *Pari-LÚ*. The first element seems to come from IE **perh₃* 'birth, produce' and the second element from IE **meuh₁/h₃* 'abundant, reproductively powerful'. Thus Priam, who in the *Iliad* is the archetype of the king in control of his community, and Paris, who as one of Priam's chief sons causes problems connected fundamentally with his procreative proclivities, have names that emphasise 'birth' and 'generation'.

If we then turn to the names that concern Ruijgh (Ἰφι-άνασσα and Ἀστυ-άναξ), we can say first that the very survival of the community of Troy is powerfully bound up with two lives: *Hek-tōr*, who literally is the agent for holding and preserving the community, and Ἀστυ-άναξ, whose death will mean the extirpation of the royal blood line of Troy and who conversely, under better circumstances, would have been the active agent for its perpetuation. More importantly still, it would seem that the Homeric tradition is actively manipulating these *redende Namen* in sophisticated ways and with a clear understanding of their inherent meanings.

If we look then at Ἰφι-άνασσα in *Il.* 9.145, we see that she is one of the three daughters Agamenon offers to Achilles: Chrysothemis, Laodike and Iphianassa.

εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιικόν, οὔθαρ ἀρούρης,
 γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι· τίσω δέ ἐ' ἴσον Ὀρέστη,
 ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ.
 τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσι θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐυπῆκτῳ,
 145 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,

(footnote 7 continued)

And the notion is not only Indo-European. For New World Mayan, cf. Schele and Freidel 1990: 97–99, 115–17. For Egyptian, cf. Frankfort 1948: 36–7, 89–104, and Fairman 1958: 76–8 and 97–9, with a concise description on p. 99: 'The evidence that has been discussed suggests that the kingship of the reigning king resided in his predecessor. In other words, his kingly office is derived from and inherent in his ancestors, and it was in the establishment and preservation of the direct link with the ancestors that his claim to rule resided. One method of emphasizing that link was undoubtedly the performance of the funerary ritual for his predecessor, and indeed for all the company of ancestors'.

8 For a thumbnail description of the religious duties and other functions of the Hittite king, see Macqueen 1986: 75–7, 115–16. For a fuller account, cf. Gurney 1958: 105–21. For a specific example of the king's relationship to the divine, as chief priest of the state ritual and sacrifice, as personal servant of the gods, and as direct beneficiary of the patronage and protection of particular divinities, for instance, the sun-goddess Arinna and the storm-god, cf. Pritchard 1950: 397–9. In the 27th year of the *Annals of Mursilis II*, the king returns from a campaign in order to celebrate the Puruli-festival.

9 Watkins 1986: 45–62, esp. 56–7. I thank Amy Dill and Mark Southern for this reference and for discussing this line of reasoning with me.

τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσι φίλῃν ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐῖ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί.

But later tradition varies. Euripides' *Orestes* gives the three daughters of Agamemnon as Chrysothemis, Elektra and Iphigeneia:

Ηλ. γαμεῖ δ' ὅ μὲν δὴ τὴν θεοῖς στυγουμένην
20 Μενέλαος Ἑλένην, ὃ δὲ Κλυταίμηστρας λέχος
ἐπίσημον εἰς Ἑλλήνας Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ
ὃ παρθένοι μὲν τρεῖς ἔφυμεν ἐκ μιᾶς,
Χρυσόθεμις Ἰφιγένεια τ' Ἡλέκτρα τ' ἐγώ,
ἄρσιν δ' Ὀρέστης, μητρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτης,
25 ἥ πόσιν ἀπείρω περιβαλοῦς ὑφάσματι
ἔκτεινεν ὦν δ' ἕκατι, παρθένῳ λέγειν
οὐ καλόν· ἐὼ τοῦτ' ἀσαφὲς ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν.

But Sophocles' *Electra* knows Electra, Chrysothemis and Iphianassa:

XO: οὗτοι σοὶ μούνα, τέκνον, ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,
πρὸς ὃ τι σὺ τῶν ἔνδον εἶ περισσά, 155
οἷς ὁμόθεν εἶ καὶ γονᾶ ξύναιμος,
οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,
κρυπτᾶ τ' ἀχέων ἐν ἡβᾷ,
ὄλβιος, ὃν ἄ κλεινὰ 160
γὰ ποτὲ Μυκηναίων
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Διὸς εὐφροني
βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γὰν Ὀρέσταν.

The questions then become how many daughters did Agamemnon have and how did tradition manipulate and refer to them? Pape 1959: s.v. and many commentators on the *Iliad* maintain that *Iphianassa* = *Iphigeneia*, i.e., for a variety of reasons the names were interchanged one for another, again in ways that would seem to indicate conscious understanding of their synonymity.

Pape: IPHIANASSA

1. = Iphigeneia, *Iliad* 9.145, daughter of Agamemnon
2. Sophocles, *Elektra* 157 von ihr verschieden.

IPHIGENEIA

1. Daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnaestra, sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis, dann Priesterin derselben in Tauris Herodotus 4.103, Aeschylus *Ag.* 1534, Pindar *P.* 11.26

How are these names treated by Homerists? A sample of recent commentaries and the *Iliad* scholia gives us a clear view.

Among *Iliad* commentaries, Willcock 1976: 9.145 is a good starting point, because he lays out the different lines of interpretation. I have introduced in square brackets the names that Willcock here translates.

The names of the three daughters strike us as surprising in view of the stories of the children of Agamemnon as we meet them in the Attic tragedians. Elektra is not mentioned here; and if 'Iphianassa' is a variation of 'Iphigeneia', then Homer appears to be ignorant of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia before the Greeks sailed for Troy. The *Odyssey* knows of the vengeance of Orestes (named here in 142) for his father, but it, too, is silent about both Elektra and Iphigeneia. Later poets tried to introduce consistency by assuming Laodike to be another name for Elektra and treating Iphigeneia and Iphianassa as separate daughters. The whole is a good lesson for us that the 'facts' of mythology were not fixed.

It has been pointed out that the names of the three daughters in this line reflect aspects of the majesty of the great king (they might be translated 'Divine Right' [Chrysothemis], 'Justice over the People' [Laodice] and 'Dominion' [Iphianassa]), which is not true of the names of Elektra or Iphigeneia. It would be dangerous, however, to draw conclusions about relative antiquity from this observation.

Willcock here goes no further than to interpret the *-anassa* element of Iphianassa generically as 'queen' and to then roll up the *iphi-* element into an abstract 'Dominion'. Likewise Chrysothemis is abstracted and its first element is rolled up into the abstract 'Divine Right', which makes great assumptions about what *themis* signifies in the name Chrysothemis, especially in this context.

Monro 1884: 9.145 simply explains that 'Elektra and Iphigeneia are names unknown to Homer'. He goes on to call attention to 'the echo of this line in Soph. *El.* 157 οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα'. Paley 1866: 9.145 observes:

Laodice and Iphianassa seem to have been called Elektra and Iphigeneia in the Cyclic poets. It has been inferred from hence that the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is a post-Homeric myth. This may be doubted. Other contemporary ballads may have contained it, and yet some may have ignored it.

His underlying assumption is that Iphianassa and Iphigeneia are the same figure. Therefore, he feels the need to explain how one and the same daughter can be present at Troy and offered to Achilles in a compensation package after having been sacrificed at the outset of the Trojan expedition. He doubts the view that the second story is an invention of post-*Iliad* tradition.

Leaf 1900: 9.145 agrees with Paley, but adds a complication, namely that the later epic tradition itself seems to have been confused about the identities of the daughters. Leaf argues:

Iphianassa seems here to be identical with Iphigeneia, whose death at Aulis is ignored by Homer. But according to the *Kypria* Agamemnon had four daughters, Iphigeneia and Iphianassa being distinct. This legend is followed by Sophocles, *El.* 157 (see Jebb 1880). Laodike was identified with Elektra by Stesichoros and his predecessor Xanthos (Jebb 1880: xix).

Leaf then agrees with the Greek scholia to the *Iliad* (Erbse 1969) that the later tradition invented the name Iphigeneia and the story of her sacrifice (or intended sacrifice) at Aulis. The scholia also help us to understand Willcock's translations of these names, since they treat the three names as abstract qualities of kingship.

145a. (Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα:) ὅτι οὐκ οἶδε τήν παρά τοῖς νεωτέροις σφάγην Ἰφιγενείας. A^{im}

b. Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα: οἰκεία θυγατράσι βασιλέως τὰ ὀνόματα: τρία γὰρ συνέχει τὴν ἀρχήν, νόμος ὀρθός, ἔπειτα κρίσις καὶ ἰσχὺς. A b(BCE³E⁴) T

Turning to other sources, Hesychius specifically asserts that Iphianassa is original, while the later poets substituted Iphigeneia:

Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon (Latte 1953: s.v.):

Ἰφιάνασσαν οἱ νεώτεροι ταύτην Ἰφιγένειαν λέγουσιν (I 145)

Finally Eustathius discusses what many, beginning with the ancient scholiasts, have noticed, that this triad of daughters symbolises three aspects of 'good rule': *themis*, *dikē*, and *iphi-anassa*. To Eustathius and others the last term simply means 'ruling in strength', but it would be even more appropriate in the way we understand it now: 'powerful in generative force' *vel sim*.

Ἔτι ἰστέον καὶ ὅτι τρία συνέχει τὴν ἀρχήν· νόμος ὀρθός, κρίσις ἢ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἰσχὺς ἄρχοντι πρέπουσα. Ὅθεν καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων προσφυῶς Χρυσόθεμιν καὶ Λαοδίκην καὶ Ἰφιάνασσαν ἱστορεῖ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν Χρυσόθεμις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ νόμου καὶ καθαροῦ παρώνυμος διὰ τὴν θέμιν, ἡ δὲ Λαοδίκη τῆς κρίσεως τοῦ δικαζομένου λαοῦ, ἡ δὲ Ἰφιάνασσα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἰσχύος, ἥτοι τοῦ ἱφι ἀνάσσειν. (Van der Valk 1971: 9.145)

Following, however, upon Hesychius and the *Iliad* commentators, and in keeping with what we have observed about the house of Troy, we have good reasons for maintaining that *Iphigeneia* is in fact a ‘gloss’-substitute for *Iphianassa*, i.e., a later name in which the underlying meaning of the *-anassa* component of the name is translated into Greek. The two are metrically equivalent, which would have been crucial if one wanted to ‘swap’ a completely transparent Greek name for a name whose second element was non-Greek and opaque in meaning. So I think that *-geneia* ‘translates’ *-wanassa*. Thus *Iphi-anassa* and *Astu-anaks* are meaningful names in connection with blood-line fertility, birth and progeny.

Lastly under the heading of etymology, one other key word in Linear B pertaining to *wanaks* has been subject to new interpretation. This is *e-ke-ra₂-wo*. The issues are well known to Mycenologists and are most recently discussed in my article in the Killen Festschrift on the tablets and dialect/idiolect features of Pylos scribal Hand 24 (Palaima 2002). In tablets Pylos Er 312 and Un 718, written by the same scribe, landholdings (Er 312) and contributions (*do-so-mo*) to a commensal ceremony (Un 718) by the four principal components of the overall society are listed (see now also Palaima 2004). In PY Er 312 these are: *wanaks* (in adjectival form *wa-na-ka-te-ro*), *lāwāgetās* (in adjectival form *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*), three title-holders who are landholders (*te-re-ta* = *telestai*, itself an important socio-political term with *-tās* suffix) and *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo* (the least prominent of the four components again noted in adjectival form).

The importance of the first two figures is made clear by: (1) their being listed first in a separate section, (2) their possession each of a *temenos* – the only individuals in the entire Linear B corpus accorded this distinction, and (3) by the binary-contrastive suffixation of the adjectival form *wa-na-ka-te-ro* which marks out the *wa-na-ka* in contradistinction to all other members of Pylian society. We should note proleptically in passing that it is most likely that the *wa-na-ka* who here possesses a *temenos* is a mortal and not a deity.

PY Un 718 lists as offerings to a commensal ceremony in honour of Poseidon in the district of *sa-ra-pe-da* contributions from four sources: an individual named *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, the *da-mo* (*dāmos*), the *lāwāgetās*, and the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*. The parallelism is clear. The tablets are written by the same hand. The ordering of entries and even groupings into sections on the tablets is meaningful with regard to ranking. The size of landholdings on PY Er 312 corresponds roughly proportionally to the quantity and value of contributions on PY Un 718. And those contributions seem to be ‘prospective’, that is, expected contributions calculated on the basis of, or at least proportional with, the landholdings listed in PY Er 312 (or their equivalent).

The variation between the collective *da-mo* (in Un 718) and the individual *telestai* (in Er 312) is explicable from what we know of Mycenaean landholding terminology. Likewise the variation between *ka-ma* (Er 312) and *e-re-mo*, literally ‘deserted’, i.e., ‘unsettled’, land (Un 718), as the designation for the type of land

and/or land organisation for the collective group indicated by the adjectival form *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* is also explicable. Moreover, Un 718 was discovered isolated within the Archives Complex in association with the famous Ta tablet set. It has associations with the *wanaks* and with commensal ceremonial equipment, furniture and ritual paraphernalia (Palaima 2004 with references). There are therefore many powerful reasons to reject Carlier's continuing skepticism (Carlier 1998: 413) about the identification of the person *e-ke-ra₂-wo* as the *wa-na-ka*.¹⁰

The standard (although not without interpretive problems¹¹) explanation of the name *e-ke-ra₂-wo* is *Εχελᾶων. Problems pertain to the use of the phonogram *ra₂* and the alternative spellings] *e-ke-ri-ja-wo* (PY Qa 1292) and *e-ke-ra-
<wo->ne* (PY Un 219) to represent what may be the same person. These were partially addressed by Leukart 1992 taking the line of approach that the sign *ra₂* that originally represented a post-palatalized liquid came to be used for the double consonantal outcome of such a cluster in Greek (Leukart 1992: 293, and compare Linear B sign *pte* which clearly developed from original **pje*).

However, a new alternative has been proposed by Melena 2001: 73: *e-ke-ra₂-wo* = /*Enkhellawōn*/ < /*Enkhes-lawōn*/. The logic is as follows: *ra₂* can represent /*rral*/ or /*llal*/. These clusters may result from *r/l+y* (etymological) or /*rsal*/, /*lsal*/, /*lsal*/, /*lsal*/ (analogical notation for geminates). There are attested compound formations like Homeric /*lenkhespalos*/ 'spear-brandishing' (*Il.* 2.131) and Pindaric /*lenkhesphoros*/ 'spear-carrying' (*Nem.* 3.107) that guarantee a first member /*lenkhes-l*/ for *e-ke-ra₂-wo*. The second element here is identified as /*-law*-/ found in compounded form in Greek ἀπολαύω, Chantraine 1968: s.v. 'profiter de, jouir de'. The meaning would be 'he who takes profit from (or delights in) his spear'. The alternative spelling in]*e-ke-ri-ja-wo* would be explained as a 'traditional' representation of *ra₂* in its original value of *rja*, while *e-ke-ra-
<wo->ne* is perfectly acceptable *ra* = /*lla*/.

This reading of the the 'king's name' is simple and efficient. It links his name with martial interests, which are already established in references to the *wanaks* per se in tablets from the Room of the Chariot tablets at Knossos (KN Vc 73 and Vd 136 and Pylos sealing PY Wr 1480), and in the tablet entries connecting *e-ke-ra₂-wo* with the provision/absence of sizable numbers of rowers (PY An 724.5-6 and An 610.13).

10 See, however, the proper caution of *Documents*²: 454. This identification, *pace* Carlier, does not rest merely or finally on the assumption that no individual besides the *wanaks* would command resources enough for the scale of contribution expected of *e-ke-ra₂-wo* on PY Un 718. Rather it is dictated by all the factors listed above and more. For example, the expected offering by *e-ke-ra₂-wo* of a single bull is in keeping with Pylian palatial iconographical representations of a 'royal' offering ceremony where a supra-scale power-figure contributes a single bull. The name *e-ke-ra₂-wo* is appropriate for the *wanaks*. Further arguments relating to this identification and to the implications of the contents of these tablets will be advanced by Dimitri Nakassis and Stephie Nikoloudis in their Ph.D. dissertations with which Jim Wright and Pierre Carlier respectively are involved.

11 Aura Jorro, *DMic I*, s.v. *e-ke-ra₂-wo*: 'Sin interp. gr. satisfactoria'.

THE *WANAKS* AND RELIGION AND RITUAL

The direct or indirect associations of the *wanaks* (and at Pylos of the individual *e-ke-ra₂-wo* whom we identify as the *wanaks* at the time the Linear B tablets from the destruction phase were written) with rituals in the religious sphere are seen in:

1. tablets of the PY Un series (contributions to commensal ceremonies: Un 2, Un 219, Un 718, Un 853 and Un 1426),
2. the PY Ta series (vessels, fire implements, furniture, and sacrificial implements associated with a commensal sacrificial ceremony on the occasion when the *wanaks* appointed an individual named *Augewās* to the office of *da-mo-ko-ro*, either some kind of land overseer or, less likely, a royal commercial agent of the king (Aura Jorro *Dmic I: s. da-mo-ko-ro*); and
3. Knossos tablet KN F 51 (probably from the Room of the Chariot Tablets and recording quantities of grain in reference to *di-we*, *wa*, *po-ro-de-qo-no* and *ma-ḱa*).¹²

References to the *wa-na-ka* in the context of oil (PY Fr 1220.2, 1227, 1235.1) and spice (KN Ga 675) have been taken in many ways: (1) as reflections of the semi-divine aspect of the Mycenaean *wanaks*, (2) as the use of the term *wanaks* as a reference to an actual deity, that is, Poseidon, and (3) my preference, as reflections of the prominence and ritual involvement of the *wanaks* without any implications as to his status as a semi-deity. Carlier 1998: 414 reasons that these texts demonstrate that the *wa-na-ka* was himself the object of cult, which is not historically or culturally unreasonable, but is surely not necessary. We should note that PY Un 2 records the fact of the initiation of a human *wanaks* as occasion for collection of foodstuffs for a commensal ceremony.

Ruijgh 1999, as we have mentioned, sees the references to the *wa-na-ka* in the Pylos Fr tablets and on Knossos tablet F 51 as demonstrating either the divinity of the *wanaks* or the applicability of the term *wanaks* to divinities themselves. Poseidon is a recipient in Pylos Fr-series tablets and does not occur in the same tablets with the *wanaks*. Ruijgh 1999: 524 points out that *wanaks* is used as an epithet of Poseidon in the *Iliad*, where it also appears commonly with Zeus. He then concludes that we are here in Linear B dealing with ritual offerings of oil that are made by invoking the deity either as Poseidon or as *wanaks*. His arguments hinge on two assumptions: (1) that all recipients in those Pylos Fr series tablets that are not clearly secular and practical monitorings of oil allocations (for instance, PY Fr 1184) are deities; and (2) accordingly that the terms *wa-na-so-i* and *a-pi-qo-ro-i* refer to deities.

It needs to be said that to rule out *a-pi-qo-ro-i* (Ruigh 1999: 532) ‘to the attendants’ as a clear reference to the distribution of an allocated commodity to per-

12 See Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001. For the interpretation of Knossos tablet F 51, see Palaima 2003c and below.

sonnel associated with deities or their sanctuaries and instead to view the term as a reference to minor deities is nothing other than asserting what one needs to prove. In fact many ‘offering’ and ‘allocation’ series in the Linear B corpus¹³ mix human functionaries and officials with deities. The tablet writers in all instances are clearly focused on the allocations of particular commodities to cult locales or into the cultic sphere, so designations such as ‘to Zeus’ or ‘to Poseidon’ can be taken to stand for ‘to their sanctuaries or officials’.¹⁴ This explains the easy movement in the tablets between theonyms and functionary titles.

Moreover, Ruijgh 1999: 532 rejects the interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* as ‘aux desservants du *wanaks*’ on linguistic grounds that to me do not make sense: namely that the development through rapid pronunciation of terms like *su-za* and *ka-za* from σῦκιά and χαλκιά is unreasonable as an analogy for deriving *wa-na-so-i* from φανάκ(τ)-ίος. He asserts that such changes only affect words of frequent use within a language such as ποιῆσαι > ποῆσαι. But the very words that Ruijgh isolates in the Linear B texts (*su-za*, *ka-za*, *i-za*, *a₃-za*) all satisfy this very condition if we view usage according to how we would expect scribes to represent or simplify words that *they* came across frequently in the course of their economic administrative activities. Fig tree (*su-za*), bronze object (*ka-za*), chariot (*i-za*) and goat skin (*a₃-za*) certainly would be frequent items of discussion and graphemic representation by tablet-writers. Thus I see no impediments to interpreting *wa-na-ka*, *a-pi-go-ro*, and **wa-na-so* in the Fr series as mortal *wanaks*, servants, and servants of the *wanaks*.¹⁵

Ruijgh’s interpretation of KN F 51 (cf. also Carlier 1998: 412) and even *wa-na-so-i* is haunted by the spectre of *ma-ka* and Demeter as raised in the newly published interpretations of the Linear B tablets from Thebes.¹⁶ Ruijgh in interpreting Pylos tablet Tn 316 and Knossos tablet F 51 has used particular restorations and readings to identify deities who are essentially for him Demeter (or Mother Earth) and Persephone (or Kore). This involves:

1. assuming a scribal error in the reading *ma-na-sa* on PY Tn 316 r.4 and changing it to otherwise unattested *ma-<wa->na-sa*;
2. interpreting the problematical sequence *qo-wi-ja, ṇa-[]* on Tn 316 v.3 as ‘to Demeter and her daughter’; and
3. reading *ma-qe* on Knossos F 51 as *ma-ka* and interpreting it and *wa* as references to deities.

13 For example, the Pylos Fn series, the Knossos Fp series, the Thebes Uf series and even, according to Ruijgh’s I believe mistaken interpretation, Knossos tablet F 51.

14 See also now Bendall 2002 for the ambiguity in determining why particular commodities are allocated to sanctuaries or even targeted deities.

15 Note that Carlier 1998: 414 takes *wa-na-so-i* as ‘desservants du *wa-na-ka*’.

16 For a thorough critique of the problems with interpreting *ma-ka* in the TH Fq series as ‘Mother Earth’ = Demeter, see Palaima 2000–2001, 2003a, 2003c, and forthcoming.

It is remarkable to me how forced these attempts to find Demeter and Persephone in the Linear B tablets have become. There is no way of proving that the scribe of PY Tn 316 made an unforced error in writing a theonym on line .4 of the *recto*. It is then simply asserted, without any proof from later historical cult practice, that *qo-wi-ja* ‘the bovine one’ or, as Ruijgh 1999: 533 n. 92, puts it ‘la déesse des boeufs de labour’ here stands for Demeter. My checking in standard compilations of cult epithets and ritual has not found any strong, clear or natural association of Demeter with cows or plow oxen, and we would have to accept that Demeter would be referred to in two separate ways on this tablet. Finally, the reading of *nq-[]* as *na-qe* is simply not consistent with the *apparatus criticus* for this vexed section of text.

I have argued elsewhere at greater length than is appropriate here that *ma-ka* both in the new Thebes Fq tablets and in Knossos F 51 (which deal with barley) is simply a *nomen actionis* *μαγά* ‘kneading’. The existence of this form is implied, according to Chantraine, s.v. *μάσσω*, by the later Greek *μαγεύς*, and Mycenaean uses many such ‘action noun’ forms. In a forthcoming paper, M. Meier-Bruegger has argued, as I have done, against interpreting *de-qo-no* and *po-ro-de-qo-no* as functionary titles. Rather they are clearly terms parallel to *ma-ka* and mean ‘meal’ and ‘preliminary (to the) meal’. This very brief excursus underscores why it is unnecessary to take *wa* in Knossos F 51 as anything more than an allocation to the human *wanaks* pure and simple. The ‘parallelism’ with *di-we* here does not dictate that the *wa* abbreviation be taken to refer to a divine *wanaks* or a deity referred to as *wanaks*.

Finally, Ruijgh’s firm belief that *wa-na-so-i* must refer to ‘the two queens’, that is, Demeter and Kore, also has consequences for his interpretation of the phrases *qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja* (Pylos Ta 711.2.3) and *qe-ra-na a-mo-te-wi-ja* (Ta 711.2). According to Ruijgh the adjective *wa-na-se-wi-ja* is to be ultimately linked to *ἑορτασθήτω* ‘la fête des initiés aux mystères des deux déesses’. But this is clearly unacceptable, as it ignores the parallelism in designation of the ritual vases in the Ta series. As Ruijgh himself admits *wa-na-se-wi-ja* is most easily explained as coming from **wanasseus*, the likeliest meaning for which is the official who attends to the *wanassa*, i.e., the queen, and her affairs.¹⁷ The parallelism with *a-mo-te-wi-ja* which derives from **a-mo-te-u* (attested in genitive *a-mo-te-wo*) is conspicuous.

Thus I think that it is reasonable to read *wa-na-ka* and *wa-na-sa* and related forms everywhere as references to mortal ‘kings’ and ‘queens’ and to reject alternative interpretations based on hyper-speculative readings and restorations and strained attempts to find Demeter in the Linear B tablets.

17 It is unnecessary to follow Carlier 1998: 414 in associating *wa-na-se-wi-jo* oil with ‘the servants of the *wanassa*’. It is rather designated as oil for the *wanasseus*.

THE WANAKS AND ECONOMY

The spheres of economic activity in which the adjective *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (or its abbreviation *wa*) occur clearly point to the limited involvement of the *wanaks* in oil and cloth production and the ‘setting aside’ or holding of land for or by the *wanaks*. This land, in turn, can be used for fruit, linen, oil or grain production. In the stirrup jars (Eleusis Z 1, Thebes Z 839, Tiryns Z 29) the jars with ‘royal’ oil stand in contrast to jars with ‘collector’-slotted personal names.¹⁸ Thus it is reasonable to assume that royal lands such as those designated in Pylos Er 312 and Er 880 produced oil that was then shipped to appropriate markets. The *wanaks* also seems to hold land that produces linen, see Pylos Na 334 and 1356 (Ruijgh 1999: 522).

Likewise the crafts or specialist personnel associated with the *wanaks* (*ke-ra-me-u*, *ka-na-pe-u*, *e-te-do-mo* at Pylos, *a-ke-ti-ra*₂ at Thebes, and types of TELA and *po-pu-re-jō* [at Knossos) would point to individual specialist personnel attendant on the person of the *wanaks* and to the manufacture of cloth that could be used for the purposes (ritualistic or economic) of the *wanaks* (Palaima 1997). The very designation of these things as *wa-na-ka-te-rol-ra* implies that they are set apart from other parts of economic organisation. As Ruijgh 1999: 530 points out, *wa-na-ka-te-ra* textiles are contrasted with *e-qe-si-ja* (associated with the *e-qe-ta*) and *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* (associated with *ksenoi* and the practice of *ksenia*, that is, the formal social process of ‘guest-host’ interaction) textiles.

Conspicuous is the absence of any flocks of sheep designated as belonging to the *wanaks*, in contrast with those under the control of ‘collectors’ or designated as belonging to the deity *po-ti-ni-ja*. Likewise institutions or locations of production designated by *do-de* and *wo-ko-de* are also associated with ‘collectors’ and *po-ti-ni-ja*, but not the *wanaks*.

THE WANAKS AND THE MILITARY SPHERE

There is no need to belabour the presence of the *wanaks* in the military sphere. The evidence is minimal, but clear. Pylos sealing Wr 1480 makes reference to ‘royal handles of javelins’ (Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995: 123–32). Driessen 2000: 213 interprets tablets Knossos Vc 73 and Vd 136 as somehow being ‘duplicates’ of one another (the Vd text was rewritten as Vc), so that the *wanaks* here would be recorded as in possession of one complete outfitting of chariot, horses and armour.¹⁹ Ruijgh’s notion that the entry *wa-na-ka* was written in larger characters than other personal names in Vd 136 because the *wanaks* was the supreme chief of the entire army is, of course, a speculation that is undercut if Vd 136 is simply,

18 The collectors are high-status regional nobility (see Bennet 1992 and Olivier 2001) who play major roles in economic production. For their involvement in the perfumed-oil/stirrup jar trade, see Van Alfen 1996–1997.

19 Not two sets as proposed by Carlier 1998: 412.

as Driessen thinks, a preliminary version of Vc 73. Otherwise we have noted the presence of *e-ke-ra₂-wo* in rower texts at Pylos. But our military and potential military texts, pertaining both to personnel and equipment, feature prominently the *ra-wa-ke-ta* and the *e-qe-ta* and the collective groups known as the *ra-wa-ke-si-ja* and the *qa-si-re-wi-ja*. And, of course, the name *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, as interpreted by Melena, works well with Pylos sealing Wr 1480.

THE WANAKS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATION

PY Er 312 and PY Un 718 clearly establish the prominence of the *wanaks* within the socio-political hierarchy. He is also the only official in the entire Linear B corpus specifically recorded as having ‘appointment-authority’ (PY Ta 711). If *da-mo-ko-ro* is correctly understood to be a major figure in the administration of one of the two provinces of the palatial kingdom of Pylos,²⁰ then the fact that he is appointed by the *wanaks* further heightens the socio-political prominence of the *wanaks*.

WANAKS AND BASILEUS

It has long been clear (at least since Morpurgo-Davies 1979) that the *qa-si-re-u* is a ‘local chieftain’ who is drawn into relations with the central palatial authority in specific circumstances (such as the bronze allotment texts of the Pylos Jn series). Otherwise the *qa-si-re-u* is conspicuously absent from palatio-centric records (especially those like PY Er 312 and Un 718 and the Pylos E- documents) and is not in the ‘chain of administrative command’ that the central palatial authorities set up to monitor and control economic and manpower activities in the palatial territory of Messenia. For these things the *da-mo-ko-ro*, *ko-re-te-re*, *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, *e-qe-ta*, *te-re-ta* and *ko-to-no-o-ko* interface with the central palace and occur in palatial records, as do religious officials like the *i-je-re-ja*, *du-ma-te*, *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* and so on.

The most compelling point of Morpurgo-Davies’ argument was that titles connected with power and work that were intrinsically associated with, not to say invented by, the palatial centres and their interests disappeared from the later Greek lexicon. What survived in the sphere of power were the titles of individuals whose authority was not derived from the rather artificially overlaid palatial system. Thus with the destruction of the palaces, such words as *du-ma*, *ko-re-te*, *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and *da-mo-ko-ro* disappear. The term *wanaks* also disappears except in fossilised Homeric and cultic contexts and in a semantically transformed dialect usage.

That the *qa-si-re-u*, operating at, and deriving his authority from, the local or ‘village’ level, is called upon selectively for labour and other forms of economic

20 See the still sensible and clear discussion in Lindgren 1973: vol. 2, 32–3 and further references in Aura Jorro, *DMic I*, s. v. *da-mo-ko-ro*.

mobilisation is clear from the way the collective organisations known as *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, *ra-wa-ke-si-ja*, *we-ke-i-ja* and *ke-ro-si-ja* function in the Linear B texts (see Carlier 1995 and Deger-Jalkotzy 2002).

With the destruction of the Mycenaean palatial system, local community chieftains, each a *basileus*, would have continued to exercise their authority, but no longer alongside, or occasionally slotted into, the palatial system of regional hierarchical authority. The essential features of *wanaks* ideology (concerns with 'birth' and 'lineage' and 'fertility'), as we have here explained them, were then transferred to the *basileis*, who on the local level might have legitimised their authority, even in the Mycenaean period, with a similar ideology. But the essential meaning of the term *basileus* remains opaque.

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MYCENAEAN PALATIAL ADMINISTRATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally agreed that Mycenaean Greece consisted of a number of independent states, differing in size but quite similar in administrative structure. ‘Palatial administration’ is a vague phrase, which can encompass many kinds of social, political and economic characteristics. My focus here is administration in the strict sense of bureaucracy: the ways in which those in power organised the workings of a Mycenaean state, particularly its economic and industrial activities. Other participants in this conference report on the palace centres which were the home bases of these administrators, and about the people themselves, including the *wanax* who stood at their head. Here I consider more directly just how the state functioned bureaucratically.

That the administrative role of the palaces ‘was not merely significant, but central and dominant’ (Killen: forthcoming) is the first thing to say, and needs no special pleading. The very concentration of bureaucratic written texts almost exclusively at the centres themselves points in this direction, as does the exclusive focus of these records on matters of concern to the central elite. Another indicator is the hierarchical order which the ruler was able to impose on the towns/districts under his command. The latter is most visible at Pylos, where the state was divided into two provinces, within which district centres had intermediate levels of authority and responsibility in various types of transactions (Bennet 1998). Knossos also directed a hierarchy of second- and third-order settlements, though a provincial level is not explicitly named in the tablets (Bennet 1985, 1990). Certainly on Crete and probably also in Messenia (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001; Shelmerdine 2001), the second-order centres had a history of autonomous power preceding the imposition of Mycenaean palatial rule. Their subsequent demotion is a reflection of the superior strength of the central authority.

The records kept in each state centre cover a variety of inventories and transactions, with essentially three variables: *resources*, *processes* and *people*. *Resources* involves the collection of some goods, both raw materials and finished products, and the disbursing of others. *Processes* refers to the manufacture, repair and other

treatment of certain commodities. *People* comprises the assignment, maintenance and reimbursement of different kinds of workers. All information recorded about these variables was presented from the perspective of the centre: the restricted nature of literacy and of record-keeping means we see only what the central bureaucrats wanted to see. Thus, as Halstead has pointed out, 'One critical issue which the Linear B archives do not directly resolve is the extent to which the palaces controlled and recorded all economic activity within their territories' (Halstead 1992: 58). Research during the past decade is beginning to show that in fact palatial control of resources, processes and people was neither complete nor monolithic (for instance, Halstead 1999; Parkinson 1999; Whitelaw 2001). It could take both direct and indirect forms, and furthermore it differed in degree across the economic spectrum, from one industry to another, one type of transaction to another, one part of the state to another. Thus the Mycenaean administrative structure was more complicated than was once thought, and our understanding of it is becoming more nuanced. While Halstead is right that our best evidence for non-palatial activity is archaeological, the extant tablets, too, can help to demonstrate this variety in administrative control.

A Mycenaean palace exercised administrative control in five main areas:

1. the control of land, allocated to both districts and individuals;
2. the requisitioning of goods in the form of regular taxes and other collections;
3. the imposition of military obligations and other forms of service;
4. the control of certain industrial resources, processes and people;
5. the disbursement of finished goods to both secular and religious recipients.

There is so much interconnection among the first four topics, in particular, that they cannot readily be discussed separately; nor is there space here to cover them in full. Even a brief review, however, will show the links among them and also show that palatial control, though important, was not uniformly direct, nor uniformly complete.

2. CONTROL OF LAND

Control of land provides a good entry into this web of interrelated transactions. At Pylos we see extensive records of land grants. Those on the En/Eo and the Eb/Ep series were made to religious personnel and others. In the first case the land granted is called *ki-ti-me-no*, and was in control of elite individuals, the *telestai*. The Eb/Ep series concern *ke-ke-me-no* (perhaps 'communal') land, granted from (or in) the *damos*, or district community; the term seems to describe the 16 district authorities of the two Pylian provinces, the second-order centres once autonomous but then subsumed under palatial control (see above, section 1). The Ea series likewise shows grants to shepherds, tailors, and others from the *damos*

and from named individuals. The *damos* was thus an administrative entity responsible for directly overseeing grants at least of *ke-ke-me-no* land. It seems likely, however, that both types of land were ultimately under control of the *damos* (Killen 1998). What then was the role of the palace, if local authorities controlled access to land? These grants of land appear to have been a form of payment for services to the centre, particularly at an elite level; this may be inferred from the presence of elite craftsmen among the grant holders – for instance, a royal armourer on Eo 211/En 609.5 and a royal potter on Eo 371/En 457.5 (Gregersen 1997; see further below, section 5). Thus the central authorities could at least influence, if not direct, how the *damos* allocated some plots of land. They seem to have adapted a system already in place before the Pylos state was established. At this earlier stage, with each *damos* independent, community service and landholding may have been similarly connected. Rather than taking over the land and defining separately held palatial estates on a large scale, state officials perhaps found it easier to let the system stand, and direct the *damoi* to reward certain individuals for their service to the centre, not just to the local community.

In turn the grants carried an obligation to ‘work’, and very occasionally we see a complaint that someone failed to do so (Ep 704.7), or disputed the obligation (Ep 704.5–6). It is generally thought that contributions in wheat or other agricultural goods were also required from the land in question: the Es records, recording donations to Poseidon and to people, and Un 718, recording another donation to Poseidon, are clearly tied to individual landholdings. The intervening stage of collection and storage records is lacking at Pylos, but is represented at Knossos, where several tablets referring to harvests (*a-ma*) of large amounts of wheat, olives and cyperus¹ are likely storage records (Killen 1994–1995, 1998). As at Pylos, the land seems to have been under the administrative authority of several *damoi*. As much as 775 tons of wheat, nearly 100,000 litres, were thus obtained from the *damos* of *da-wo* alone (F[2] 852). Finally, it is notable that in both Crete and Messenia most of the landholdings recorded in extant tablets are fairly near the palatial centre; interest in land seems to decrease as one moves further away (Killen 1987).

In the case of landholding, then, palatial authorities exerted a fair amount of control over who received leases, while leaving much of the direct administration to local authorities. The real power of the centre in terms of agricultural production, too, was its ability to organise this local power and requisition large quantities of staple produce. This point leads us to the next topic to be considered.

3. REQUISITIONING OF GOODS

We have seen that individual holdings may have incurred the obligation to make donations to Poseidon and others (both human and divine). Other grants entailed

¹ KN E 848, 850, 1035; F(2) 845, 851, 852 all contain the word *a-ma*. Of similar type are the other F(2) records and F(1) 157, too fragmentary to show whether the word was used there.

contributions directly to the centre. At Knossos, for instance, E tablets record the allocation of plots of land to the men who then contributed spices on Bg and Ga tablets. Some of the Fh tablets record similar contributions of oil. Such regular transactions are indicated by term *a-pu-do-si*, 'payment'; the noun and its related verb *a-pu-do-ke* are used on labels which presumably accompanied such payments (for instance, KN Wb 8711; TH Wu 89). These and the large-scale district-level contributions are likely what enabled the palace to provide rations to dependent workers. PY Fg 253, for example, probably represents a monthly ration for the women textile workers on the Ab tablets, c.18,500 litres of wheat, along with figs. This tip of the iceberg hints at a substantial and well-organised system of regulating the collection and allocation of certain agricultural products. The system is what marks the palaces as focal points of a redistributive economy, operating chiefly in the interests of its elite members.

Yet despite their need for large quantities of grain, the palaces apparently did not exercise direct control over its production. This is probably the reason why details of production itself do not appear in our records. The central authority did intervene to the extent of assigning oxen to plough crop land (KN Ch series, maybe PY Aq 64), but we see no interest in the details of how production was organised; rather grain was grown on *damos* estates (Killen 1998; Halstead 2001). Thus even if those estates ultimately lay under palatial control, when it came to non-elite staples, the central authority commanded *resources* and controlled *people*, but had little to do with *processes* of production. The same seems to have been true of viniculture and other agricultural production (Palmer 1994). This situation contrasts markedly with the production of textiles, each stage of which was directly organised by the centres (see below, section 5). At the other end of the spectrum, even less attention focused on legumes, for instance, which are well attested archaeologically and must have been consumed at the centres as well as elsewhere, but appear not at all in the tablets. In such cases the palace was only a consumer.

Mobilising of resources to the centre extended to the regular requisitioning of other goods as well as agricultural products. The Pylos Ma tablets show this process as taxation in its pure form, not contributions made in return for a grant of land. The *damoi* or district centres were required to contribute annually amounts of six different commodities, including animal hides and garments designated by the ideogram *146. The amount of tax required was very probably calculated first for the state as a whole, then divided equally between the two provinces, though some reductions have been made for the year represented by extant tablets (Shelmerdine 1973; de Fidio 1982; Killen 1996). The districts in each province seem to have been combined into small groups capable of contributing comparable totals, to accommodate basic differences in size and resources. Exemptions made for bronzesmiths and other groups presumably compensated for other contributions to the centre, probably in the form of service (see below, section 5).

Palatial authority in the area of taxation was strong, but somewhat indirect. The centre imposed the specific assessments, and the structure of contributing groups; but it is generally observed that the districts were left to themselves to make up their quotas. The palace did not organise or monitor production, therefore; but a few tablets hint at monitoring of collections below the level of the district. PY Mn 162 and 456 are likely to be breakdowns within two districts, showing amounts of one taxed item, *146 garments, required from individual towns (Killen 1996: 147). Hand 2, the scribe of the Ma tablets, made this interim record; was this a regular occurrence, or an exception? That such interim monitoring was a regular thing is suggested by the PY Mb/Mn records which originated in the Southwestern Building at Pylos (Shelmerdine 1998–1999). Here a different scribe, Hand 14, recorded *146 against personal names and toponyms in the southern part of the Hither Province. Some of these tablets are disbursement records, but I have argued that others are inventories of garments made or collected at particular places as tax payments. At a certain point in the tax year, Hand 2 would have replaced these interim reports, perhaps first with a compilation like PY Mn 162 and 456, later with a full Ma record of payment and debt for the district as a whole. We may be justified in viewing the Mb/Mn tablets as subordinate records. The palace showed administrative interest in the collection of taxes at the town level, but noticed assessments only at the more general district level. This interest, further, remained fixed on the *resources* themselves. The *processes* by which they were produced, and the *people* who produced them, were not subject to scribal attention.

The relative size of Ma contributions was a fixed part of a widespread system at the district level, extending also to the requisitioning of workers (Ac series) and fattened pigs (Cn 608). PY Jn 829 represents a different sort of requisition, of roughly similar amounts from each district. It works within the same overall system, however. Killen has observed that the provincial totals are also the likely basis for the Ma series, and also that extra contributions of bronze from the Further Province were made by precisely those districts which gave smaller contributions of annual taxes (Killen 1996).

The regular tax payments recorded on four Ma tablets, like the regular contributions of oil and spices at Knossos discussed above, are marked by the term *a-pu-do-si*, ‘payment’; amounts still owing are described as *o-pe-ro*, ‘debt’, and exemptions by the phrase *o-u-di-do-si*, ‘they do not give’. A particularly interesting comparison is with the Pylos Na tablets, which list assessments of flax. None records payments, which is sufficient reason why the term *a-pu-do-si* does not appear. Other transactional terminology is shared with the Ma series, however. Exemptions were made for certain groups, and provincial totals and exemptions (*o-u-di-do-to*, ‘they are not given’) were recorded on the two Ng tablets. Nn 228 compiled amounts owing (*o-pe-ro-si*, ‘they owe’) from various settlements. Palatial control of this specific commodity started at a more detailed level than we saw with taxation in general, however, since assessments were of a single commodity, and

were imposed on individual settlements rather than whole districts. Therefore the Na tablets are analogous in level of detail not to the Ma series, but to the Mb/Mn tablets from the Southwestern Building. In fact, nine toponyms are shared between the Na and the Mb/Mn series, suggesting that some of the places in the kingdom that grew flax were also manufacturing sites, or collection points, for *146 garments (Shelmerdine 1998–1999: 332). Nn 831 records specific donations required from individuals in the settlement whose assessment appears on Na 1357. It is thus a detailed breakdown, just as we saw Mn 162 and 456 were detailed breakdowns related to certain Ma tablets. The similarities and differences between the M- and N-records show palatial control at work in a consistent way, but at various levels of detail. Detailed interim records at the most specific level are understandably rare, since they are likely to have been even more ephemeral than most tablets, and could be discarded when superseded, rather than being held for up to a year. A similarly transitory tablet, MY Ue 611, is preserved from the House of the Sphinxes at Mycenae. In the basement of this house was a pottery storeroom; a group of sealings in the doorway records the arrival of more vessels. The recto of Ue 611 is an inventory of various vessels, likely a compilation from an earlier set of sealings. But it too was ephemeral; the verso was subsequently used by another scribe, for an unrelated purpose.

4. IMPOSITION OF SERVICE OBLIGATIONS

We have considered so far a variety of ways in which districts contributed to the centre via taxation, and districts, towns and individuals contributed in return for grants of land. Another element in this linked system was a range of service obligations. The obligation of a landholder to ‘work’ was mentioned above (section 2). Some other service obligations are related to industrial production, and will be discussed below (section 5). In addition to these, the most important such obligation was to perform military service. PY An 1 records a conscription of thirty rowers, identified by their five home towns, presumably to acknowledge this fulfilment of a civic obligation. Rowers from four of the five towns appear, in the same order, on PY An 610, in numbers roughly five times those on An 1. This may represent the pool from which a conscription could be drawn. An 610 also lists rowers against other towns and important individuals. They are listed as *ktitai*, ‘land-holders’, and it seems clear that there is a direct connection between their land grants and the military service required of them (Killen 1983; Chadwick 1987). It is interesting that rowers from two towns on An 610, *a-po-ne-we* and *da-mi-ni-ja*, are among the husbands and sons of women textile workers (PY Ad 684, 697). Those women are fully dependent menial workers, yet the rowers are not compelled to work without the reciprocal benefit of land grants. This means that land, like food rations, may have been a way for the centre to support even dependants who were not elite, like the holders of land grants discussed above.

Those providing military service were to some degree outfitted at palatial expense. The clearest instance is at Knossos, in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, where the Sc series records allotments of tunic, chariot and horse to named individuals. These tablets likely predate the main Knossos archive (Driessen 1990), but chariot components, armour and weapons are inventoried in other series from the main tablet destruction level (for instance, R-, S-series), at Khania (KH Sq 1) and Pylos (S-series). This being so, it is surprising how little attention is paid in extant documents to military organisation. There are no references to rations, bedding, etc., though such things are monitored for workers (for instance, PY Aa, Ab, Ad series; PY Vn 851; MY V 659). Apart from the naval tablets just mentioned, the only extended coverage of troop deployments is found in the coastguard ('o-ka') series from Pylos (PY An 519, 653, 656, 657, 661). Toponyms mentioned in this series recur to a noticeable degree on the Na flax tablets, and it has been suggested that those settlements which contributed flax were also obliged to contribute men for military service (de Fidio 1987: 130–2; Halstead 2001: 44–6).

5. CONTROL OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The mention of textile workers brings us to the realm of industrial production, a complex enterprise involving administration of all three possible variables: *resources*, *people* and *processes*. Here too, though, palatial control was far from uniform. The records attest to a wide range of occupations, from net makers and workers in wool, to highly specialised makers of prestige goods with such titles as blue-glass worker, armourer, inlayer and goldsmith. In light of the observations made so far, it should be no surprise that the various occupations attract different degrees of administrative attention. Some specialised craftsmen appear only once or twice in the extant records, and in a context other than their profession, as the royal armourer does in connection with a land lease. Industries where the centre controlled production more directly receive much more detailed coverage.

The tightest control, and the most complete in that it covered every stage of the industry, is shown in the Knossos records of textile production. Sheep flocks were monitored at the centre, and the palace intervened when necessary to keep them up to the desired size. It also set targets for wool production from these flocks (KN D-series; Killen 1964). Similar detail is apparent in records of cloth production. As Killen (1974) has shown, for example, the palace scribe H 103 recorded production targets for *te-pa* cloth (TELA + TE), and the wool amounts needed to meet these targets (KN Lc[1]). He also recorded allotments of wool (KN Od[1] 562), and in due course the delivery of the finished cloth (Le). Another type of textile for which production targets are recorded in the Lc(1) series is *pa-we-a ko-u-ra*; deliveries and inventories of this variety are documented by a different scribe (H 116) in the Ld(1) series (Killen 1979). Killen has shown how the latter cloth was separately documented because it received extra decorative treatment at the hands of 'finishers' (*a-ke-ti-ri-ja*); H 103 also monitored the activities of these

experts on KN As(1) 602, 605 (Killen 1979: 168). Though it supervised production of several kinds of textiles, the centre did not produce *146, the garments requisitioned through taxation; that was manufactured locally, and fell outside of palatial record-keeping (see above, section 3).

Records of the Knossos textile industry, then, display a much closer familiarity with the production process than in any area so far considered. For the first time, we can see the centre setting specific production targets, tracking wool from the sheep's back every step of the way to a finished garment. Workers were referred to by name, there were a number of specific terms for different types of textiles, and a specific scribe was assigned to monitor cloth receiving its final treatment at the hands of specialist finishers, as opposed to cloth which came from weavers' workshops directly to the palace. For this industry, then, every aspect was under palatial control: *resources, people and processes*.² The wool allotted to weavers was called *ta-ra-si-ja*, *talansia*, a technical term meaning, like Classical Greek *talasia*, 'an amount issued for processing'. At Pylos, too, textile production was palatial business, and one record suggests that here too *ta-ra-si-ja* allotments were made to weavers. The word can be restored on La 1393.1, and another technical term, *de-ka-sa-to*, 'he received' may stand at the beginning of the line. Thus the tablet records receipt of textiles made with a *ta-ra-si-ja* allotment: the textile in question is TELA + TE. This type of cloth was made under the *ta-ra-si-ja* system at Knossos, and Le 642 is a comparable receipt record, using both that word and *de-ko-to*, another form of the verb *de-ka-sa-to*. It seems therefore that the same allocation system was in use for certain textiles at both places (and also at Mycenae, where a wool allotment on MY Oe 110 is called *ta-ra-si-ja*). There are several differences, though, at least to judge from extant records. Shearing records are lacking at Pylos, probably because of the time of year when normal administrative life there abruptly ceased. Is this also the reason we do not have production targets for varieties of textiles, as at Knossos, though a similar range of types is attested? Or is this a difference in the way Knossos and Pylos monitored their industries? There is reason to suspect that variations did exist among state administrations (Shelmerdine 1999), and it has been observed that the textile industry in the state of Pylos was more centralised than its Knossian counterpart (Killen 1984). That is, a greater proportion of the work monitored took place at the centre itself (where most of the weaving groups were located, for example), thus presumably under direct palatial supervision. Pylos might therefore not have needed to track so extensively the progress of wool allotments from an outlying

2 Some flocks were under the direct supervision of 'Collectors' rather than the palace. While opinion differs on the precise role of these people, who are attested at Knossos, Pylos and Thebes, it seems clear that they are of elite status. Their authority was either derived from the palace (Driessen 1992: esp. 212–14) or of independent, local derivation (Bennet 1992: esp. 96–9). Either way, their involvement in flock management, and in palatial documents relating to this topic, does not lessen the sense that the central authority was directly interested in their efforts as well as those of other flock supervisors.

weaving group to the centre, or to a finishing workshop, as happened at Knossos. What we find instead are numerous records of weaving groups: women, with their children, and the rations allotted to their support (Pylos Aa, Ab, Ad-series).

The *ta-ra-si-ja* system, of allotting resources and collecting the finished product, also governed bronze-working at Pylos, and wheel-making as well at Knossos (Duhoux 1976: 69–115; Killen 2001).³ It involved close control of *resources* and their allocation to *craftsmen*. Killen (2001) observes that this system was employed especially, though not exclusively, in decentralised industries, and those involving many low-level workers and one raw material, like bronze-working. In the case of Pylos bronze-working we lack the specific correlation of allotments to specific finished products which are so prominent a feature of Knossian textile and wheel records. It was suggested above that the lack of such records in the Pylian textile industry might be because more of the production took place at the centre itself. However, the bronze-workers were operating outside the centre, at locations around the state. So perhaps this is another difference between the way Knossos and Pylos monitored palatial industries.

In contrast to this arrangement is that which governed the perfume industry. Though documented at Knossos, the production process is most explicit in the Pylos records. Work presumably took place at Pylos itself, since no other locations are mentioned; and it involved both a large number of ingredients and a small number of rather elite-status craftsmen; the opposite of conditions which prevailed in *ta-ra-si-ja* industries (Killen 2001). In this case, too, the palace allocated raw materials to the craftsmen, but the degree of supervision was less. Perfumers operated independently once they received their supplies; thus the degree of necessary trust in the craftsmen was greater. Another consideration may be that bronze (though admittedly not wool) was an intrinsically more valuable commodity than any given perfume ingredient, though the finished product was a prestige good designed for export as well as local use. In this non-*ta-ra-si-ja* industry the *resources* were still carefully controlled, but the *people* and the *processes* less so.

Different forms of compensation were also used for workers in different industries. As Gregersen (1997) has discussed, some received land grants in return for their work, while others were ‘paid’ in kind, that is supported with food. I shall examine elsewhere the possibility that these different types of compensation correlate with the relative status of the work product, the worker and the customer involved. As noted in section 2, elite craftsmen in particular might receive land. The examples used there were a royal armourer and a royal potter; the former working with valuable materials, the latter with a mundane occupation but an elite customer. Workers compensated in kind include the Pylian textile workers, probably of quite menial status, and other craftsmen. An illuminating contrast is found among the perfumers at Pylos (Killen 2001: 174–5, 179–80). Eumedes, who

3 The term also appears at Mycenae (MY Oe 110) in connection with wool allocation.

receives a finished product of the industry, OLE + WE, from Kokalos on PY Fr 1184, reappears as a landholder on Ea 812 and Ea 820 (and probably on Ea 773, though his profession is not stated there). As recipient of another perfumer's work he is clearly the higher in status of the two. It is perhaps significant, then, that Kokalos is a recipient of rations on PY Fg 374, and does not appear on extant land records. Bronzsmiths also appear to have been variably compensated. Fifteen smith names appear on the land-holding tablets at Pylos, some on the texts referring to land in the religious sector of *pakijana*, others on the Ea series. Their profession is not stated, but it is plausible that smiths and landowners with the same name were the same individuals.⁴ No smiths appear on ration tablets, as far as can be told, though two sword or dagger makers (*pi-ri-je-te-rel-si*) did receive food payments (PY Fn 7). Yet another perquisite applied to them, however; they were among the groups that received exemptions from taxes (Ma series) and flax contributions (Na series) at Pylos. It must be remembered that such smiths were probably working only part-time for the palace. At Pylos they numbered 300–400;⁵ one-third of them with no *ta-ra-si-ja* allotted. Even the two-thirds with allotments, though, would not be kept busy year round on the amount of metal actually supplied. Surely they worked only part-time for the centre, and had other customers as well. Yet their appearance on Pylos Jn records even when not currently employed, and their tax exemptions, clearly shows their importance to the centre and the fact that the palace took precedence over other obligations.

One other form of payment must be included here; commodities offered by the centre in return for either goods (like alum, PY An 35, An 443) or services (payment to a netmaker and a weaver on PY Un 1322). These are marked by the word *o-no*, whether this is a word meaning 'payment' or a weight measurement (*DMic II*, s.v.). The compensation in such cases could include oil, textiles and/or foodstuffs: a wider and more valuable variety than ordinary food rations. In contrast to palatial industries, here the centre appears just as a consumer, and the transactions seem to have been occasional rather than part of a regular employer–employee relationship.

6. DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

The final aspect of Mycenaean palatial economy to be considered is the distribution of goods. Allocation of materials for production is discussed above in section 5; here the goods in question are finished products, whether acquired from outside the palatial sphere of control or manufactured in palatial industries. Centrally

4 Dimitri Nakassis, in *The Individual and the Mycenaean State: Agency and Prosopography in the Linear B Texts from Pylos* (diss. U. of Texas at Austin 2006), makes a good case also for the identity of smiths and shepherds with the same name.

5 Some 280 names are preserved in the surviving Jn tablets; this may represent as little as two-thirds of the full series (Lejeune 1961: 425), or nearly 100% (Smith 1992–1993: 172 n. 4), depending whether one ties the extant total of Jn bronze to a larger amount on PY Ja 749.

produced prestige goods, like perfumed oil and certain textiles, were certainly sent abroad in trading and gift exchanges, in return for exotic materials like ivory and precious metals. Though the lack of record-keeping on such transactions continues to puzzle Mycenaean scholars, their existence is clear from archaeological evidence: the presence of imports at Mycenaean sites, the presence of Mycenaean pottery abroad (especially the stirrup jars which contained oil, and perhaps other liquids), and the shipwrecks which preserve goods in transit (Shelmerdine 1998: 291–6 with references). Inter-state transactions also took place; the circulation of inscribed stirrup jars attests to that, as does the word *te-qa-de*, ‘to Thebes’, on tablet MY X 508 from the House of Shields at Mycenae – surely a reference to Boeotian Thebes. Despite the rarity of textual documentation, it seems likely on archaeological grounds that palatial control of such exchanges, both within Greece and abroad, was very strong (Voutsaki 2001: 208–13).

At the other end of the spectrum, the best-documented recipients of goods made or collected by the palaces were the gods. Indeed, the amount of tablet space devoted to religious offerings is disproportionate, in that they represent only a small fraction of the goods in circulation (Bendall 2001). No distinction is made between goods manufactured under direct palatial control and those requisitioned: the Pylos tablets record, for example, offerings of both perfumed oil and *146 cloth, a tax commodity. Much of what the gods receive, though, is requisitioned: we find offerings of spices and honey, as well as locally made textiles. Indeed, the Mb and Mn series record both inventories of *146 cloth and its allocation; when the purpose of the allocation is clear, it is either for religious purposes or as an irregular *o-no* payment (see above, section 5; Shelmerdine 1998–1999: 332–5). The ruling elite, and particularly the king, mediated between the state populace and their gods; this was one function that clearly displayed and effectively reinforced the power of the centre, and especially of the king (Wright 1995).

A related phenomenon is the organising of ritual banquets, which again had both a religious dimension and a socio-political one (Wright 2004, with references). Banquet supplies, both food and textiles, have now been extensively recognised in the tablets (for instance, Thebes Wu series; Knossos C 941; Pylos Un 2, Un 47, Un 138, Un 1177, some tablets from Cc, Cn and Fn series), and a Pylian list of gifts to Poseidon, for instance (Un 718) closely resembles the list of banquet supplies for the initiation of the king (PY Un 2). As in the case of religious offerings, many of the foodstuffs are contributed not directly by the palace but by others. This is particularly true of the meat. Oxen are offered by individuals and military groups (KN C[2] series; PY Cn 3, Cn 418); sheep and goats are also supplied to the centre, often by inference for such occasions. It has been the norm to think of a Mycenaean *wanax* as offering banquets to reinforce his standing with local elites, and to reward their loyalty. It is more accurate, though, to say that the king may organise religious festivals and banquets, but demands the supplies from others in most cases, rather than supplying them himself. This arrangement is in fact consistent with Homeric epic, where a banquet can be provided to an

elite individual as a reward for service. The most famous example comes from Sarpedon's speech at *Iliad* 12.310–21, where 'pride of place, choice meats and brimming cups' (translation: R. Fagles) both reward heroic leadership and carry an obligation to perform as leaders in battle. So Rundin (1996) observes that Homeric feasting is a 'dominant element' in a 'network of exchange' tying communities together: 'the network relies on the ability of people of high status to appropriate the products of those who are subordinate to them.' This seems very much to be the dynamic at work in Mycenaean Greece.⁶

7. CONCLUSION

The redistributive economy over which the Mycenaean palaces presided was, it is clear, complex, multi-faceted and above all flexible. Direct supervision was exercised only over the most important industrial efforts, which produced prestige goods for trade, ritual offerings and elite consumption at home. In everything else the palace played a variety of roles, from pure consumer/customer to partial organiser. Often it directed others at a more local level, involving the centre only so much as was necessary to achieve a desired amount of goods or services. The real power of the king and his administrators was to harness the diverse resources of a Mycenaean state, both human and material, to the distinct advantage of themselves. This upward channelling of such resources to the centre provided work and profit for other members of the state, particularly local elites. The tholos tomb built at Nichoria (the Further Province district center of *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*) in LH III A2 was used throughout the LH IIIB period; the sealstones, sword and bronze vessels deposited in it were likely the fruits of a profitable relationship between a district governor and Pylos (*Nichoria II*, 260–84, 766–7). Ordinary members of the state, however, no doubt saw the influence of the centres chiefly in negative ways: the obligation to military service, the imposition of taxes, and so on. However variable the control of the palatial administrations, their effect was pervasive. One of the best indications that this was so is the relative flourishing of other parts of Greece during LH IIIC, when the power of the states had reached its end (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996).

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⁶ In Irish lore, too, the king is honoured as the passive recipient of a feast, rather than its giver (Witt 2004).

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THE SUBJECTS OF THE *WANAX*: ASPECTS OF MYCENAEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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The Linear B tablets reveal the workings, at each of the centres at which documents have been found, of a redistributive ‘revenue’ or ‘command’ economy in which the key role in the movement of goods and the employment of labour is played, not by a market or money, but by the central palace itself. The palaces exercise control – albeit a selective one – over a large territory surrounding them (in the case of Knossos, for example, the centre and far west of Crete), and from these catchment areas extract large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials, partly at least via a taxation system. This revenue is then redistributed, in the form of rations and working materials, to a very substantial workforce, located both at the centres themselves and in outlying districts, which produces goods to palace specification: metalwork, textiles, furniture, perfumed unguent, etc.¹

One of the marked characteristics of this palace-directed workforce is the extreme degree of division of labour, or specialisation of function, within it. We learn from the tablets dealing with textile production, for instance, not only of workers who specialise in the production of particular types of cloth (like the *te-pe-ja* and *ko-u-re-ja*, women who make the *te-pa* and *ko-u-ra* varieties of fabric respectively), but also workers who specialise in one of the numerous processes that are involved in producing textiles: *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, *lālakateiail*, ‘distaff women’, presumably spinners; *pe-ki-ti-ra₂*, *lpektriail*, ‘combers’ of wool or fabric; *a-ke-ti-ri-ja/a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, *laskētriail*, ‘decorators’ of cloth; etc. This degree of specialisation could not have come about except through the intervention of the palaces, which by supplying the workers with both rations and working materials enable them to pursue these specialisms in a world without markets or money without anxiety about their means of subsistence. Indeed, once the palaces are destroyed, this extreme specialisation clearly ceases, as witness the disappearance from the Greek language in the post-Mycenaean period of nearly all the terms we have just mentioned: all that tend to survive are terms indicating broad areas of craft activity, like ‘smith’ and ‘potter’, not those reflecting much narrower specialisms (Morpurgo Davies 1979). In all

¹ On the typology of the Mycenaean economy, see further Killen 1985; De Fidio 1987; De Fidio 1992.

probability, the purpose of this specialisation was to improve the quality, rather than the quantity of the product, as was generally its purpose in the ancient world (Finley 1973: 135 and n. 25, 146): to provide the palace with supplies of high grade textiles, etc. both for its own domestic use and also very likely for export. Among the descriptions of completed cloth at Knossos, some of it now in the palace stores, are *wa-na-ka-te-ra*, *lwanaakterail*, 'royal', possibly cloth for the use of the monarch, though perhaps only fabric of particularly high quality,² and *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*, *lxenwial*, almost certainly cloth 'for guest-gifts', which may have been fabric intended for export.³

But who precisely are these workers in state-directed textile and other workshops? What is their exact legal and – more important – socio-economic status; and do they work for the centres all the year round or merely on a part-time basis? I attempted to provide some tentative answers to these questions in a paper given to the London Mycenaean Seminar in 1979, a summary of which appeared in *BICS* (Killen 1979a). Since then, other scholars have published important discussions of the problem: A. Uchitel (1984), P. de Fidio (1987) and J. Chadwick (1988); and it will perhaps be useful to return to the issue here in the light of these studies, one of which in particular, that of A. Uchitel, reaches rather different conclusions about the status of the women workers than I and others, including Chadwick (1976 and 1988), have done.

I begin with the women on the Aa, Ab and Ad records at Pylos and the closely similar Ak and Ap records at Knossos, who make up the great bulk of the female workforce recorded on Mycenaean texts. We know from the evidence of the Pylos Ab tablets, which record a month's ration of wheat and figs for what are clearly the same groups as those listed on the Aa tablets (though some slight differences in numbers show that the records, while relating to the same accounting year, are not exactly contemporaneous), that these women (and their children, who are also recorded on the documents) were dependent on the centre for their maintenance for at least part of the year. We also have indications at Knossos that the women there received rations from the palace.⁴ But did both sets of women receive these rations all the year round, or only for a part of the year when they were working for the palace?

2 For the use of 'royal' as a description of high quality fabrics not intended for the monarch's own use in the ancient Near East, see Veenhof 1972: 192–3.

3 For this suggestion, see Melena 1975: 45; Killen 1985: 263. For caution about the idea, however, see Olivier 1998: 286–7.

4 Given that they are written by scribe 103, all of whose other output concerns the textile industry or has some connexion with it, it seems likely that E(2) 668, 669, 670, which record wheat and olives, are concerned with food intended as rations for textile workers; and the amounts involved are compatible with the hypothesis that the rations in question were allocated both to male workers (like those on Am(1) 597, also in h. 103, where the MONTH ideogram suggests a rationing context) and the much more numerous females in the industry. Note, too, the record of a commodity measured in dry measure on the edge of Ak(2) 613, which the analogy of the Pylos Ab records suggests is likely to be a ration.

In my 1979 discussion, I opted for the conclusion, also reached by a number of other scholars, that the women were fully dependent: that they received these rations all the year round. Among the arguments which can and have been deployed in favour of this conclusion are the following.

1. As I noted in my 1979a paper, we find the term *do-e-ra*, whose Classical continuant is *doulē*, ‘slave’, on two tablets at Knossos which are likely to relate to female workers in the textile industry, as all those listed on the Ak tablets and many of those listed on the Aa, Ab, Ad records at Pylos clearly are. First, Ai(3) 824, which lists thirty-two women and twenty-four children ‘of’ an ‘owner’ *a-pi-qo-i-ta*, describes the women as *do-e-ra*; and while we cannot finally confirm that this is a record of textile workers like those on the Ak records (the hand of the tablet is not that of any of the Ak texts, and there is no mention of *a-pi-qo-i-ta* on other textile records in the archive), so close are the similarities between this and the Ak records (it lists women and children only; in the children section, girls are listed before boys; and the girls and boys are further categorised as ‘older’ (*me-zo-e*) and ‘younger’ (*me-wi-jo-e*)) that there is a strong likelihood that it is. Second, Ap 628 lists small numbers of women described as the *do-e-ra* of three ‘owners’; and though the occupation of these women is not specified, the fact that the tablet is by scribe no. 103, all of whose other records in the archive are concerned with the textile industry or have some link with it, makes it very difficult to doubt that they are textile workers. It is also possible, though unfortunately not certain, that there is a reference to *do-e-ra* on one of the Ak tablets themselves. On Ak(2) 7022 [+] 7024, the main entry of women and children on the record is followed by a subsidiary WOMAN entry preceded by the term *je-ra*. There appears to be a trace before *je-ra*, which if it exists is likely to be part of the same word; but while *je-ra* was once read here, there is little positive evidence to support that reading. If the trace is not a mirage, *do-e-ra* would still be a very attractive restoration, given its presence on Ap 628; the mention of an ‘owner’ in the heading of the tablet (see further below); and the rarity of other terms on the records ending in *-e-ra*. Since, however, we cannot be certain that *je-ra* is not complete, we are unable to exclude another possibility: that this is a reference to the place *e-ra*, frequently mentioned on the Knossos tablets, which we know to have been the location of one or more textile workgroups.⁵

Now it should certainly be stressed that the term *do-e-ra* (masc. *do-e-ro*) in Mycenaean is not in itself a secure indication of social status. Though it is clear that in some contexts it refers to chattel-slaves (see below), it is also used of the land-holding *do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* of divinities and *do-e-ro* of the ‘collector’ *a-pi-me-de* on the E tablets at Pylos, who whatever of their precise standing – and it should certainly be noted that they hold *o-na-ta*, ‘benefices’ or the like, rather than the

5 There are references to *e-ra-ja*, women of *e-ra*, in the following textile contexts: Ap 639.5, Lc(1) 528.B, Lc(1) 561.b. *je-ra-ja* on the CLOTH record L(4) 7578 is also most likely feminine plural, but might alternatively be neuter plural and a description of the cloth.

more significant *ktoinai* – are likely to be of relatively high status. A number of texts at Knossos, however, clearly record the purchase of *do-e-ra* and *do-e-ro* (see the term *qi-ri-ja-to*, whose Classical continuant is *epriato*, ‘he bought’, on B 822, etc.); and it seems more probable that the (unnamed) women on *Ai(3) 824*, Ap 628 are chattel-slaves, i.e. can be bought and sold, like the *do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* on these records than that they are land-holders like the (normally) named *do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* on the E records, given that they are likely to be textile workers, and that the groups at Pylos, besides the workers in the textile industry, include others with plainly menial occupations, such as corn-grinders (*me-re-ti-ri-ja*, *lmeletriail* and bath-pourers (*re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*, *llewotrokhwoif*). Note that while *a-pi-qo-i-ta*, the ‘owner’ of the *do-e-ra* on *Ai(3) 824*, is probably a ‘collector’, like *a-pi-me-de* at Pylos, only (male) *do-e-ro*, never (female) *do-e-ra*, of *a-pi-me-de* are named among the land-holders on the E tablets.

It is also in keeping with the hypothesis that the *do-e-ra* on *Ai(3) 824*, Ap 628 are chattel-slaves that we can be reasonably confident that this was a description which did not apply to the great bulk of the women in textile workgroups at Knossos. As I pointed out in my 1979a discussion, it is unlikely to be an accident that the *do-e-ra* on *Ai(3) 824*, Ap 628 (and indeed also on *Ak(3) 7022* [+] 7024, if they are recorded there) are all described as ‘of’ an ‘owner’: ‘of’ *a-pi-qo-i-ta* on *Ai(3) 824*, ‘of’ **a-ke-u* and others on Ap 628 and ‘of’ *dq-ki* on *Ak(3) 7022* [+] 7024. This is in accord with the picture elsewhere in the records, where the great majority of *do-e-ro*, *do-e-ra*, and possibly all, are again described as the property of ‘owners’: which in turn suggests that the majority of the women on the Ak tablets, who are recorded in terms of a place or occupation and not of an ‘owner’, are not of this category, rather than being *do-e-ra* whose status the scribe does not happen to have mentioned on the tablet. And this is in turn encouraging for the belief that the *do-e-ra* on *Ai(3) 824*, Ap 628 are chattel-slaves; for there is evidently a rather similar situation in the ancient Near East. Here, the *gemé-dumu* (women and children) groupings, many of them textile workers, who are frequently recorded in palace and temple archives from the pre-Sargonic period onwards, and the records of whom have many points in common with the women and children records at Knossos and Pylos (see below), do include some chattel-slaves, *sag*, *arád* (Waetzoldt 1972: 93 *re* weavers at Lagash; Waetzoldt 1987: 119 and n. 19); but these, as I. J. Gelb and others have observed, form only a small minority of the workers, the great majority of whom fall into a separate category. (Gelb 1976: 195–6. Gelb regards these as legally semi-free, though still, like the chattel-slaves, fully dependent: see further below).

2. Among the descriptions of the workgroups on the Aa, Ab records at Pylos is *ra-wi-ja-ja*, which Chadwick and others interpret as *llāwīaiail* and a reference to ‘captives, prisoners of war’ (Ventris and Chadwick 1956: 156, 162, 407; Chadwick 1988: 83). The interpretation is purely an ‘etymological’ one, and others have suggested other explanations: a derivative of *lāion*, ‘cornfield’, meaning ‘harvesters’ *vel sim.* (Tritsch 1958: 428; Uchitel 1984: 275); a derivative of *lāos*, ‘people, host’,

meaning ‘workers of *lāos* land’ (Heubeck 1969: 543.); an ethnic adjective (Palmer 1963: 114, 121, 452). Neither of the first two explanations is very plausible: no other description on the Aa, Ab records refers to agricultural – as opposed to domestic or ‘industrial’ – workers. But we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the term is an ethnic derived from a non-Pylian place-name, others of which are attested in the series (see below), though no obvious identification suggests itself. It is, however, supportive, though not of course proof, of the ‘captive’ explanation that prisoners of war (*nam-ra-ag*) are regularly mentioned in the *gemé-dumu* records in the Near East, including as women engaged in textile production, *gemé-uš-bar* (Waetzoldt 1972: 93).

3. Further possible evidence for slave memberships of the Pylian workforce is provided by the references in the Aa, Ab, Ad records to groups described as *mi-ra-ti-ja*, *ki-ni-di-ja*, *ze-pu₂-ra*, etc., whom it is attractive to identify as women from Miletus, Knidos, Halicarnassus, etc. Though the interpretations in question are again purely ‘etymological’, it is remarkable how many of these descriptions are capable of explanation in terms of a non-Pylian, and often Eastern Aegean, place-name. While, however, there are strong arguments against Tritsch’s early suggestion that these are recently-arrived refugees (Tritsch 1958),⁶ and while it is difficult to take these descriptions as referring to otherwise unknown places within the Pylian kingdom itself, it is not perhaps impossible that they refer to peaceful migrants from Asia Minor, etc., and not to slaves which have been acquired in markets in these areas, as Chadwick has suggested (Chadwick 1988: 92): though if they were peaceful migrants, we should have expected them to be accompanied by adult male members of their families, and it is noticeable that there is no mention on the records of any men who are described as Milesian, etc. (as distinct from ‘sons of the Milesian women’, etc.) or in terms of any other non-Pylian provenance – though this might of course simply be the result of an accident of preservation.

4. Finally, as a number of scholars have observed, and as we have already noted above, there are remarkably close similarities between the women-and-children workgroups at Pylos and Knossos and the many women and children (*gemé-dumu*) workgroups recorded in ancient Mesopotamian archives. Like most of the Mycenaean workers, many of these Mesopotamian workgroups are engaged in textile production, in their case in temple and palace workshops; and many of the features of the records which list them (the recording of rations for the groups; the preponderance of girls over boys among the children; the references to workshop supervisors; etc.) are also characteristics of the Mycenaean texts. Given these resemblances, it is tempting to suppose that the women who

6 The parallel of the very similar Ak records at Knossos shows both that the Pylian groupings are likely to form part of the regular workforce of the palace and that women described solely by means of an ethnic do not necessarily lack an occupation (we can show that the groups so described in the Ak series are workers in the textile industry), and hence does not provide support for Tritsch’s argument that they are recently-arrived refugees who have not yet been assigned work. See further Chadwick 1988: 90–3.

make up these groupings in the two areas have a closely similar status: as I. J. Gelb has put it, 'anybody who has only glanced at the Mycenaean ration lists and lists of personnel finds so many parallels with the corresponding early Mesopotamian texts that one is almost forced to the conclusion that the same, or at least a very similar, type of labour class must have existed in both areas' (Gelb 1976: 202). But if this is the case, the question then arises: what was the status of the Mesopotamian workers?

As we have already noted above, I. J. Gelb has concluded that the great majority of these women (particularly, he thinks, those in temple establishments), though not technically chattel slaves, are nonetheless fully dependent: depressed members of a legally semi-free class (Gelb 1972: 88; Gelb 1979: 293–4). Moreover, although he stresses that 'all through the periods, from Fara to Ur III, we have great difficulty distinguishing personnel living permanently in a household and working for that household all year around from personnel working for the household only during certain parts of the year', he notes that there is clear evidence that *gemé-dumu* received rations all the year round, that is, were fully dependent, in the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash-Girshu (Gelb 1965: 241). H. Waetzoldt also, though he does not accept Gelb's contention that the term *še-ba*, used of the rations allocated to *gemé-dumu*, is itself a reliable indicator of dependent status, and notes that the workers in Ur III weaving and milling establishments included women of several different legal statuses, ranging from free to chattel slave, concludes that the *gemé* who make up the great bulk of these workers seem to be persons who are 'in a legal status of dependence, perhaps semifree, since [their] master[s] could force [them] to work as a weaver or miller'.⁷ J. N. Postgate, too, reaches similar conclusions, at least about the workers in weaving establishments, commenting that 'the production of textiles is exceptional in that it required a large trained workforce on a permanent basis' (Postgate 1992: 235).

In his paper 'Women at work: Pylos and Knossos, Lagash and Ur', however, A. Uchitel has challenged both Gelb's view of the status of the Mesopotamian *gemé* and Chadwick's (and my own) conclusions about the nature of the Mycenaean women-and-children workforce (Uchitel 1984). As far as Mesopotamia is concerned, his argument focuses on records of female and male millers. First, he mentions a group of texts, including MVN VI 456, 532, which deal with female millers in the new palace during the 33rd and 34th years of Šulgi. Here, he notes, the numbers employed in the mill fluctuate greatly from month to month, so that the (unnamed) women concerned 'can hardly represent the permanent staff of the "household"'. As he observes, the situation here contrasts with that elsewhere, such as in the weaving establishment at Girshu recorded on UNT 18, HSS IV 3

⁷ Waetzoldt 1987: 119–21 and n. 19. On (technically) free workers in weaving establishments, see further Waetzoldt 1972: 278, who notes that free women were often obliged to work as debt-slaves in such establishments because their husbands had failed to meet an obligation.

and UNT 15, where numbers remain steady over successive years. 'But can we be sure', he asks, 'that in such cases the women are the same all the time?' He suggests that the answer is provided by a further series of texts dealing with millers (which he also discusses in *ASJ* 1984): the day-to-day records of a mill at Sagdana (district of Lagash) during the year Amar-Sîn 9, which provide the names of the individual workers. Here, he notes, while 26 to 39 men (*guruš*) and 3 or 2 women (*gemé*) were employed throughout the year, 'only 12 workers constitute the permanent staff and are present in all the texts.' Of the remainder, '14 worked from the fourth month to the sixth; they were replaced by twelve others, who worked from the ninth month to the eleventh. All other workers (about 60) were employed for a month or even a few days.' This high rate of turnover applies to women as well as men. And from this and other evidence Uchitel concludes that 'a great part of men and women of the "*guruš* class" were conscripted for corvée work on behalf of different state-managed "households" for limited periods of time. Only a relatively small portion of them constituted permanent personnel of these "households". . . .' (Uchitel 1984: 268–70, 273).

Uchitel then turns to the Mycenaean data, and argues that there is a similar situation here. In particular, he suggests, there is good evidence, first, that some of the women on the Pylos Aa, Ab, Ad records were married women with husbands who were capable of supporting them and, second, that some of these women were of higher status than has previously been recognised (Uchitel 1984: 276–84). How compelling is his case?

As far as the Mesopotamian evidence is concerned, I have to rely on the views of others; but it does seem to be the case that the evidence quoted by Uchitel is open to differing interpretations. First, as regards the fluctuations in numbers in MVN VI 456, 532 is concerned, H. Waetzoldt has noted that while one possible explanation of the phenomenon is that the millers were employed only as the need arose (that is, only on a part-time basis), another possibility is that they worked full-time for the state, but in different locations; and he himself feels that the second explanation is likelier to be correct, given the evidence of records like TCL 5, 5668, 5669, etc. (Waetzoldt 1988: 36). As he has kindly explained to me in a personal communication, these give figures for the number of workdays spent over a stated period by a specific number of women millers, calculated on the basis that the women worked for thirty days each month, with, however, a deduction of five days per woman per month, presumably to cover rest days or illness. Again, while Uchitel's study of the Sagdana mill-house is mentioned in favourable terms by J. N. Postgate, who suggests that it leads to the conclusion that 'less of the Ur III labour force was necessarily of servile status than has sometimes been thought' (Postgate 1992: 239), Professor Waetzoldt kindly tells me that while the evidence here may point to part-time corvée service by the relatively small numbers of workers involved, this is not certain, and that even if it does, this particular group of records has no parallel elsewhere. (As he points out, it is highly unusual for *men* to be employed as millers.) And as regards

the Mycenaean data, while Uchitel's case does need careful consideration, I am not myself persuaded that he has adduced compelling evidence that some of the women on the Aa, Ab, Ad records had land-holding husbands, or were themselves land-holders. To mention just two of the items of evidence he discusses, there seems to me nothing to show that the ethnic *ti-nwa-si-jo* in the 'land-holder' position on PY Ea 810, even if it is plural, is a reference to the husbands of the *ti-nwa-si-ja* women on Aa 699, Ab 190, Ad 684, or that it is significant that the land-holders on the E tablets include a group of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*. Though there is mention of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* on KN E 777, which records large numbers of women in receipt of wheat rations, and mentions a group of textile workers, *askētriai*, on the reverse, it is not even certain that the term is a description of any of these groupings;⁸ and there is no mention of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* either on the Ak, Ap records of textile workers at Knossos or on the Aa, Ab, Ad records at Pylos.

Although, however, I do not find many of Uchitel's arguments persuasive, he does make one point which cannot be controverted, and is of considerable importance. As he points out, one record of women at Pylos, Ae 634, records seven women qualified as *o*; and it is difficult to doubt that this is a reference to a shortfall in workers who are being supplied to the palace for (part-time) corvée service. (As we shall be seeing in a moment, entries of this kind are frequent in personnel records at Pylos dealing with corvée.) Moreover, it is difficult to doubt, as Uchitel also points out, that the women in question are textile workers, given that the hand and findspot of the tablet is the same as that of the La records, which deal with cloth and wool. It is highly likely, then, that some textile workers in the palace archives at Pylos are part-time, corvée workers.⁹ It is important to stress, however, that there is nothing to encourage the belief that what holds good for the women on this record (and perhaps also for those on PY Ae 629, which is the work of the same scribe) also holds good for the great majority of the women textile and other workers at Pylos. Not only are the Aa and Ab tablets the work of different scribes from the two Ae tablets, they also have a different location (the Archives Complex, rather than the Megaron); and there are no references to *o* women, or any other indications that they might concern corvée workers, on these records.

8 It is odd, if *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* following *ko-no-si-ja*, 'women of Knossos', on l. 1 of the recto is a description of these females, that it is in the dative, whereas *ko-no-si-ja* is evidently nominative (of rubric). As I have asked in a forthcoming paper, is it possible that the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja(-i)*, whose name may be a derivative of *ki-ri-ta*, *krithā*, 'barley', are not the consumers of the (very large amounts of) rations recorded on the tablet, but a group of women who receive them from the palace – perhaps for temporary safe-keeping – and who then distribute them to the *ko-no-si-ja*, etc.?

9 For the same conclusion see De Fidio 1987: 138, who also suggests that the same might apply to some – though not all – of the women on the Aa, Ab tablets, such as those listed in terms of a Pylian place-name. It seems difficult to accept, however, that some of the Aa, Ab groupings are of a less dependent character than the remainder, given the extremely close similarities between all the records in each 'set'.

But what of the male workers mentioned on the records?

We may begin by noting that whereas women are regularly noted as receiving rations, rationing records for male workers are much less common. Moreover, while no woman worker is mentioned as a land-holder, a number of male craftsmen are either explicitly described as holding land, or can plausibly be assumed to be land-holders. Among the craftsmen mentioned among the land-holders on the E tablets at Pylos are an unguent-boiler (Ea 812, etc.), a 'royal' fuller (En 74, etc.) and a 'royal' potter (Eo 371, etc.); while others mentioned on these records who are probably or possibly craftsmen, though their descriptions remain without a certain interpretation, are the three *ra-pte-re* on Ea 28, 29, 56, etc., the *a-mo-te-u* 'of' the *lāwāgetās* on Ea 421, etc., the 'royal' *e-te-do-mo* on En 609.5, etc., and the two men described as *a-de-te* on Eq 36.2, 4.¹⁰ In addition, as I argued in my 1979a discussion, it is difficult to doubt that the various bronzesmiths mentioned as making or exempt from flax contributions in the Na and Nn records at Pylos are land-holders, given that the verb 'to have', which makes regular appearances in the Na series, here seems certain to refer to land-holding.¹¹ And this in turn makes it likely that the bronzesmiths mentioned on the Ma taxation records at the same site as giving or not giving some of the six commodities that are recorded in the series, one of which (*152, oxhide) is certainly an agricultural product and others of which, like *RI*, perhaps linen thread, may be, were again land-holders, capable of producing these goods for themselves, rather than having had to obtain them by barter (see Lejeune 1979: 149) in return perhaps for their professional services.

Unfortunately, however, although this evidence makes it probable that male craftsmen were less dependent on rations than the women workers on the Aa, Ab, Ak tablets, it is not in itself sufficient to enable us to establish the precise status of any of the male workers concerned, or their exact relationship with the central palace. In particular, it is not possible on the basis of this evidence, and in the absence of any reliable indication on the land-holding records of the precise obligations that were attached to the holdings,¹² to establish whether a particular male craftsman worked for the centre all the year round or merely on a part-time basis. The fact that a male worker received rations, for example, is not necessarily an indication that he worked for the palace all the year round. In ancient Mesopotamia, for instance, rations were given both to full-time male workers in central institutions, like the *igi-nu-du*₈, blinded prisoners of war,¹³ known from the pre-Sargonic period onwards, and to persons like the *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* in the pre-Sargonic period and many of the *erín* of Ur III times, both of whom were land-holders, and who provided the centre with various kinds of corvée labour

10 For the interpretations suggested for these descriptions, see Aura Jorro, *DMic I and II*: s. vv.

11 For the demonstration of this, see Chadwick in *Documents*²: 469–70.

12 Though a number of the E tablets refer to obligations *wo-ze-e* and *te-re-ja-e*, and to the performance of these duties, it is unfortunately not certain what precisely either term means.

13 For arguments in favour of Gelb's contention that these men have actually been blinded, contrary to the belief of some scholars (like Uchitel: 1984: 262–3), see Postgate 1992: 255.

(ditch-repairing, canal-clearing and, when needed, military service) for a part of each year, during which they were given rations.¹⁴ Nor, again, is it possible to conclude from the fact that a male craftsman held land that he worked for the centre only on a part-time basis.¹⁵ In Ur III Mesopotamia, for example, while most *erín* worked part-time for the palace, some worked full-time, like the forestry supervisors discussed by P. Steinkeller (1987: 88–90). These ‘received grants of land in return for their services’ but ‘in contrast to the regular workers [also *erín*], whose work-duty appears to have been limited to a part of the year. . . . [they] worked the full year round, as shown by the fact that their activities are documented throughout the whole year’.

Nonetheless, we do have some further evidence which suggests, though without proving it beyond doubt, that many of the male workers on the tablets worked part-time for the centre. This is as follows.

1. We have reasonably secure evidence that men in Mycenaean kingdoms were supplied to the centre as corvée workers, presumably on a part-time basis. Much of our clearest evidence for this comes from records in the An series at Pylos, which refer to the conscription for naval and coast-guard duties of men who in many cases at least are clearly land-holders. As J. Chadwick has demonstrated, PY An 724 refers to the exemption from rowing service of *ki-ti-ta*, *lktitail*, ‘land-holders, settlers’ (Chadwick 1987); An 610 lists men described as rowers who are again identified as *ktitai* (or *metaktitai*, ‘new settlers(?)’) (Chadwick, *ibid.*); An 1, which lists 30 rowers ‘going to Pleuron’, may well be connected with An 610, and again refer to corvée service (Killen 1983); and some at least of the coast-guards whose expected service is listed on An 657, etc. seem again to have been land-holders, to judge by the evidence of the Na flax tablets, where some of the groupings evidently recur (Killen 1979a; De Fidio 1987: 139 n. 37). Rowing, however, is clearly not an ‘industrial’ activity; and we cannot be certain that any of the male corvée workers listed on the tablets were in fact involved in the ‘industrial’ sector. In two cases, however, this does seem at least possible.

- (a) Though none of the women on the Aa, Ab records at Pylos is ever described as *o-pe-ro*, ‘owing, not present’ (often abbreviated to *o*), this qualification, which immediately suggests a corvée context, is found on four of the records of the adult sons of the Aa, Ab workers in the Ad series: twice erased (see Ad 679, Ad 690) and twice intact (see Ad 357, Ad 671). Unfortunately, however, we cannot be certain of the profession of these males. One possibility, however, given that they are recorded in terms of their mother’s descriptions, and shared their location, is that some at least acted as finishing workers (fullers, etc.) in the textile industry. (On the analogy of the Knossos industry, we should have expected

14 For the issuing of rations to *igi-nu-du₈* for twelve months a year in the pre-Sargonic period, see Gelb 1965: 241.

15 On these land-holders, working part-time for the state, see, e.g., Gelb 1965: 241 (*lu-kur₆-dab₅-ba*); Postgate 1992: 237 (*erín*).

to find such workers at Pylos,¹⁶ but apart from the men on the Ad tablets no obvious candidates suggest themselves.¹⁷ Short of confirmation, however, that this is their function, we clearly cannot regard these groupings as certain examples of part-time male 'industrial' workers.

- (b) A rather stronger case for identifying males on the tablets as part-time *corvée* workers engaged in 'industrial' activity can be made for the men on the Ac tablets at Pylos. As has long since been recognised, these tablets clearly record the obligations of some of the principal towns of the kingdom to supply men to the centre, and show in each case both the number of men that have so far been supplied and the number still 'owing'. As with the men on the Ad tablets, we cannot be certain of what work the men in question were required to perform; but given that the Ac tablets were found in the Northeastern Building at Pylos, the vast majority of the records from which are concerned with various forms of 'industrial' production (see most recently the excellent study by Bendall 2003), it is attractive to guess that this was their intended role (Lang 1958: 190). Indeed, one possibility which immediately comes to mind is that the men on the Ac tablets are identical in part with the men listed on An 1282, also from the NE Building, as assigned to various 'industrial' activities: 'for [making] chariots', 'for [making] chariot wheels', etc. (Shelmerdine 1987: 340).

2. Further possible – though again, it must be stressed, not certain – evidence for part-time male 'industrial' workers is provided by the records in the Jn series at Pylos. These list the activities of what it is possible to calculate must have been of the order of 400 bronzesmiths (Chadwick, in *Documents*²: 508–9), some of whom are shown as receiving (smallish) amounts of bronze for working, and others of whom are described as *atalasioi*, 'without allocation'. Since it is difficult to believe that the palace at Pylos would have required the services of 400 full-time bronzesmiths, and since we have evidence (see above) that some bronzesmiths in the kingdom are likely to have been land-holders (though we cannot be certain that this applies specifically to any of the smiths on the Jn records), the possibility inevitably comes to mind that the workers on the Jn tablets only performed part-time duties for the centre, and spent the rest of their time working either as smiths in their respective villages or on land which they held (or possibly in both capacities). As I observed in my 1979a discussion, it is noticeable that the Jn bronzesmiths are not scattered throughout the kingdom,

16 For the identification of the men recorded on As and V tablets in hands 103, 115 at Knossos as textile finishing workers, see Killen 1979b: 167–8.

17 It is not a difficulty for this suggestion that some of the men on the Ad tablets evidently served as rowers (or may be sons of rowers): they could have worked in both capacities, but at different times of the year. (It may be significant that As (1) 5941 at Knossos, whose hand (103) points firmly towards a textile context, contains three suprascript glosses categorising at least some of the men it lists as *e-re-ta*, 'rowers'.)

but are collected in groups of up to twenty-six or twenty-seven at places which for the most part do not seem to be the major centres of population. As I suggested, this would be explicable if the tablets recorded temporary encampments of smiths gathered together for limited periods each year for work on behalf of the palace. (As Chadwick has suggested, they could have been located in places where there were good supplies of fuel, see *Documents*²: 509.) Though the evidence is clearly insufficient to allow us to confirm this hypothesis, it is certainly not an impossible notion, as witness the parallel in modern Greece of the potters of Siphnos. M. Voyatzoglou has described these as follows (Voyatzoglou 1997: 64):

In spite of its professional structure, the working team [of potters] consists of farmers who practice the craft only during the three summer months. As farmers they live in the inland villages, while as potters they move to the coastal workshops built specially for the seasonal pottery production and its exportation beyond the island to different ports of the country. These coastal workshops form several pottery settlements on the island of Siphnos, inhabited by the craftsmen for the three summer months, only.

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Ἄναξ AND βασιλεύς IN THE HOMERIC POEMS*

Pierre Carlier

Twenty years ago, I tried to analyse all the attestations of ἄναξ and ἀνάσσειν (276) and all the attestations of βασιλεύς and related terms (142) in the Homeric poems.¹ It would be fastidious to repeat this detailed analysis now. I will only mention a few salient facts about the use of the two words, and then offer a few comments on two very hotly debated questions: Are there kings in the Homeric poems? Are there kings in early archaic Greece?

With regard to ἄναξ, there is some agreement among the homerists. Ἄναξ often occurs in formulas (the most frequent is ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, which occurs 56 times), and we may conclude that ἄναξ is a word inherited from an old tradition. Ἄναξ is frequently followed by a genitive indicating who is ruled, but it is sometimes a mere title – especially for gods,² but also for seers³ or powerful or venerable men like Anchises.⁴

Ἄναξ is nearly always in the singular. There are only five attestations of the plural (three of them about horses left without their masters in the middle of the battle).⁵ Ἄναξ and ἀνάσσειν nearly always indicate a one-man rule, but this monarchical power is not always a king's. The ἄναξ may be the house-lord, the master of slaves or even the master of animals.

Ἄναξ has the same range of meanings as *dominus* in late Latin, 'seigneur' in French or 'lord' in English. In contrast, there are many discussions about the

* I want to thank Stephie Nikoloudis for her help in correcting my English text.

1 Carlier 1984: 140–50, 215–30. Among the other analyses of the Homeric kingship vocabulary, see Fanta 1882: 19–33; Stegmann von Pritzwald 1930: 13–46 and 64–79; Gschnitzer 1965, 99–112; Deger 1970: 45–61; Grimm 1967: col. 781–90; Benveniste 1969 II: 23–95; Lévy 1987: 291–314; Martin Schmidt, this volume.

2 34 attestations in the *Iliad*, 16 in the *Odyssey*.

3 Helenos: *Il.* 13.582, 758, 770, 781; Polydamas: *Il.* 15.453; Teiresias: *Od.* 11.144, 151.

4 Anchises: *Il.* 5.268; Aineias: *Il.* 5.311; the Trojan warrior Thymbraios: *Il.* 11.322; Teucros: *Il.* 23.859; Patroclus: *Il.* 23.173; the suitor Peisandros: *Od.* 18.299; Nisos, father of the suitor Amphinomos: *Od.* 16.395, 18.413.

5 *Il.* 2.177, 16.371, 16.507. In the *Odyssey*, Eumaios twice uses the plural ἄνακτες, once about Laertes, Ulysses and Telemachus, the legitimate and good masters he likes (15.557), and once about the suitors, the bad masters without sense who have taken hold of Ulysses' goods (14.60–1).

meaning of βασιλεύς. Some scholars maintain that βασιλεύς does not mean 'king'.⁶

Βασιλεύς seldom appears in formulas. One of the rare exceptions is βασιλῆα πολυχρύσιοιο Μυκῆνης, 'basileus of Mycenae rich in gold', about Agamemnon, but it occurs only twice, *Il.* 7.180 and 11.46.

In contrast to ἄναξ, βασιλεύς very often appears in the plural. Of course, βασιλῆες is sometimes used when several individuals each of whom is βασιλεύς meet or act together,⁷ but most often the plural βασιλῆες has a collective meaning: it designates a group. This plural βασιλῆες alternates with γέροντες and ἡγητόρες ἡδέ μέδοντες: the elders of the community are collectively the βασιλῆες.

In contrast to ἄναξ, βασιλεύς never designates a god or a house-lord. I insist on this last point, because many scholars assert the contrary: nowhere in the Homeric poems, does βασιλεύς obviously mean 'master of an *oikos*'.⁸ Βασιλεύς is neither divine nor private: it indicates a privileged human position in groups larger than simple *oikoi*.

One may be more or less βασιλεύς: the comparative βασιλεύτερος occurs three times, and the superlative βασιλεύτατος once. In the Achaean army, the βασιλεύτατος is of course Agamemnon. Moreover, just before the Doloneia, Agamemnon asks Diomedes not to choose as companion a less valorous warrior even if he is βασιλεύτερος, and the poet specifies that Agamemnon fears that Diomedes might choose Menelaus (*Il.* 10.239–40); fortunately, Diomedes prefers Ulysses. While Ulysses is more intelligent and a better fighter than Menelaus, Menelaus is βασιλεύτερος. The hierarchical scale among βασιλῆες is not grounded mainly on individual qualities, but on something else: birth of course, number of subjects, wealth, and also support from the gods. When the seer Theoclymenus sees an eagle flying at the right of Telemachus, he declares: ὑμετέρου δ' οὐκ ἔστι γένος βασιλεύτερον ἄλλο 'there is no family more kingly than yours' (*Odyssey* XV.533); to translate 'no nobler family' would completely miss the point.

The singular βασιλεύς most often (in 63 cases out of 67) designates the hereditary leader of a political community – what we call a king. The only exception in the *Iliad* is easily explained by the context. When Athena wants Pandaros to kill Menelaus, she says that by doing so he will win the gratitude of the βασιλεύς Alexander (4.96): it is quite normal on such an occasion that the shrewd goddess should exaggerate the power of Paris-Alexander. When Amphimedon in the

6 Among the first to express this now very common opinion, we may mention Quiller 1981; Donlan 1982, 1989.

7 In *Il.* 3.270, for instance, when Agamemnon and Priam conclude a treaty.

8 In the harvest scene of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.550–60), the βασιλεύς is much more than a private landlord: he holds a sceptre, and the land described is a τέμενος. Finley, *World of Odysseus*: 92, is at least imprudent when he says that βασιλεύς 'oscillates' between the meaning of 'king' and that of 'chief ruling over an aristocratic *oikos* with its servants and clients'.

underworld tells Agamemnon that Ulysses killed Ἀντινόον βασιλῆα (*Od.* 24.179), it just proves that some suitors thought of Antinoos as ‘their king’. When Telemachus tells the beggar that he can be confident in the uprightness of the two βασιλῆε Antinoos and Eurymachus, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω (18.64–5), these apparently flattering words suggest that the two suitors enjoyed receiving this title, but the irony and the threat are clear: the two men are no more βασιλῆε than they are ‘full of sense’, and they will realise it when the true king, who is already back, kills them.

The most debated text is *Odyssey* 1.394f. Telemachus for the first time has just announced that he will summon an assembly and ask the suitors to leave his house. All the suitors are surprised, and Antinoos expresses the wish that Zeus will not make Telemachus βασιλεύς as his ancestors were: the threat is clear. Telemachus replies that to be a βασιλεύς is a great advantage, and he would accept if Zeus were to give it to him. Then, he realises that the βασιληϊόν γέρας is not his main concern for the moment, and he makes a tactical concession:

Ἄλλ’ ἤτοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἦδε παλαιοί

‘However, there are many *basileis* of the Achaeans, many others in sea-girt Ithaca, young and old.’ At the end of his speech, Telemachus comes back to his immediate concern: that he should be the master (ἄναξ) of his house (*Odyssey* I.396–7). According to the usual interpretation, Telemachus is noticing that there are already many petty *basileis* in Ithaca, and pretends to accept that one of them should become supreme king as Ulysses was. Such an interpretation is not the only possible one. According to some ancient commentators, βασιλῆες here means ἐπιτήδαιοι εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν, ready to rule, apt to rule (Dindorf 1855 I: 67). This second interpretation perfectly fits the context, but of course the other cannot be excluded. What is sure is that in this first discussion between Telemachus and the suitors, βασιλεύς and βασιλεύειν most often refer to the position of Ulysses and his possible successor, that is, to supreme rule in Ithaca. The question is whether there are also petty *basileis* in Ithaca, and who they are. We may suppose that they are the heads of local communities inside the realm of Ulysses; the text of the *Odyssey* allows such a hypothesis, but does not require it.

A similar problem arises when one tries to explain why the elders are often called βασιλῆες. According to many modern interpreters, each of the elders would be βασιλεύς of a village, of a tribe or of a group of followers; anyway, he would be individually βασιλεύς.

Yet, we have not the slightest indication that the δημογέροντες of Troy (*Il.* 3.149) or the 12 βασιλῆες of Scheria who are constantly sitting around Alcinoos (*Od.* 6.53–5, 8. 390–1) have individually the title or the function of a βασιλεύς. In the Panachaeian army, each of the Elders is a *basileus*, but, on the contrary, all the

heads of the 29 military contingents do not belong to the narrower group of the *βασιλῆες* of the whole army. The members of the Panachaeian council are enumerated twice⁹. They are merely eight or nine men: Menelaos, Idomeneus, Nestor, Diomedes, the two Aiaikes, Ulysses, Meges in one of the lists and Achilles before his defection. The council of *basileis* is not the meeting of all those who are individually *βασιλεύς*, but only of the few who are acknowledged as the most powerful, the bravest or the wisest by the whole community of the Panachaeians.

Both the *βασιλεύς* and the *βασιλῆες* are often qualified by the same adjectives – *σκηπτοῦχος* (*Il.* 1.279, 14.93; *Od.* 2.231, 5.9) and *σκηπτοῦχοι* (*Il.* 2.86; *Od.* 8.41, 47) ‘sceptre-bearer’, *διοτρεφής* (*Il.* 2.196, 4.338, 5.464, 24.803; *Od.* 4.44) and *διοτρεφεῖς* (*Il.* 1.176, 2.98, 445, 14.27; *Od.* 3.480, 4.63, 7.49), ‘Zeus-fostered’. We could explain the coexistence of the singular *βασιλεύς* and the plural *βασιλῆες* by the power they share at the head of the community and by the similarities between them: both the king and the elders have received a privilege (*γέρας*) from the *damos*,¹⁰ both are protected by the gods.

Up to this point, we have kept strictly to the rule of *Aristarchus*, ‘Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν’, ‘to explain Homer by Homer’. Before continuing this internal analysis, it could be useful to move aside from it just a moment to make two further remarks, about the translation of *βασιλεύς*, and about the history of the word.

Obviously, *βασιλεύς*, which often designates a group of elders, does not mean ‘monarch’. It must be stressed, however, that ‘king’ and ‘monarch’ are not synonymous in modern languages. Thus, we may wonder if there is any advantage in abandoning the traditional translation of *βασιλεύς* by the word ‘king’. Most of the other translations that have been suggested – ‘distinguished person’ or ‘high-born leader’ for instance – are both clumsy and inadequate.¹¹ People who hold a sceptre, who keep their rule their whole life, who hand down their position to their sons and who are protected by the gods, have all the essential features of kings both oriental and European. In French, in spite of a very strong monarchical tradition, there is nothing shocking in saying ‘il y a douze rois autour du roi’, ‘there are twelve kings around the king’ or ‘Untel est plus roi qu’Untel’, ‘So-and-so is more king than So-and-so.’ It is evident that Homeric kings are very different from Louis XIV, but they are kings nevertheless.

9 The two lists are 2.405–8 and 10.18–110. There is a slight difference between the two lists: Meges, who is absent from the first one, is mentioned in 10.110.

10 Ulysses wishes that the Phaeacian Elders will keep ‘the privilege the people gave them’, *γέρας ὅτι δῆμος ἔδωκεν*, *Od.* 7.150. For a more detailed analysis of the Homeric *γέρα*, see Carlier 1984: 150–77. It is worth stressing that Herodotus 6.56 uses the same word about the prerogatives of the Spartan kings (*Γέρεα δὲ τὰδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασιν*), and that Thucydides 1.13 defines Greek traditional hereditary kingship as *ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι*, ‘with specific privileges’.

11 The translation ‘prince’ suggested by van Wees 1992: 31–6, is much more pertinent, because, according to the context, the word can designate the reigning monarch or any member of any aristocratic family. However, ‘prince’ mainly suggests high birth, and does not stress the fundamental notion of *geras*.

The reconstruction of the history of the word βασιλεύς depends on the interpretation of the Homeric evidence. For those who think that βασιλεύς is sometimes used for petty chiefs, the Homeric use of the word remains rather close to the Mycenaean meaning of *qa-si-re-u*: that is the hypothesis suggested by Fritz Gschnitzer as early as 1965.¹² If we accept that the βασιλεύς and the council of βασιλῆες share the same name because they share the same functions, the evolution of the use of the word is not difficult to explain either. With the fall of the palace system, the local *qa-si-re-we* appeared as the only remaining authority; some perhaps took the prestigious title of Ἄναξ, but most of them kept their traditional name of βασιλεύς. At the same time, the *ke-ro-si-ja* (γερούσιαι), one of which was already associated with a *qa-si-re-u* in Mycenaean Pylos,¹³ acquired more and more importance beside the *basileus*; as they were considered to share the honour and power of the *basileus*, they also received, as a group, the collective title of βασιλῆες.

Let us now come back to the Homeric poems themselves, and analyse the respective roles of the βασιλεύς and the βασιλῆες. The map of the Achaean world described in the Iliadic Catalogue mentions three political levels: (1) the boroughs – sometimes called *poleis* – and the small *ethne* enumerated within each contingent, more than 300 in all; (2) the 29 political entities corresponding to the military contingents, mostly (but not always) kingdoms ruled by one king and very often named by a global ethnic such as ‘Phocians’ or ‘Arcadians’; (3) the Panachaeian community whose supreme leader is Agamemnon. It is worth pointing out that this Homeric superimposition of communities¹⁴ has no federal character: not all the kings leading a contingent belong to the Panachaeian council of elders. Inside *poleis* or small *ethne*, there are still smaller groups like the phratries (*Il.* 2.362–3, 9.63), but the poet does not give any indication about their organisation.

At each of the three above mentioned levels, there are similar political institutions which work in a similar way. The community of gods has exactly the same political system. There is only one group which is simply a juxtaposition of private houses, the Cyclopes, ‘an overweening and lawless folk’ that the *Odyssey* describes in these words (9.112–15):

Τοῖσιν οὐτ’ ἄγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες

‘Neither assemblies for deliberation have they, nor appointed laws, but each of them is lawgiver to his children and his wives.’ Not to have political institutions is for the poet a proof of extreme savageness.

The political communities evoked in the Homeric poems all have an assembly

12 Gschnitzer 1965; on the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* see also Carlier 1995.

13 At the head of the *ke-ro-si-ja* mentioned in PY An 261 v.5 and An 616 v. 2 is a man called *A-pi-go-ta* who is mentioned as *qa-si-re-u* in PY Jn 431.

14 For this notion see in particular Vlachos 1974: 303–28.

(ἀγορά) and a council of elders, or several councils. I say ‘several councils’, because in some communities the composition of the council may be narrower or larger according to circumstances. In Scheria, for instance, King Alcinoos is everyday surrounded by twelve elders, but summons γέροντας πλέονας, ‘more numerous elders’ to share in the banquet to be held in honour of Ulysses (*Od.* 7.189).

Meetings of the Council and of the Assembly are quite frequent in the two poems: I have counted 42 such scenes, without taking into account mere allusions (Carlier 1984: 183–4; see also Ruzé 1997: 103–4). Every decision in the Homeric world is preceded by some form of deliberation – behind closed doors among the sole elders or publicly in front of the Assembly. The choice between the two possibilities depends on the king and the most influential elders. For instance, in Book 9 of the *Iliad*, Nestor advises Agamemnon to put an end to the assembly and to summon the elders for a meeting inside his hut (*Il.* 9.52–78); in front of the small group of the elders, Nestor suggests to send an embassy to Achilles. The reason for Nestor’s choice is clear: he knows that a negative answer from Achilles is possible, and he deems preferable not to decide publicly negotiations the failure of which would demoralise the soldiers.

While acknowledging the existence of assemblies and councils, some historians have denied that the kings have real political powers. According to them, the Assembly and the Council are places where ‘big men’ compete to prevail over each other.¹⁵ Competition is of course important, but the process of decision-making is worth examining. The assembly loudly acclaims a proposal or disapproves of it silently, but the *damos* never votes. Nor is there any vote among the elders. Even if in many cases Homeric discussions end with a unanimous agreement, it is not always the case. The simplest interpretation of the many political scenes of the two poems is that the king who leads the community puts an end to the discussion and takes the final decision. The king – and only the king – has the power of transforming a proposal into a decision: that’s what is meant by the verb *κράινειν*, brilliantly analysed by Emile Benveniste (Benveniste 1969 II: 35–42). The political system in the Homeric poems may be described by the following formula: the *damos* listens, the elders speak, the king decides.¹⁶

The famous trial scene on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.497–508), which has given rise to many controversies, may be interpreted in a similar way.¹⁷ Three institutions are mentioned as taking part in the trial. The *laoi*, divided into two groups of opposed supporters, listen to the discussion and shout loudly in favour of one

15 For instance, Geddes 1984: 16. For a detailed discussion of the ‘big man’ hypothesis, see Carlier 1996.

16 For more details, see Carlier 1984: 182–87 and Carlier 1999: 278–83.

17 On this text, the basic studies remain Glotz 1904, Wolff 1946 and Gernet 1948. For a more detailed presentation of my interpretation see Carlier 1984: 172–7. Van Wees 1992: 34 attributes the same roles to the *laoi*, to the elders and to the ἵστωρ. Among other recent analyses, see Westbrook 1992 and Scheid-Tissinier 1994.

or the other litigant; the elders express their opinion one after another; the ἵστωρ says which of the elders has given the better advice, and consequently which of the litigants is right. The text does not say that the ἵστωρ is a king, but his role is exactly parallel to the role the king plays in political discussion. In both cases, the decision is reached in the same way: after listening to the elders, in front of the assembled people, one man finally decides.

The necessity of deliberation is highlighted in the very original royal ideology expressed in the *Iliad*. Neither the supreme king Agamemnon nor the supreme leader of the Trojan army, Hector, are the wisest of their community (among the Trojans, the wisest is Polydamas, born the same night as Hector). The gods never give all their gifts to the same man; those who have received the privilege of royal power are necessarily deprived of some essential qualities. The king has to decide because he is the king, not because he is the best. So he must listen to good advice from wiser people (like Ulysses or Nestor among the Achaeans). The *Iliad* conveys a remarkable theology of royal imperfection.¹⁸

The ideology of kingship in the *Odyssey* is quite different. Ulysses is both the best – and in particular the wisest – and the βασιλεύτατος. His triumph over the suitors is at the same time the restoration of the legitimate heir of Arkesios and the victory of an exceptional individual, the only one who can string the bow.¹⁹

In spite of this wide difference between the political outlooks of the two poems, the Homeric picture of the political institutions themselves and of their functioning is quite coherent in both poems. There is no patchwork, but on the contrary a surprising uniformity. We may add that the Homeric decision-making process seems quite realistic: while reading the poems, we get the impression that somewhere some kings must have ruled in such a way. One might rightly object that this impression of reality could just prove the skill of the poet. Is Homeric kingship a clever fiction or did a similar system exist at some moment in Greek history?

The answer to the question is obviously linked with the dating of the poems. If, as the followers of Wolf believe, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed in late sixth-century Peisistratid Athens, then the Homeric political system could be an amalgam of very ancient traditions about the Achaean kings on the one hand and political institutions of the late archaic *polis* on the other. If we accept this hypothesis, the Homeric picture would be interesting for the history of political ideas and for the study of Peisistratid propaganda (the tyrants would have wanted to appear as heirs and successors of the heroic kings), but it would not give us any information about Dark Age and early archaic politics.

It is much more likely, however, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reached their monumental form in the eighth century.²⁰ A first very important historical

18 For more details, see Carlier 1984: 195–204.

19 On Ulysses' royal charisma, see in particular Delcourt 1944 and Germain 1954 : 11–54.

20 The arguments for this date are summed up in Carlier 1999: 81–100.

conclusion could then be drawn: the Assembly and the Council were already familiar to the poet's audience in the eighth century, and moreover they were considered traditional institutions. As for kingship, we have to concede that kings like Priamos and Agamemnon were so strictly tied to the traditional plot of the Trojan War that the epic poets would have been obliged to keep kings in their poems even if kingship had totally disappeared from the world in which they lived. The appearance of kings in the Homeric poems does not prove the existence of kings at the time of Homer.²¹

However, the local traditions of many cities and *ethne* tell many stories about many kings in the archaic period.²² It is not likely that all these traditions are late fictions.²³ If dynastic kingship was still a lively institution in the time of the monumental composition of the poems, we may wonder if that contemporary kingship was not at least partially in the background of Homeric kingship.

Another consideration leads us to the same conclusion. How could a public decision be reached before the invention of voting? Sometimes through violence, through the pressure of an influential big man or through unanimous approval of course, but if these means failed, the community would break up. The surest and most convenient way of decision-making is the arbitration of a man set over the others by the support of the gods, that is, very often a king. It is hard to believe that the Greek epic poets would have imagined this simple and effective political system if it was totally unknown to the Greek communities themselves.

Assembly, Council and kings probably existed in most Greek communities of the early archaic period – villages, *ethne* and many emerging *poleis*; they probably worked more or less as the poems describe them. As this type of government is considered traditional by the poets and their audience, it probably already existed in the late Dark Age.²⁴

The ontological argument of Descartes is well known: the idea of God proves the existence of God. Analogically, we could say: the epic picture of politics proves that the poets and their audience had some experience of politics.

Politics in Greece probably antedate the rise of the *polis* itself.

21 Later, in democratic Athens, heroic kings remained the main characters of Athenian tragedy.

22 I have collected ancient traditions about *thirty-five* royal dynasties in archaic Greece: Carlier 1984: 233–514.

23 Drews 1983 rejects many traditions as fictitious (with rather unconvincing arguments), but he cannot question all the testimonies about hereditary kingship. He tries to get round the obstacle in two ways. First, he admits that there were kings in *ethne* (but not in *poleis*); as there were many *ethne* in early archaic Greece, he would have to concede that kingship was quite usual. Secondly, Drews maintains that the βασιλεῖς mentioned in many cities are not kings, but 'republican *basileis*'. It is clear that this strange expression does not suit such powerful hereditary leaders as Pheidon of Argos or Arcesilas II of Cyrene.

24 It seems difficult, however, to draw from the Homeric poems any inference about the political situation in Greece before the middle of the ninth century.

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KIN-GROUPS IN THE HOMERIC EPICS (SUMMARY)

Walter Donlan

Despite much effort to clarify them, the nature of kinship groupings in the Homeric epics and in the archaeology of the Iron Age (whatever the historical connection between the two) remains obscure. Evidence of supra-familial groups is negligible in the poems and there is uncertainty regarding the historical reality even of the abundantly attested family household (*oikos*). Certainty about these matters, however, inhered in the novel theories of the nineteenth-century social evolutionists, which provided both a prehistory for the Greeks and Romans, hitherto lacking, and a scientific explanation, drawn from comparative ethnography, of their progression from a 'social organisation' made up of primitive kinship units, clan (*gens/genos*) and tribe, to the 'political organisation' of the city-state based on territory, the monogamous family, private property, and law.

Walter Donlan's paper had two aims: First to explore the reasons why the nineteenth-century 'evolutionary paradigm' kept such a tenacious hold on the history of early Greece, for though the gentile model underwent numerous permutations, its core tenets remained essentially intact from the 1860s until the 1970s. And second, to examine the instances of Homeric *genos/geneê* in their genealogical usage as recited patriline, in light of the 'reformulated' concept of anthropological kinship developed within the last decade.

Walter Donlan's publications quoted by the authors of this volume are listed below:

- (1982), 'The politics of generosity in Homer', *Helios*, 9, pp. 1–15.
- (1985), 'The social groups of Dark Age Greece', *Classical Philology*, 80, pp. 293–308.
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Part II

CONTINUITY – DISCONTINUITY – TRANSFORMATION

THE MYCENAEAN HERITAGE OF EARLY IRON AGE GREECE

Oliver Dickinson

The title of this chapter raises a series of questions. What, to begin at the beginning, does 'Mycenaean' signify? Certainly not, in my view, the material culture of the whole of the southern Aegean in the later part of the Late Bronze Age. I say this because I find the term 'Mycenaean Crete', often used these days to signify Crete from Late Minoan IIIA, if not II, onwards, unhelpful. The fact that Linear B was used in parts of Crete is significant, but it should not be taken to mean that Crete was Mycenaean in the same way as mainland territories. There are very many similarities in the range of artefacts that was current in Crete and the Mycenaean region in the later phases of the Late Bronze Age, but nobody could mistake a tableful of Late Minoan III pottery for one of Late Helladic III, and Crete retained many distinctive traditions in burial customs, types of ritual site, and ritual practices – in which particular area, it may be noted, Crete did *not* adopt the highly characteristic Mycenaean terracotta figurines. Even the settlements may have had a rather different aspect, but the evidence bearing on this is not copious outside Crete.

So even in the thirteenth century BC 'Mycenaean' means something less than 'Aegean' – but what, precisely? There is not a single feature that could be considered typical of Mycenaean material culture that is equally prevalent in every part of the Mycenaean region, except the decorated pottery, and even this has a much wider range in some regions than others. In arguing for a fundamental continuity of a 'Greek' substratum from Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age, Anthony Snodgrass cited among the more spectacular attributes of Mycenaean culture 'Cyclopean walls, palace bureaucracies, built family-tombs, large-scale painting and miniature glyptic' (Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 385). But of these only the tombs and glyptic may be considered truly widespread, and even here there are local variations. Chamber tombs are hard to find in most parts of Messenia and Thessaly, and the production of any but the simplest sealstones had died out well before the end of the Third Palace Period. It is a commonplace that Linear B tablets, the symbol of the palace bureaucracies, are found in only a very few places; inscribed stirrup jars have a slightly wider range, but if not local they are mostly 'imports' from one region, western Crete, and other items inscribed with Linear B are vanishingly rare.

We have no reason, then, to suppose that 'palace societies' which relied on the use of Linear B were to be found throughout the Mycenaean region: we cannot even assume that such major centres as Orchomenos, Athens, the Menelaion site, and the great town now being revealed at Dimini were the capitals of such societies, although in the case of Orchomenos at least this must seem likely. At best it can be argued that palace societies were established at the most important Mycenaean centres, and that it was upon them and their economic activities and demands that the standard of civilisation in the Aegean ultimately rested.

But this introduces another point: from when should the 'Mycenaean heritage' be derived? For even after the collapse of the palace societies, the culture of most of Greece was still Mycenaean, while the culture of Crete was still its individual mixture of Mycenaean and Minoan. The innovations that do appear in the course of what I have termed the post-palatial period do not come as a cultural package that supersedes the preceding cultures. Rather, they are adopted piecemeal and coexist even at the same site with older traditions. Pottery that would generally be classified as SM, and pins, fibulae and other jewellery types that Desborough considered typical of his 'cist tomb culture', can be found associated with burials in chamber tombs, as has been particularly clearly demonstrated by the extremely important results of the excavations at the cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki, the subject of other papers in this publication, and, of course, pins and fibulae are found in the multiple burial tombs of Crete.

What this indicates, surely, is that there was no sudden adoption of a new material culture. Rather, there was a series of gradual changes, whose cumulative result was that by the beginning of the Iron Age proper the material culture of most of Greece looked very different from what it had been in the heyday of the Late Bronze Age. Given the evidence that what I shall be terming in my book the Collapse had a very profound effect on the Aegean, it is from the post-palatial period that any Mycenaean heritage must primarily be derived, even if it in turn inherited from older phases of the Mycenaean culture. I have no quarrel with the view that the roots of the epic tradition might extend back to the early Mycenaean period, although I doubt very much if it involved the use of hexameter verse so early. But it cannot be said too often that our natural expectation for such orally transmitted and traditional material should be that it was continually being transformed. Thus, I do not believe that we have any myth in anything approaching its original form, and attempts to relate mythical material to specific periods of the Bronze Age, and to make it encapsulate little scraps of its history, are in my view a total waste of time. The form that legends of the post-Trojan War migrations have in the Classical period represents the form that the claimed descendants of the founders of *poleis* wanted to hear, presenting these founders in a heroic light. The foundation legends of cities in Magna Graecia are comparable.

There cannot be heritage without continuity, so what we are really discussing is the level of continuity from the Bronze Age. The most basic form of this, of course, would have been in the population and their physical setting. There are no

indications of very significant changes in the landscape or the climate, although sea level may have risen somewhat and there may have been temporary climatic fluctuations. One should expect some degree of regeneration in the vegetation, with so much territory apparently left unexploited for a considerable time, but overall the Iron Age inhabitants did not have to deal with an environment that was significantly different from that of the Bronze Age.

As for the population, there are no good arguments – though many bad ones – for the arrival of a significant new population element in Greece in the post-palatial period. But if the population continued, it did not necessarily continue in the same places or in the same numbers. The widely accepted hypothesis that there was a massive decline in the total numbers of the Aegean population over the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC does have basic flaws in its approach to the data. In particular, it seems to make no allowance for the fact that some periods in the sequence of Aegean phases are far more visible to archaeologists than others. For the centuries to which I just referred, and indeed even for the ninth and eighth centuries, there are no ‘type fossils’ like the ubiquitous Late Helladic IIIA–B plain kylix that can indicate use of a site. We have to rely on occurrences of the naturally much rarer decorated pieces, or distinctive shapes like the Protogeometric conical foot, on sites, or of graves that indicate the presence of a living population nearby. When it has only recently been demonstrated, from reported deposits, that the settlement of Minoa on Amorgos was occupied in Protogeometric times (see most recently *AR*, 39, 1992–3, p. 67), and when the first Early Iron Age graves have only just been found at Sparta and Amyklai (see particularly Raftopoulou 1998, and *AD*, 51, 1996, B:129–31), it seems to me foolhardy, to say the least, to argue that the currently identifiable distribution of finds reflects the actual distribution of settlement at all closely.¹

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that very many settlements were abandoned, if not in the immediate circumstances of the Collapse, at least over the succeeding decades. For a combination of excavation and surface survey has produced no evidence for their occupation after Late Helladic III, not merely in Early Iron Age but in Archaic, Classical, even Hellenistic and Roman times in many cases. This applies particularly to the widespread class of ‘small sites’, but quite often relatively large settlements like Midea show a similar pattern. This is not totally surprising, for relatively large settlements can be abandoned even later, like Nichoria and Pylos, which both have Early Iron Age occupation, and even whole microregions seem to have been temporarily abandoned, like the Berbati valley. There was, then, surely some, perhaps considerable, decline in population.

It can also be argued that the Aegean population showed a remarkable propensity for mobility following the Collapse. Some seems to have concentrated at surviving settlements, the natural centres that were rarely if ever totally abandoned,

¹ For instance, Osborne, *Making*: 25, fig. 6, showing sites supposedly occupied between c.1050 and c.1000 BC, and deriving from Snodgrass, *Archaeology*: 177, fig. 52.

like Tiryns, Athens or Thebes. Very few if any settlements on the Greek mainland were *founded* in the post-palatial period or Early Iron Age, although this does seem likely for certain sanctuary sites, notably Olympia. But some of the people may well have gone overseas, to the Aegean islands, the east and north Aegean coasts, to Crete, to Cyprus – though I remain totally sceptical that the Philistines and other so-called ‘Sea Peoples’ represent direct migrants from the Aegean – even to Apulia.² I do not want to discuss here the motivation behind this mobility, but I believe it to have been a real and significant factor that helped to form the prevailing ethos of the Early Iron Age.

Such mobility would surely have militated against preserving the social institutions of the past. Simply to leave one’s home village or farm and move to a larger centre relatively close at hand would have been bad enough – we need only consider, as a historical parallel, Thucydides’ comments on the reluctance of the population of the Athenian countryside to evacuate their farms, when Attica was invaded by the Peloponnesian army (Thuc. 2.14, 16). But to go elsewhere entirely meant abandoning the tombs of one’s ancestors and the places where the religious rituals of the community had been conducted, as well as simply the buildings and fields that had shaped life previously. Even those communities that survived – and which had undergone a traumatic experience, therefore, would have had to change to accommodate additions to their surviving population, socially as well as physically.

The existing settlements, it seems, practised mixed farming much as before, but without any distortions that might reflect response to the specialised demands of palace economies. Far too much emphasis has been laid on the high percentage of cattle bones in the Iron Age deposits of Nichoria, which almost certainly represent a purely local development and not a general Iron Age pattern, let alone a reliance on pastoralism, which could only support communities even tinier than those often postulated.³ Identified sites are situated in good agricultural land, whether in upland Crete or lowland Peloponnese. Too little has been excavated at most sites for a clear picture of their layout and nature to emerge, but it can certainly be said that, outside Crete, houses seem to have been of different, simpler types from those prevalent in the Bronze Age, and settlements were disorganised scatters of such houses, lacking a clear street layout, let alone defenses or other signs of communally undertaken works. Some buildings were exceptionally big and may have been the dwelling places of leading families, centres for communal ritual, or, in the case of the Lefkandi ‘Heroon’, a funerary building and memorial, but they do not differ from the smaller ones in basic construction methods or fittings, simply making more extensive use of the standard building materials in proportion to their size.

2 For the copious material at Punta Meliso on the Salentine peninsula see Benzi and Graziadio 1996.

3 Wallace 2000: 83, table 16 makes this absolutely clear with calculations for a series of Cretan sites.

A picture of instability and change in patterns of behaviour must militate against Snodgrass's idea that an essentially 'Greek' substratum continued from Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age beneath what he saw as a superficial Mycenaean overlay. He detects this continuity especially in the prevalence of single burial in cists and pits, both in Middle Helladic and in the Iron Age (Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 383–5). But his definition of multiple burial as one of several 'exotic and essentially intrusive features, transplanted to the soil of Greece . . .' begs questions immediately, for the practice surely developed on the mainland for reasons of great significance to local societies, as is clear from the analysis in Voutsaki 1995, for instance, and it survived well into the Iron Age in several outlying parts of the Greek mainland, not merely Messenia and Thessaly but the Phocis-Locris region, although single burial was practised in these regions as well. In contrast, no less than sixty-one of the post-palatial chamber tombs at Perati were used for one burial only (Iakovidis 1980: 10). The return to single burial cannot be associated with any particular tomb-type, then, let alone represent the continuous tradition of any population stratum; more probably it reflects changes in the way that burial was used to reflect social ideology. Equally, the establishment of new cemetery areas, a feature which can be identified before the end of the post-palatial period at several sites, marks a break with the past, but I do not think it is necessary to call in new population elements to explain it. Rather, it may well represent changes in the social order that were sufficiently significant for the establishment of new cemeteries to be chosen as one way to reflect them.

The adoption of cremation, itself another form of single burial, also provides a notable contrast with all earlier periods. It occurs first in the post-palatial period as a rite for individuals, who were generally buried in the same tombs as people inhumed in the traditional fashion, but it was then adopted as a majority rite by some communities of the Iron Age, at least by that section of the population which received formal burial rites of the kind that can be recognised archaeologically. The regions where this happened were most often those which maintained connections with the Near East, and the choice of cremation may therefore reflect the desire to display exotic contacts, as well as a wish to make a show of the funeral, both for purposes of emphasising status.

The burial record of the post-palatial period can be argued to show two contrasting approaches to this very important area of the expression of social status. There *were* appeals to the heritage of the past, to be seen in the continuing use as burial goods of Bronze Age types such as figurines, relief beads, seal stones and seal rings; but there were also appeals to the new and exotic, in the use of Near Eastern types of bead, seal, and amulet, iron knives which may be direct imports from Cyprus, and metal types of dress-fastener, jewellery, and weapons, especially swords, which have closer links with Italian and central European than with older Aegean types, although some quickly became established as indigenous in the Aegean. But the survival of Bronze Age types is often confined to particular localities, and in the long run it was the innovations that won out: most Bronze Age

types of artefact survived barely or not at all into the Iron Age, even such simple items as beads, which are extraordinarily rare in Early Iron Age contexts, while in the pottery, where direct continuity *can* be demonstrated in shapes and decorative motifs, as many typical elements of the Bronze Age were lost as were continued. Thus, the kylix only survived in the remotest areas, principally in western Greece,⁴ the stirrup jar only in Crete.

Another feature which I think sticks out if one considers post-palatial and Iron Age burial customs in particular, and material culture in general, is the lack of evidence for an established elite. There are, indeed, burials and buildings whose features would naturally lead one to attribute them to important people, but that these represented an elite whose position was stable and supported by long tradition, as could reasonably be argued for the Mycenaean elite of the palace era, is completely open to question. In many post-palatial cemeteries there are some burials that are prominent because of their exceptional grave-goods, but these are not separated in any way from other less notable burials; similarly, in the later Toumba cemetery associated with the Lefkandi 'Heroon', rich and poor burials are mixed together, and there is not much evidence of deliberate layout, such as one might expect in an elite cemetery.

The burials in the Lefkandi 'Heroon', though they are surely those of persons of exalted status, can hardly represent some survival of an idea of kingship from Mycenaean times, since the only thing they have in common with Mycenaean princely burials is the general notion, found in many cultures, of marking important burials with a selection of valuable grave-goods. But their context represents the *only known case* of Iron Age burials that are set off from the norm by really exceptional features, rather than simply by a larger grave, richer grave-goods, and evidence of somewhat more elaborate funeral rites. Otherwise there are no Iron Age burials, let alone buildings, whose exceptional features might lead us to define those who used them as 'kings', and I have a lot of sympathy with the view that anything that we would recognise as kingship had largely disappeared from the Greek world well before historical times, whatever later Greek sources claimed. The words *wanax* and *basileus* survived, but it remains debatable how far their significance reflects anything inherited from the Bronze Age.

I have not alluded much to external contacts. It seems clear that some communities never lost contact with the Near East – Knossos is the most obvious, Lefkandi is also probable – but although the need for metals *must* have involved some degree of exchange, other indications suggest that contacts between regions were often tenuous and sporadic.

Finally, something needs to be said about survivals in the area of religion and ritual. Here, as so often, the evidence is ambiguous. It seems incontestable that the

4 For examples from Nichoria (stems only) and Polis/Ithaca see *Nichoria III*: figs 3–4, 5, 13, 14, 19. The shape also survived for a while in western Thessaly, see *AAA*, 17 (1984), pp. 74–87, no 3, for three from Prosopigi Tomb A, dated c.1000–950.

ritual mourning that seems to be typical of Greek funerals, depicted from Geometric times onwards, can be traced back into the Bronze Age, on the evidence of the Tanagra larnakes,⁵ and this might well lead one to suggest that, whatever the type of grave, there were some continuities in funerary practice. But in what may be more strictly defined as religion, concerned with the worship of supernatural powers, change is far more obvious than continuity. Most important sites of Greek public religion do not have a Bronze Age predecessor; Kalapodi and perhaps the Amyklaion are exceptions that effectively began in the post-palatial period. The rituals around which Greek public religion was evidently centred, from the time of the Homeric poems onwards, may have included Bronze Age elements, but the emphasis on animal sacrifice which is shared between the gods, whose portion is burnt, and mortals, who consume their portion, does not seem to derive from the practices of Mycenaean religion, where gods are presented with votives and unburnt offerings of food and drink as much as anything, and although there was animal sacrifice there is no evidence that it had the overriding importance that it did later.⁶ The Linear B tablets show us that the names of some of the major gods of later Greek religion were already known, but we can say nothing of the powers or position attributed to them, and many of the most important Greek gods are missing or at best their presence is a matter of controversy – I would cite Athena, Apollo, Demeter, Persephone and Aphrodite as certain or virtually certain absentees. The process whereby the Olympian gods and Classical Greek religion developed was surely very complex, and still continuing in the archaic period.

So, overall, the Mycenaean heritage of the Iron Age is not very conspicuous. The people were, I suspect, basically the same, though some had moved around. They farmed the same crops and reared the same animals, and increasingly they spoke Greek, as they may not all have done in the Bronze Age.⁷ But theirs was a very different society, that had its links with the past but lived a much simpler life.⁸ Fewer skills were available and they were practised at a lower level than in the Late Bronze Age, and horizons were more limited – only certain communities

5 The most recent discussion is Rystedt 1999: 90–4, where it is stressed that the social frame in which the practice had significance, the expression of attachment to the household, could have remained the same, even if the links to social structure and religious belief had changed.

6 For recently reported evidence of burnt sacrifice at Pylos, see Davis and Stocker 2002.

7 This seems an appropriate place to comment on a point made to me in conversation by Dr B. Eder, that there was also continuity in oared ships, chariots, and weapon types (especially the Naue Type II sword). To me the first and last are not very surprising; there is no obvious reason for oared ships, which had already been current in the Aegean for millennia, to have disappeared, or for smiths have to have ceased to produce standard types, even once they moved to iron-working. The question of the physical survival of the chariot is more controversial, but there is a strong argument for it, cf. Crouwel 1981: 72–4, 96, 115.

8 I do not mean by this that it was necessarily simple in absolute terms, but that the level of social organisation and the capacity to mobilise resources were far less developed than in the Bronze Age 'palace societies'. I would continue to maintain this, while fully recognising that there is increasing evidence during the Early Iron Age for long-distance contacts with the Near East and exchange within the Aegean region, and for the wealth that seems generated by exchange.

maintained direct contacts with the world beyond the Aegean. In many ways, the Mycenaean heritage of the Iron Age seems very much like the Bronze Age element in Homer. Some features of social behaviour and material culture might be preserved Bronze Age relics, but much more was either new or, if it sprang from Bronze Age beginnings, was transformed, like the religion. The conclusion must be that the characteristic features and institutions of the Greeks as we know them essentially had their beginnings in the Iron Age, at the earliest.

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COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST: IDEOLOGY AND POWER IN LATE HELLADIC IIIC

Joseph Maran

This chapter aims to define the evidence for the restoration of ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC and to answer the question, ‘What may the phenomena of a seeming reestablishment of political power signify?’¹ In confronting this topic I should begin by mentioning that I will concentrate on the Argolid, and especially on the site of Tiryns. I choose this procedure not so much because this is the site which I know best, nor because I think that the so-called ‘periphery’ of the Mycenaean world cannot significantly contribute to our understanding of the mentioned subject. The importance of Tiryns lies rather in the fact that it is currently the only Mycenaean centre, where on the basis of the available archaeological record a comparison between the circumstances in the palatial and post-palatial periods can be attempted. The concentration on the Argolid, though, inevitably has as its consequence that the conclusions which I will reach cannot be assumed to apply to other regions. On the other hand, it seems of particular importance for a better knowledge of the still insufficiently known transition between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age to select a regional approach. Moreover, I would like to emphasise that it is in the nature of the subject of my paper that I will at many points pick up observations and suggestions, which were already made by others, and above all by K. Kilian and S. Deger-Jalkotzy.

¹ I would like to thank the following for their valuable contributions to this paper: Melissa Vetter for her assistance in finding the documentation of the old excavations in the Tiryns archive in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, Elizabeth French for her important comments on the post-palatial sequence in the Citadel House Area of Mycenae, Maria Kostoula for stimulating discussions on the composition of the Tiryns treasure, Olga Krzyszkowska for sharing information on the correspondence between A. J. B. Wace and Sir Arthur Evans with me, Hartmut Matthäus for the discussion on the reconstruction of the large tripod of the Tiryns treasure, Peter Marzollf for the help in interpreting the documentation of the ‘Schatzhausgrabung’, Georg Nightingale for providing information on Mycenaean jewellery and Jerry Rutter for reading the article and for making many helpful suggestions on various of its topics. Special thanks go to Klaus Messmer for his outstanding drawings of the objects and the reconstruction of the Tiryns treasure

In order to evaluate possible links in the ideological sector between the palatial and post-palatial periods it is first necessary to provide a short general characterisation of the likely features of Mycenaean kingship in the thirteenth century BC. The combination of the few indications in the Linear B texts with the architectonic layout of the palaces points to an ideology which was centred on a ruling personality called *wanax* and which found its archaeological expression in the great megara of the palaces. The ruler combined religious and profane authorities, and he probably enjoyed aspects of divine worship (Baumbach 1979: 153–6; Palaima 1995: 133–4; Stavrianopoulou 1995: 427–30). Although it cannot be proven, a regulation of the succession to power according to principles of descent is likely, and accordingly the core of a kingdom was formed by a dynasty residing in the palace. The palaces dominated through a complex administrative structure a specific territory and exerted influence on long-distance trade as well as on specific sectors of the economy (Deger-Jalkotzy 1995: 370–4).

Until the early 1960s the prevailing research opinion assumed that as a consequence of the all-out destruction of the palaces not only administration and writing disappeared, but also that former centres like Tiryns were at least partially abandoned, and, like Mycenaean culture in general, sinking into a 'Dark Age' (see Desborough, *Last Mycenaean*: 79, 225–7). But what are the indications which today call into doubt the notion of a complete break after the demise of the palaces and which even raise the possibility, that in the twelfth century BC an attempt was made to pick up the thread of traditions based on the old ideology? In the following I will focus on the realms of architecture and symbols of religious and profane power, and try to summarise the evidence relevant to our question. Subsequently, I will discuss what conclusions should be drawn from the revival of palatial elements and how these elements possibly were integrated into the framework of the social order of the post-palatial period.

In the last forty years excavations in Mycenae and Tiryns, and to a lesser degree also in Midea, have shown that after the destruction around 1200 BC the citadels with their Cyclopean fortifications were repaired and the occupation resumed. Even more important than the establishment of a mere settlement continuity is the evidence that in the heart of the Upper Citadel of Tiryns some of the most important architectural forms of palatial times were revived in LH IIIC. Not only was the Great Megaron replaced by another megaron, namely Building T, but also the Great Court was at least to some degree cleared from the remains of the catastrophe and the altar transformed from a round to a platform-like structure (Maran 2000: 13–16; 2001: 113–16). Moreover, it is likely that at the same time the Western Staircase, which was temporarily blocked by debris, and the staircase from the Middle Citadel to the Upper Citadel were repaired and reused.² In this

2 If the interpretation given in Maran 2001: 115–16 is correct, the phase of the repair of the Western Staircase after the deposition of the destruction deposit with the frescoes (see Müller 1930: 45–6, 209) should belong to the post-palatial period. Recently, excavations by the Fourth

way the imposing approach linking directly the western part of the Lower Town and the harbour with the palace was restored. Attempts for the reconstruction of architectural forms of palatial times during LH IIIC can also be observed elsewhere in the Argolid. The closest analogy for the changes on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns can be found at Midea, where the excavation of G. Walberg on the Lower Terraces gave evidence for the transformation of a large megaroid LH IIIB building into a post-palatial structure quite similar to Building T (Walberg 1995: 87–91; Maran 2001: 117). Provided that E. French is right and the so-called Geometric building beneath the archaic temple of Mycenae was of Late Helladic date (French 2002: 136–8), we would have another example for the construction of a building with imposing dimensions in the central part of a palace. In contrast to Tiryns and Midea, though, this building would not have followed in its ground-plan and orientation the former palatial structures.

While in Tiryns we can ascertain, in spite of the qualitative differences in architecture, a remarkable architectural continuity in the area of the central complex of the Great Megaron and the Court, the Lower Citadel of Tiryns gives a quite different picture. After the destruction neither the structuring principles of palatial occupation nor architectural forms like the corridor-house were revived. Instead, we encounter in the twelfth century in the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town of Tiryns a mostly village-like occupation, characterised by the arrangement of houses around courtyards (Kilian 1983: 76–7; 1985: 75–7). Kilian drew a comparison between these features and the economically self-sufficient households described by Homer (Finley, *World of Odysseus*: 83–5, 105–6; Donlan 1985: 299–300; 1989: 7–13), and in addition he inferred from the post-palatial settlement plan a social order, in which the difference in status between the dominating group residing in the Citadel and the subordinate population of the Lower Town had become almost unrecognisable (Kilian 1983: 77–81; 1985: 80–1; 1988: 135). The ideas of Kilian concerning the similarity of the LH IIIC way of settlement to the Homeric descriptions were carried on by Deger-Jalkotzy when she considered that the unit of independent *oikoi* mentioned by Homer may have emerged already immediately after the demise of the palaces (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a: 59). I agree with this opinion, because by assuming the existence of strong and competing families we are able, as will be shown, to explain some of the conspicuous processes of change from the thirteenth to the twelfth centuries BC. However, in contrast to Kilian, I see no reason to argue that the population living

Ephorate of the Greek Antiquity Service in the area of the upper part of the Western Staircase have led to the discovery of undisturbed stratified deposits of the same sediments which were investigated in 1910. Thanks to the careful excavation it will be possible through analysis of the pottery and the many new fresco fragments to shed new light on the stratigraphic sequence in this area. This excavation also showed that the staircase linking the Middle Citadel with the Upper Citadel in its current version represents a phase of repair of an earlier staircase. Although the latest phase of this staircase cannot be dated stratigraphically, its quite heterogeneous appearance created by the reuse of *spolia* of an earlier staircase would be consistent with the architectural possibilities of post-palatial times.

in the LH IIIC Lower Town was subordinate to the inhabitants of the Citadel. The main reason for this assessment lies in the remarkable dynamic unfolding in the Lower Town in post-palatial times.

Excavations in the north-western and north-eastern parts of the Lower Town have confirmed that in the early twelfth century BC a zone to the north of the citadel, which previously had been flooded, was built over.³ The basis for these building activities was in all likelihood already created in the late palatial period by the construction of the dam of Kofini and the diversion of the stream which had caused the flooding. Already then one of the motives for this drastic measure may have been the wish to develop new building areas in the Lower Town. But seemingly these plans were not carried out until after the demise of the palace. Kilian expressed the opinion that these building activities of the post-palatial period may have followed a carefully planned lay-out (Kilian 1985: 76; 1988: 135). Today this view is corroborated by the proof of a simultaneous start of building activities in two spatially separated parts of the northern Lower Town, as well as by the remarkably similar orientation of post-palatial architecture in these excavations (Maran 2002: 8–11; 2004: 283). Furthermore, based on the results of geophysical research carried out in 2002 by a team under the direction of Chr. Hübner it is likely that we can trace architecture with this particular orientation and probably of the same date also in the western Lower Town.

In trying to explain the remarkable boost in building activities during LH IIIC we should not solely look at external factors, like a population growth caused by the influx of refugees in the aftermath of the turmoil around 1200 BC (Kilian 1988: 135), but rather explore the possibility of an internal restructuring of occupation in Tiryns. In this context three factors have to be borne in mind: Firstly, after the destruction of the palace only certain parts of the acropolis were reclaimed. On the Upper Citadel apart from areas with high political significance like the Megaron-Court complex the main part of the former palace evidently was not rebuilt, and the narrow Building T must have stood quite isolated among the partially cleared and leveled ruins of the palace (Müller 1930: 213–15; Maran 2001: 118). Given this situation, it seems questionable whether Building T should be interpreted as a residence of a specific group. Instead, as recently has been argued by T. Mühlenbruch 2002: 48, it could have served as a communal hall in which under the direction of a ruler on certain occasions gatherings took place. Secondly, with Megaron W dating to LH IIIC Middle and a building subdivided by multiple rows of columns dating to LH IIIC Early, which was recently discovered in the northeastern Lower Town (Maran 2002: 8; 2004: 277–8; fig. 16), we know already two structures outside the walls of the acropolis, standing out in size and ground-plan from the rest of contemporary architecture. In the Lower

3 Northwestern Lower Town: cf. Kilian 1978: 449–57. For the recent excavations in the Northeastern Lower Town of Tiryns see Maran, 2002: 7–11; 2004: 277–84; Touchais, Huber and Philippa-Touchais 2000: 803–4; 2001: 831–3.

Citadel by contrast only Room 115 of LH IIIC Middle comes close to these structures (Kilian 1978: 465–6, fig. 18; 1992: 23). Thirdly, even if the post-palatial building activities in the Lower Town simply picked up the thread of concepts of the palatial period, this does not mean that the intentions of the decision-makers before and after 1200 BC were identical. Thus, the driving force behind the development of the Lower Town in the early twelfth century may have been the families of the new upper class, who, after being freed from the constraints of palatial rule, claimed areas in the surrounding of the citadel for themselves, and articulated their new self-confidence by the construction of new, and, in some cases, impressive living quarters. Seen from this perspective, the described phenomena could mark the beginning of a shift in the preference for living quarters away from the hill to its environs, a process which eventually led a hundred years later to the abandonment of the acropolis (Maran 2002: 8–11).

When we turn to the realm of symbols of power, it has to be stressed that the case of the Tirynthian Upper Citadel constitutes the most persuasive sign not only for the restoration of crucial palatial structures, but also for the revival of the ideas associated with them. The inclusion of the place of the throne in Building T indicates the continued focus of social hierarchy on one person, and in addition the re-modelling of the hypaethral altar points to the continuation of the performance of ritual linked to the megaron (Maran 2001: 117–20). Another line of continuity is suggested by the location of the LH IIIC cult buildings in the Lower Citadel exactly at a spot where already in palatial times ritual activities were performed (Kilian 1981: 53; 1992: 21–4). Similarly, in post-palatial Mycenae there is evidence for the continued attribution of religious significance to the area of the cult centre, since in its northwestern part above the ruins of the Room of the Fresco a new cult room was established after the catastrophe.⁴ Even more important for our question is the sequence in the neighboring Southwestern Quarter. There House Alpha dating to LH IIIB, in which the ‘Mykenaiia’ came to light, was followed by three LH IIIC-building horizons, the latest of which yielded fragments of three different fresco compositions, among them the ‘Lady with the Lily’.⁵ Evidently, in palatial and post-palatial times there existed buildings in the Southwestern Quarter richly

4 Taylour 1981: 36, 38, 40–3, 53, Plan 4–5; Albers 1994: 51. Dr Elizabeth French has kindly made available to me extracts from the current draft of her final publication of the stratified post-palatial levels in the Citadel House Area (French, forthcoming). In this publication she will concur with Lord William Taylour’s identification of the rooms by the Citadel Wall as potentially cultic, but she emphasises that this is based on architectural not artefactual evidence.

5 Mylonas 1971: 147, pl. 181; Kritseli-Providi 1982: 18–19, 37–40 (no. B-1, ‘Mykenaiia’), 73–6 (no. Γ-1, ‘Lady with the Lily’), 80–9; Iakovidis 1983: 50; Tournavitou 1999: 123. Since he was aware of the extraordinary importance of fresco fragments appearing in a secure LH IIIC-context and of the possibility of earlier finds appearing re-deposited in much later contexts, Mylonas discussed the stratigraphic association in particular detail. The pieces of the frescos were found only 5 cm above a floor dating to LH IIIC, under which another floor of the same period came to light. Moreover, the tendency of schematisation of the hair-style and the simplification of the costume noticed by Kritseli-Providi 1982: 75 are stylistical arguments supporting a late dating of the fresco of the ‘Lady with the Lily’.

decorated with frescoes of female figures. This demonstrates, as G. E. Mylonas has noted, a continuity of the cultic function of this specific area from the thirteenth to the twelfth centuries BC (Mylonas 1972: 28; see also Albers 1994: 48–52; Tournavitou 1999: 123, 127).

Despite these links between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC we should not forget the discontinuity of certain political and religious symbols. The most marked change consists in the abandonment of the large central hearth as an obligatory feature of imposing buildings like Building T, Megaron W or the Megaron of Midea (Walberg 1995: 89–91; Maran 2001: 117–18). Moreover, the context of employing fresco painting must have changed in LH IIIC, because in contrast to the palaces, not one of the post-palatial Megara, let alone the normal domestic quarters, gave unequivocal evidence for pictorial fresco decoration. In fact, the frescos from the South-western Quarter of Mycenae remain the only indication that this craft still flourished in LH IIIC.⁶ This explains, why the chronological attribution of the frescos was questioned (Immerwahr 1990, 120, 148 with n. 5; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 62), but given the detailed discussion of the stratigraphic position of the finds by the excavator this seems unwarranted.⁷ Instead, I would draw from the rarity of fresco decoration in post-palatial times the conclusion, that in spite of the still existing outstanding artistic abilities documented by the ‘Lady with the Lily’ the use of pictorial wall-painting in the post-palatial period for certain reasons became a much more restricted phenomenon than in palatial times. As I will try to show, the abandonment of the central hearth and the changed significance of fresco-painting may go back to the same cause, namely the altered position of rulership in LH IIIC.

But apart from the problem of continuity or discontinuity of architectural structures the question arises, what may have happened to the moveable symbols of kingly power? At first sight this question seems merely rhetorical, because apparently the symbols of authority of palatial times are concealed to our knowledge⁸ and, thus, how should we be able to discuss the possibility of their reuse in the twelfth century BC? It seems to me, though, that the situation is not that hope-

6 Because of its close stylistic and iconographic relationship to pictorial vase painting (Immerwahr 1990: 148–9; Rutter 1992: 65 and nn. 10 and 12) the painted lime-plastered stele with warriors from Mycenae should probably be excluded from the argumentation regarding the continuity of fresco painting into the post-palatial period.

7 Peterson 1981: 67 and n. 119; Immerwahr 1990: 191 (my no. 5); Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 62 all seem to refer to the English summary in Mylonas 1972: 38–9, where the excavator states that ‘a large fragment of fresco representing the head of a woman, was found on the topmost layer of the LH IIIC fill of the south area.’ This wording is somewhat misleading, since the relationship of the painted plaster fragments to the different LH IIIC-floors, which is clearly spelled out in Mylonas 1971: 147 (see n. 5 above) is missing, and the impression may arise, that they were found in the upper part of an undifferentiated fill.

8 As for symbols of authority of the palatial period in Greece and on Cyprus, see Kourou 1994: 203–15 and Lenz 1993: 62, who focus on sceptres and mace-heads; for Minoan Crete see Cultraro 2001: 249–55.

less and that through the analysis of one of the most enigmatic finds of the Aegean Bronze Age we can gain important insights into how symbols of power were treated in the post-palatial period. I refer to the so-called Tiryns treasure found in late December 1915 in the southeastern part of the Tirynthian Lower Town.

The story of the discovery of this treasure is the story of a glaring injustice to the outstanding Greek archaeologist Apostolos Arvanitopoulos. He was the director of the antiquity service in Thessaly, but in 1915 during the Balkan war he was mobilised as a reserve officer of the army and stationed in the Argolid. When a few days before Christmas the cauldron containing the treasure was discovered by workers, the director of the local antiquity service had already left to Athens for the holidays and refused to return. So Arvanitopoulos took over the task to supervise the rescue excavation, to recover the bronze cauldron still half-filled with earth and objects and to investigate its contents under witnesses in the office of the nomarchy in Nafplion. Naturally, Arvanitopoulos hoped that he would be able to participate in the publication of the treasure, but the director of the local antiquity service turned down this request (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206). Accordingly, the comprehensive report by Arvanitopoulos (1915) does not have any illustrations and this may explain the astonishing fact that this report was never used in the archaeological literature as a source for first-hand information about the treasure.

It is characteristic for the way this unique complex was hitherto discussed, that since its discovery it was called a 'treasure', but usually not interpreted as such. It was proposed that the complex constitutes the loot of grave robbers,⁹ or the property of a collector of antiques (Döhl 1975: 177; Spyropoulos 1972: 192–3), and even the authenticity of the find association or of the finds themselves was called in question,¹⁰ in spite of the fact that thanks to the efforts of Arvanitopoulos the recovery of the hoard was archaeologically supervised and

9 The interpretation of the Tiryns treasure as the loot of tomb robbers was already voiced immediately after the discovery by Georg Karo in a letter of 30 December 1915 to the Central Directorate of the German Archaeological Institute (Karo 1915) and then repeated in Karo 1916: 147 and Karo 1930: 138–9. This opinion was almost universally accepted in the archaeological literature: see, for instance, Philadelphvevs 1916: 21; Lorimer 1950: 68–9; Ålin 1962: 34; Vermeule 1964: 230–1; Hägg 1974: 79–80; Hughes-Brock 1993: 221–2.

10 At one time both Alan J. B. Wace and Sir Arthur Evans doubted the authenticity of the Tiryns treasure, but later revised their opinions (personal communication by Dr Olga Krzyszkowska). The fact that two such outstanding archaeologists had doubts about the treasure must have played a crucial role for triggering the unfounded rumours about its authenticity: Nilsson 1968: 348; Gill 1964: 12–13 and n. 29. See also the sceptical remarks by Catling 1964: 188, 195, 297. From the beginning, the strongest suspicions surrounded the large signet-ring with the procession of 'genii' (but see Ventris and Chadwick 1956: 333; Rehak 1995: 107 and n. 128), although it should have been clear that this ring was uncovered by Karo and Arvanitopoulos in the presence of witnesses on 25 December 1915 while they investigated the earth inside the lower half of the cauldron in the nomarchy of Nafplion: see Karo 1959: 111–12; see also n. 11 below.

quite well documented.¹¹ Undoubtedly, the mentioned interpretations were triggered by the fact that the treasure in the chronological range of its objects, the earliest of which probably dating to the Early Mycenaean period, the latest to LH IIIC,¹² as well as in its composition, encompassing gold objects but also scrap bronze, has a heterogeneous appearance. In addition to this, I suspect that the discovery of the treasure outside the acropolis has at least implicitly influenced the scholars in their judgement. I say this, because it seems to me that G. Karo and the others, who at the beginning of the twentieth century shaped the still accepted opinion on the Tiryns treasure, were not in a position to fully comprehend the meaning of the find, because the existence of a post-palatial Mycenaean period was just as unknown to them as the importance of the Lower Town of Tiryns exactly at that time.

While there can be little doubt that the Tiryns treasure differs in many regards from the other known hoards in Greece (Spyropoulos 1972: 4; Knapp, Muhly and Muhly 1988: 247; Borgna 1995: 17 and n. 17), and even in Bronze Age Europe in general, I still think that the mentioned interpretations are not convincing. Already in 1915 Arvanitopoulos spoke out against interpreting the Tiryns treasure as the loot of grave robbers. Instead, he maintained that the complex

11 On the basis of the comprehensive description provided by Arvanitopoulos 1915: 204–18 the following sequence of events can be reconstructed. 20 December 1915 (7 December according to the old calendar): Discovery of the treasure by workmen, who were immediately ordered to stop working, and notification of Arvanitopoulos; 21 December 1915: Fruitless attempts by Arvanitopoulos to persuade Philadelphes, the ephor of the Argolid, to leave Athens and supervise the excavation of the treasure; 22 December 1915: Arrival of Arvanitopoulos in Tiryns, start of the excavation, recovery of the treasure; 23 December 1915: Continuation of the excavation; 24 December 1915: Arvanitopoulos notifies Karo and Philadelphes, who is still in Athens, of the recovery of the treasure; 25 December 1915: Arrival of Karo in Nafplion, who joins Arvanitopoulos in investigating the contents of the lower half of the cauldron in the nomarchy in Nafplion; 26 December 1915: Arrival of Philadelphes in Nafplion after the investigation of the treasure had been finished and all finds had been sealed.

12 As noted by Matthäus 1980: 57–8 with the exception of the two signet-rings all constituents of the treasure are likely to date to either LH IIIB or IIIC, and thus the chronological range of the objects shows a clear concentration towards the latest Mycenaean phases (*pace* Waldbaum 1978: 86 n. 281). For the following objects a LH IIIC date in particular can be proposed: the iron sickle (Matthäus 1980: 57; Sherratt 1994: 92); the amber beads of Tiryns type (Harding and Hughes-Brock 1974: 155–6; Palavestra 1992); the granulated golden *pendant* of an ear-ring in the form of a highly stylised bull's head (Karo 1930: 125; fig. 1 [no. 6212]; Iacovidis, *Perati II*: 297–8; *III*: pl. 97, β-M39; Buchholz 1986: 144; Buchholz 1999: 259); the Cypriote bronze tripod stand (Catling 1964: 192–9; Matthäus 1985: 307–8). In other cases a LH IIIC date is likely: the wheels made of gold wire (Marinatos 1960: 151–7; Matthäus 1980: 57; Bouzek 1985: 172; Plesl 1993: 164–8); the three hitherto unpublished golden pendants of ear-rings in the form of stylised bulls' heads (see n. 21 below); the two granulated golden finger-rings, for which already Karo cited a ring from Moulia as a comparison (Karo 1930: 124, pl. 2, 4–5 [no. 6210]). As noted by Spyropoulos 1972: 178, Karo may have mistakenly thought that the compared ring derives from Tholos B of Moulia, since he refers to the ring as stemming from a 'late grave'. In fact, the ring was found in a destroyed tomb at Moulia-Vourlia (Xanthoudidis 1904: 50–1, fig. 13) and cannot be dated. Another Cretan ring from Praisos-Photoula, however, does indeed come from a LM IIIC context: Platon 1960, 303–5; pl. 244 b; for such granulated rings see Schachermeyr 1979: 267, 273; Effinger 1996: 14; Maran 2005: 426.

constituted part of a kingly treasure, that is, of the *keimelia* of the ruling family, which in times of danger was hidden (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 219–22). Regrettably, his interpretation did not play any role in the later discussions of this find complex. Although, given the insufficient state of research, Arvanitopoulos was not in a position to fully comprehend the chronological heterogeneity of the finds or the dating of the deposition within the Mycenaean period, I am convinced that his interpretation pointed in the right direction, and that this find indeed represents a very special kind of treasure.¹³

In 1972 Franz Fischer dealt with the remarkable phenomenon that some of the most exceptional Mediterranean imports found in rich graves of the late Hallstatt period of the sixth and early fifth centuries BC in central and western Europe were at the time of their deposition already several generations old (Fischer 1973: 436–40). Similar appearances of so-called heirlooms were noted in graves of the Greek Early Iron Age (see Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 382–3; Dickinson 1986: 26–8; Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*, 361–2; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 167, 216 and n. 122), but the mechanisms by which they were handed over from generation to generation remained unclear. Fischer argued that the objects survived because they had been kept in family treasures, similar to the *keimelia* described by Homer (Finley, *World of Odysseus* 1991: 61; Fischer 1973: 442–8; Wagner-Hasel 2000, 105–12), and that on the occasion of the funeral of a member of the elite the objects were selected from this stock of valuable goods (Fischer 1973: 455–7). According to the descriptions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *keimelia* comprised objects which because of their shape, design or way of manufacture brought back memories of events and persons, from whom one had received them as a gift.¹⁴ On the basis of the appearance of valuable foreign or even ‘antique’ items in LH IIIC graves, Deger-Jalkotzy recently has inferred the existence of such *keimelia* during LH IIIC and she emphasised the importance of the possession of such ‘special’ objects for the ideology of the aristocracy of the twelfth century BC (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 59–62). If these were only sporadic cases of a few outstanding objects appearing in contexts of the post-palatial period, the significance and the wealth of these family treasures could be doubted. However, it seems to me that the peculiarities of the Tiryns treasure can be best explained when we interpret this unusual array of objects as representing the unique case of the whole variety of *keimelia* in the possession of one of the ruling families of Tiryns in the twelfth century BC.

Strictly speaking, all attempts to reconstruct the composition of the Tiryns treasure have to be based on the detailed description of Arvanitopoulos, who was

13 Borgna 1995, 17 and n. 27 seems to tend to a similar interpretation, when she characterises the Tiryns treasure as a ‘vero e proprio deposito di tesaurizzazione’, but she does not elaborate on this point.

14 Fischer 1973: 445–8, 455; Wagner-Hasel 2000: 108–10. For a similar significance of ‘special’ objects in other chronological and geographical circumstances, see Bradley 2002: 49–58.

the only archaeologist present when the find was unearthed.¹⁵ In the case of the objects inside the large cauldron, we can in addition use the description of Karo, since he was invited by Arvanitopoulos to join him in investigating the lower half of the contents of the large cauldron in the nomarchy of Nafplion (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 213–15; Karo 1930: 119). If we examine more closely the composition of the treasure, we notice that it cannot possibly represent a collection of arbitrarily piled up valuables, since it shows a clear structure. This aspect was already cited by Arvanitopoulos as an important counter-argument against interpreting the complex as the carelessly piled up loot of tomb robbers (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 220). Based on the information provided by him and Karo, the first reconstruction of the treasure can be attempted (Figure 8.1).¹⁶

15 The fact that Karo was also not present during the excavation of the treasure may explain the inconsistencies and contradictions in his descriptions of the position of the objects outside the cauldron. Karo 1915: 1 mentions that the bronze cauldron, in which the treasure was deposited, had three massive legs and was covered by a lid; underneath the cauldron two firedogs, three swords and the Cypriote tripod stand came to light. In Karo 1916: 145 he states that three legs of tripods, a rim of a tripod, two swords, two firedogs, the bronze ingot and the Cypriote tripod stand were all found underneath the cauldron. In Karo 1930: 119–20 he repeats this list of objects as having been found underneath the cauldron, but now says that the Cypriote tripod stand was encountered above the cauldron. He claims that the first thing found by the workman, who discovered the treasure, was the leg of this tripod stand, although this is most certainly a confusion with the leg of the large tripod (see Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206). Moreover, Karo mentions that on the day of the discovery of the treasure not only the Cypriote tripod, but also the rim of the large tripod (Karo 1930: no. 6226c) were uncovered by the workmen, thus contradicting his statement that the same rim was found beneath the cauldron (Karo 1930: 119–20).

16 In our reconstruction (Figure 8.1) all objects are drawn to the same scale. Since Arvanitopoulos specifies the position of the items found outside the cauldron, the suggested arrangement should come close to the original situation. Regarding the contents of the cauldron, only the position of some of the objects can be pinpointed, and thus the reconstruction is only an approximation. At the bottom of the cauldron the bronze sickle and five bronze vessels, stacked inside each other, were found (Karo 1915: 2; Karo 1930: 120, no. 6228b [not the iron sickle no. 6228a as mentioned by Karo], no. 6226b, nos. 6226d–g). The smallest of the bronze bowls contained a large, but broken piece of unworked ivory (Karo 1915: 2; Karo n.d.1), while the small cauldron on three legs, which contained the other four vessels, was supported on the outside by stones (Karo n.d.1: 2). On top of the five vessels stood the mug and the high handleless cup with flaring rim (Karo 1915: 2; Karo 1930: 120, nos. 6224 and 6224a). Inside the mug the iron sickle was found (Karo 1915: 2; Karo 1930: 120; no. 6228a [not the bronze sickle No. 6228b as mistakenly stated by Karo]), while Karo convincingly argued that the cup with flaring rim originally contained all the jewellery, which spilled out after the cup broke. The reconstruction drawing indicates why of all seven vessels inside the cauldron only this broke. Since the extremely high cup must have risen above the rim of the cauldron, it was smashed, when the ‘lid’, that is, the tripod turned upside down (see below), disintegrated or was destroyed. The find position of some pieces of the jewellery inside the cauldron can be approximated. According to Karo, n.d.1, the large golden signet-ring (Karo 1930: no. 6208), a coil of gold wire, the Hittite cylinder seal (Karo 1930: no. 6214), and a concentration of gold and faience beads were found in the lower half of the cauldron, while based on the descriptions of Karo 1930: 120 and Arvanitopoulos 1915: 209 the wheels made of gold wire with added amber beads (Karo 1930: no. 6217), the small golden conical sockets (Karo 1930: no. 6222), the second, smaller golden signet-ring (Karo 1930: no. 6209), many golden beads, the finger-ring with undecorated, elliptical bezel (Karo 1930: no. 6211) and one of the finger-rings with granulated bezel (Karo 1930: no. 6210a or 6210b) appeared in the upper part of the cauldron.

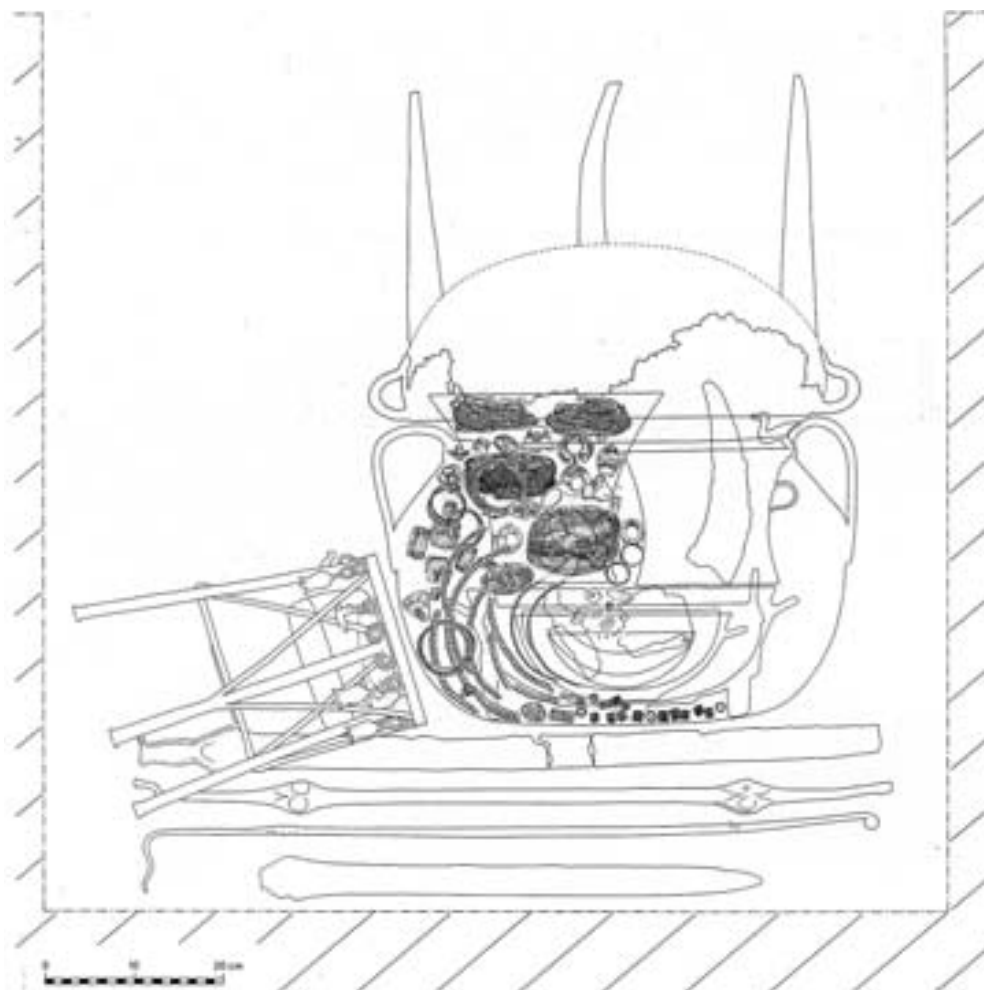


Figure 8.1 Reconstruction of the Tiryns treasure (drawing by Klaus Messmer).

Given the extraordinary importance of the Tiryns treasure for the knowledge of the post-palatial period and its system of value, it seems appropriate to dwell in detail upon the topic of its composition.

According to Arvanitopoulos, the treasure was deposited into a pit with a width and depth of about one metre (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 212). Later investigations by G. Karo in September 1916 proved that through the digging of the pit the wall of an earlier building was partially destroyed. The structures encountered in the excavation are shown by a sketch drawn by Karo (Figure 8.2).¹⁷ While the

¹⁷ The undated sketch reproduced in Figure 8.2 is stored in the Archive of the Tiryns excavation in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens (Karo, n.d.2). The outline of the treasure pit and the arrow showing the approximate North were added by the author in 2003. Until now the only information on the location of the ‘Schatzhausgrabung’ of 1916 and the walls uncovered

exact position of the treasure pit is not marked on this sketch, the unpublished notes of Karo as well as two undated photographs leave no doubt that the cauldron bearing the treasure was discovered at the spot defined with a dotted line on the sketch (Figure 8.2).¹⁸ The first photograph (Figure 8.3a) shows Arvanitopoulos perhaps with the workman Ioannis Dokos, who discovered the treasure, or the foreman supervising the work, Evangelos Polychronidis (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206). In all likelihood, the sabre marks the find-spot of the treasure. This gains additional support through the fact, that the only other photograph of the excavation (Figure 8.3b) focuses exactly on the same part of the excavation, albeit from a different angle and probably a few days later.

Arvanitopoulos (1915: 212) goes on describing that the bottom of the treasure pit was paved with small flat stones on which two damaged swords and parts of two bronze firedogs were put (Karo 1930: nos. 6228, 6229). On top of this a large cauldron was arranged, which was supported by stones put around its lower part (Karo 1930: no. 6226a). After this the Cypriote bronze tripod stand and the bronze ingot were leaned against the outside of the cauldron (Karo 1930: nos. 6225 and 6227). In its interior the cauldron contained seven bronze vessels (Karo 1930: nos. 6224, 6224a, 6226b and 6226d–g), all gold items and other jewellery made of semi-precious stones, amber or faience as well as two sickles, one of bronze (Karo 1930: no. 6228b), the other of iron (Karo 1930: no. 6228a), and pieces of unworked and worked ivory, which were mentioned but not illustrated by Karo. For two of the ivory pieces there exists at least a photographic documentation (Figure 8.4b), but this gives an insufficient impression of the originally significant amount of ivory in the treasure.¹⁹ Furthermore, some of the gold

footnote 17 (*continued*)

in this excavation was provided by two general plans at a scale of 1:2000 and 1:500 respectively in Gercke and Hiesel 1971: Beilage 1 (Graben G1) and Rieger and Böser 1990: Plan 4 (LXX–LXXI 59–60). The whereabouts of the original plan on which the latter drawings were based is unclear. Therefore, the problem as to why the excavation outline and the walls shown in these general plans cannot be readily reconciled with the sketch by Dörpfeld cannot currently be resolved. One solution would be that the plan shows the excavation in a later, extended stage. Furthermore, based on another unpublished sketch by Karo showing the general location of the ‘Schatzhausgrabung’ (Karo, n.d.2) it is likely that the correct position of the excavation, in which the treasure was found, was a few metres more to the north-northeast than shown in the general plans in Gercke and Hiesel 1971: Beilage 1, that is, approximately in LXXI–LXXII/59.

18 In the reproduced sketch (Figure 8.2) the walls are designated by small letters. Regarding ‘Wall g’ Karo, n.d.2 writes: ‘Starke Mauer, jetziges Oberniveau ca. 0.70 über gewachs[enem] Boden. Sie ist gekappt, d.h. die obersten 2 Lagen weggeräumt, um Raum für den Lebes zu schaffen. Nach ca. 0.65 setzt sie wieder ein (dick gezeichnet), sogar eine Lage höher, aber sehr defect, bis zur Ecke, [Mauer] g 1 hat das Niveau von h: 0.45. Die weggenommenen Steine dienten zur Verkleidung d[es] Lebes, [Mauer] g ca. 0.50, [Mauer] g 1 ca. 0.40 breit’ (my additions in square brackets).

19 Karo 1930: 138 cites two large ivory pieces and several smaller ones, and he interprets them as raw material. It is, however, likely, that there were many more ivory objects in the treasure. Arvanitopoulos lists 5 large pieces of ivory (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 215 no. 3), 12 pieces of an ivory plaque (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 217 no. 11), 2 pieces of an ivory handle (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 217 no. 14) as well as earth with small ivory fragments. Although the description by

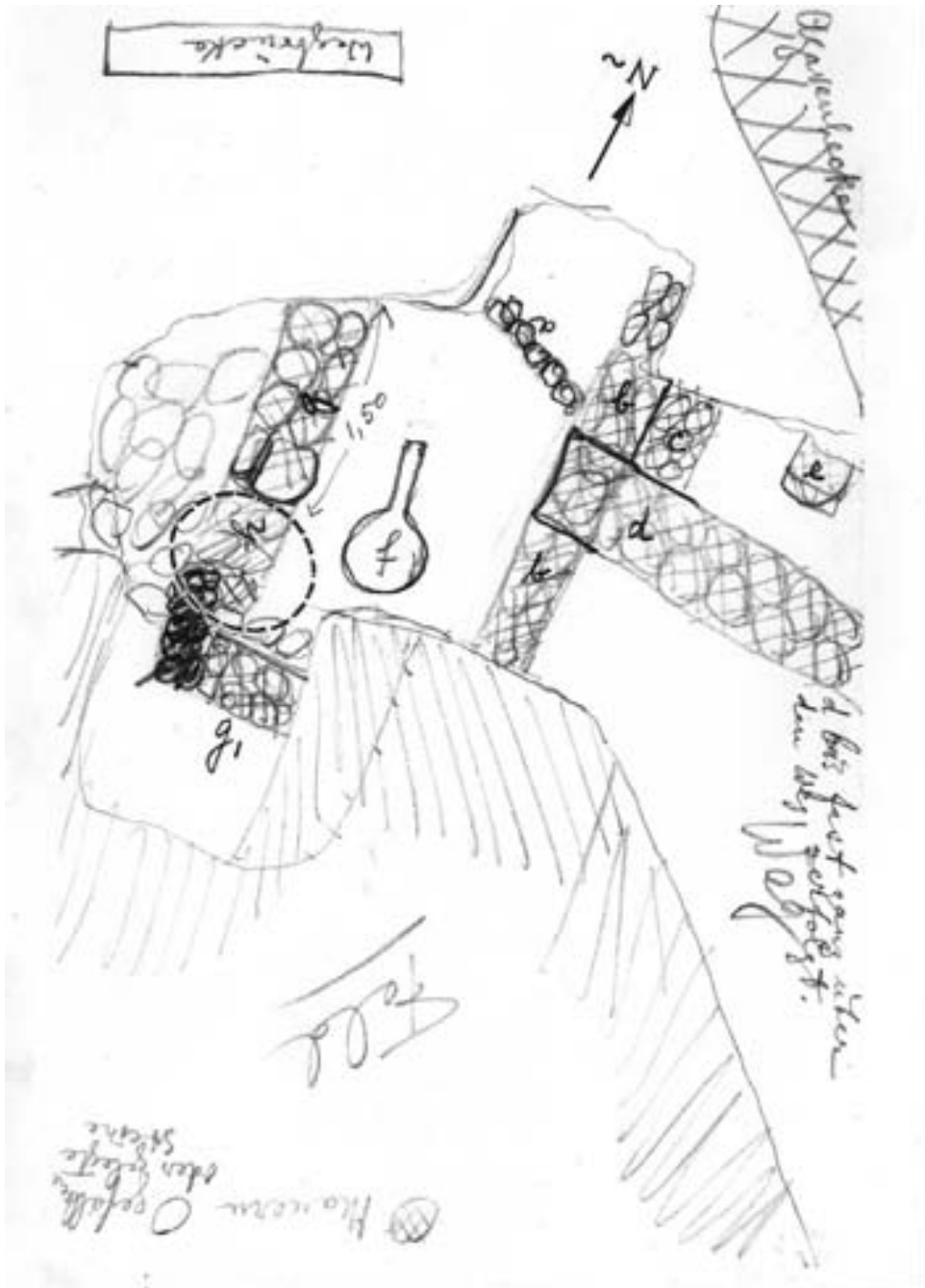


Figure 8.2 Undated sketch of Karo's excavation at the find-spot of the Tiryns treasure ('Schatzhausgrabung'). The outline of the treasure pit (dotted line) and the arrow pointing to approximate North were added in 2003. German Archaeological Institute Athens, Tiryns archive.

(a)

Figure 8.3a Undated photograph of Karo's 'Schatzhausgrabung', showing A. Arvanitopoulos (in uniform) and another man at the find-spot of the Tiryns treasure. German Archaeological Institute Athens, Neg. Nr. 70/1640 (the upper part of the negative has faded).

(b)

Figure 8.3b Undated photograph of Karo's 'Schatzhausgrabung', with architectural remains disturbed by the treasure pit as well as a clay structure on a higher level.
German Archaeological Institute Athens, Neg. Nr. 70/1641.

objects for unknown reasons were not included in the publication of Karo. A photograph in the archive of the German Archaeological Institute exhibits several objects seemingly all consisting of gold (Figure 8.4a). Besides some tiny beads already known from the publication (Karo 1930: pl. IV upper centre), there is one small broken or cut palmette²⁰ and one tiny, irregular piece of gold sheet seemingly cut on at least one side. In addition, the photograph shows three pendants made of gold foil in the form of stylised bull's heads, which can be attributed to ear-rings of a type well known from Cyprus.²¹ It is likely that some of the small

footnote 19 (*continued*)

Philadelphes 1916: 19 no. 10 is much shorter, he also mentions large and small ivory pieces, of which some seem to have belonged to an implement or an ornament, while most pieces were of indefinable shape and were attributed to raw material. In the archaeological literature it is usually assumed that ivory working on the Greek Mainland came to a halt after LH IIIB (Poursat 1977: 179, 188; Rehak and Younger 1998: 252–4). The Tiryns treasure seems to suggest an availability of this material in LH IIIC perhaps through relations to Cyprus, which are quite conspicuous in this treasure. For the central role of Cyprus in the trade activities of the twelfth century BC see Sherratt 2003.

20 The piece has an approximate length of 1.6 cm.

21 The three pendants have approximate preserved lengths between 2.8 and 3.2 cm; they were mentioned by Karo 1915: 3 ('Drei Schieber in Form von Stierköpfen, aus dünnem Blech sehr roh getrieben') and by Philadelphes 1916: 19 no. 9 (with slightly too short measurements). For such ear-rings see Åström 1967: 30, 98 (Type 6); Laffineur 1980: 281–96; Buchholz 1986: 133–47. For

coils of gold wire appearing in the treasure originally belonged to these ear-rings (Karo 1930: no. 6220), as well as the other type of bull's head ear-ring with granulation already published by Karo.²²

A crucial, but hitherto neglected aspect is the question of whether the cauldron was covered. On the basis of the descriptions of Karo and A. Philadelphes one gets the impression that it did not have a cover, something which in view of its valuable contents seems extremely unlikely. Arvanitopoulos, however, points out that the cauldron was closed by a bronze lid, and that thereafter the pit was filled with earth and stones (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 207–8, 210).²³ Furthermore, he mentions three important points. Firstly, that the lid was partially destroyed by the workman when the treasure was discovered (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206–7). Secondly, that the bronze tripod legs belonging to the treasure (Karo 1930: 137 [no. 6230], fig. 7) were originally attached to this lid (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206–7, 210, 213, 218). Thirdly, he refers to information provided by a peasant, according to which one of the legs stuck out of the surface for at least three years before the treasure was

(a)

Figure 8.4a Gold objects from the Tiryns treasure. German Archaeological Institute Athens, Neg. Nr. NM 3503. Photograph: Wagner.

footnote 21 (*continued*)

the method of their manufacture: Iakovidis, *Perati*: 298; Buchholz 1999: 259. The roughly triangular shape of the head and the geometrical rendering of the facial details of the three pendants from Tiryns do not resemble the quite naturalistic ear-rings from Cyprus, and find the closest parallel in an ear-ring from Perati: Iakovidis 1956: pl. 15, β4; Iakovidis, *Perati II*: 298, *Perati III*: pl. 54, γ-M91. This may point to a manufacture on the Greek Mainland in LH IIIC on the basis of Cypriote prototypes.

22 Karo 1930: 125; fig. 1 no. 6212; and see also n. 12 above.

23 In the letter to the Central Directorate of the German Archaeological Institute Karo also referred to a lid (Karo 1915: 1), but he omitted this detail in later reports (see n. 15 above).

(b)

Figure 8.4b Amber bead, bronze and iron sickles, as well as two pieces of ivory from the Tiryns treasure. German Archaeological Institute Athens, Neg. Nr. Tir 677.

found.²⁴ This is corroborated by the fact that the first thing struck by the workman at the moment of the discovery of the treasure was one of the ‘horn-like’ tripod legs (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 206). Since no fragments of a bronze lid are among the finds of the treasure,²⁵ and since Arvanitopoulos does not mention the parts of the large bronze tripod, which appear in the treasure, it is almost certain, that the ‘lid’ mentioned by Arvanitopoulos should be identified as a large bronze tripod turned upside down in order to cover the cauldron (Figure 8.1).²⁶ The discovery of the Grave of the Tripods in Mycenae now provides an excellent contemporary

24 The leg of the tripod was used by the peasants to attach a rope for tethering donkeys! Arvanitopoulos 1915: 208, n. 1.

25 A lid belonging to a perfect Cypriote comparison for the Tiryns cauldron shows how such large vessels were properly closed: Karageorghis 1974: 62–4, fig. 1; Matthäus 1985: 198–9, pl. 53.476.

26 Hitherto, the three tripod legs and the rim of the tripod (Karo 1930: nos. 6226c and 6230) were regarded as scrap metal. Admittedly, there is one difficulty in our interpretation of these pieces belonging to one and the same whole tripod, with which the cauldron was covered. Only two of the tripod legs are identical, while the third one differs morphologically as well as in its size, and thus probably belonged to a different vessel (Karo 1930: 137–8; Matthäus 1980: 110–11 [nos. 83–4], pls. 11.83, 12.84). The author has discussed with Prof. Hartmut Matthäus the new interpretation, and asked him whether it would be possible that the non-matching third leg was added

comparison for this curious way of depositing large bronze tripods,²⁷ although in the case of the Tiryns treasure we can exclude the possibility of a funerary context, since Arvanitopoulos and Karo carefully looked for traces of burned or unburned bones, but did not find any (Arvanitopoulos 1915: 211, 213, 219). The Tiryns tripod was destroyed at the time of the discovery of the treasure, and the fact that at least one of its legs was visible above the modern surface underlines two points, namely, that the horizon from which the pit had been dug, was in all probability not preserved or at least badly eroded,²⁸ and that the walls in which the pit was sunk were of a much earlier date.²⁹

An analysis of the composition of the Tiryns treasure leads to the conclusion that a distinction was made between scrap and raw bronze metal, that is, the pure metal value, on the one hand, which remained outside the cauldron,³⁰ and valuable raw materials and finished products on the other hand, which were arranged inside the cauldron. The range of the latter, encompassing metal drinking and eating vessels, the iron sickle – a unique object at its time³¹ – as well as jewellery,

footnote 26 (*continued*)

during a makeshift repair (email of 17 January 2003). In his answer (email of 24 January 2003) Prof. Matthäus found the interpretation of the tripod serving as a lid for the cauldron convincing, and stated that indeed the third leg may have been replaced by a leg from another cauldron. On the other hand, he underlines the morphological differences between the third leg and the other two, and emphasises that he does not know of any other example for the combination of different legs on the same tripod. Moreover, he raises the question through what cause the third leg should have been broken off, since the legs are the most solid parts of a tripod. I would like to thank Prof. Matthäus for his important comments.

- 27 Onasoglou 1995: 25–9, fig. IX, pl. 7α; 8α. In contrast to the Tiryns tripod the one over the grave in Mycenae was not used to close something. Still, the two depositions may be functionally related, inasmuch as the legs of the tripods may have stuck out of the surface to serve as a marker.
- 28 The sole structure demonstrably found in 1916 at a higher level than the walls and thus representing a chronological horizon closer in date to the treasure is a strange clay installation consisting of a round, pan-like part and an elongated narrow channel with raised borders (Figures 8.3a and 8.3b). The structure, which had a length of 1.12 m (Karo n.d. 2) was interpreted by Karo as an oil-press, but it is doubtful, whether such a fragile structure could really have served this purpose.
- 29 Accordingly, the expression ‘Schatzhaus’ for the architectural remains into which the treasure pit was dug is misleading (see already Hägg 1974: 80 and n. 311). The described stratigraphic situation also explains why in the photographic documentation of selected sherds of the excavation in September 1916 almost exclusively pottery dating between the Middle Helladic period and LH III A2 is represented (German Archaeological Institute Athens Neg. Nr. Tir 702–715). Only few sherds can be attributed on stylistic grounds to LH IIIB (German Archaeological Institute Athens Neg. Nr. Tir 715). Moreover, a similar stratigraphic sequence can be noted in the neighbouring ‘Graben F’, where the uppermost building horizon yielded pottery not younger than LH III A2 pottery: Gercke und Hiesel 1971: 4–6. In this whole area of the south-eastern Tirynsian Lower Town the walking horizons of LH IIIC and even LH IIIB seem to be scantily preserved or even missing, probably due to erosion.
- 30 The sole exception is the Cypriote bronze tripod, which is not broken.
- 31 I do not see any compelling reason to date the Tiryns treasure and the iron sickle later than the twelfth century BC (*pace* Sherratt 1994: 92), and thus the piece could very well belong to the earliest horizon of iron tools in the eastern Mediterranean: Waldbaum 1978: 24–37; 1980: 85–91; Sherratt 1994: 69–71; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 101–3.

and the fact that objects of different ages are combined, fits well with what we would expect from Homeric *keimelia*. Furthermore, the majority of the items stored in the cauldron and also the tripod stand show such unusual and unmistakable traits of form and/or manufacture that they ideally meet the requirements for memorabilia. Of special interest for our subject is the aspect that some of the unique pieces of the Tiryns treasure can be attributed to the realm of symbols of authority, which otherwise in the post-palatial period are only represented by the stone sceptre-heads from Perati and Ialysos (Iakovidis, *Perati II*: 349–50, fig. 153; Benzi 1992: 205–6, pl. 183.a–b; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 60 and n. 84). Such an interpretation is quite obvious in the case of the two famous golden signet-rings,³² but besides these typical symbols of authority of palatial times, the enigmatic wheels made of gold wire with added amber beads may have served as a similar means of emphasising status in the post-palatial period.

In summary, I would agree with Arvanitopoulos, that the unique collection of objects found in 1915 in Tiryns exemplifies a type of treasure closely related to the possessions of a specific family. In light of the proximity of the find-spot to Megaron W, the treasure may have even been linked to the group residing in this building. The motives for the deposition of the *keimelia* cannot be specified, and we do not even know whether the pit was dug inside a house or in an open space. It seems unlikely that the objects were still in their primary depository, that is, the treasury, although we do not know how and where such treasures were stored by their owners.³³ Rather we can assume that the assemblage was hidden, just as Arvanitopoulos thought, or it may represent a dedication.³⁴ Irrespective of the motive, it is certain that the events leading to the deposition of the treasure cannot be linked with the destruction of the palace, but must have taken place later. The persons to whom the treasure belonged were not members of the ruling class of the palatial period but lived in the time after the fall of the palace. The Tiryns treasure indicates how, thanks to the existence of such *keimelia*, valuable objects and even symbols of kingly power were handed over from generation to generation and could survive the turmoil at the transition between the Bronze Age and Iron Age.³⁵ Moreover, it can be speculated that through tales linked to these special objects reminiscences of the palatial period were integrated into the

32 Schachermeyr 1984: 205 regarded golden granulated finger-rings also as symbols of authority ('Insignien').

33 In *Odyssey* 15. 99–104 Menelaos and Helena descend into the *thalamos*, where the *keimelia* are kept, but it is unclear whether this reference to a subterranean chamber means a cellar-like room or a large pit. Details of the deposition of the Tiryns treasure like the use of stones as filling material and the closing of the cauldron support the interpretation of Arvanitopoulos that the treasure was intentionally covered with earth. This would rather be consistent with an interpretation as a dedication or a hiding-place, and not as a treasury.

34 For the differences between 'ritual' vs. 'profane' interpretations of hoards of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC in the eastern Mediterranean see Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 1986: 166–72; Knapp, Muhly and Muhly 1988: 248–58.

35 This may also explain the appearance of such a clear Mycenaean feature as the boar's tusk helmet in Homer: Dickinson 1986: 28; Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*: 361–2.

cultural memory of the so-called Dark Age, and that in this way the emerging epic traditions glorifying the past were enhanced.

With the fore-mentioned examples I wanted to outline the evidence for the survival of built structures and symbols of the palatial period. In view of these elements suggesting continuity, there exists the danger of blurring the cultural break between LH IIIB and IIIC and to go to the other extreme than some forty years ago, when an unbridgeable gap was thought to separate the two periods. The crucial question is, whether the described phenomena should be explained as an attempt to actually restore the social order of the palatial period or rather as an effort to gain legitimacy under new social and political circumstances through the reference to the past.³⁶ In my opinion, the latter interpretation applies to our case. I have already elsewhere drawn the conclusion that the way in which during the twelfth century BC symbols like the place of the throne and the altar in the Great Court of Tiryns were treated and how the ground-plan of Building T was altered in relation to its predecessor indicate the weakness of rulership and the reduction of distance between the ruler and his followers (Maran 2001: 119–20).

There are additional observations pointing in the same direction. First, the abandonment of the ceremonial hearth of the Megaron suggests that the post-palatial social order provided that a person presided over gatherings, but that it did not belong to the duties of this person to perform ceremonies deriving from the hearth-wanax ideology, as J. Wright (1994: 57–9) has called it. Secondly, the rare occurrence of fresco painting may also derive from the weak position of the post-palatial rulers. In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that frescoes were the manifestation of a specific religious and political ideology (cf. Davis and Bennet 1999). Therefore, we have to expect that any change in the ideological superstructure would inevitably affect also this sector. While the ideological justification for palatial rulership necessitated a direct linkage between the religiously motivated programmes of fresco painting and the palaces, it is doubtful that the post-palatial rulers had the power to focus the religious iconography on themselves. Accordingly, in LH IIIC a much sharper line of division was drawn between sacred and profane power than in LH IIIB, and this led to fresco painting being restricted to specific cult buildings.³⁷ All this implies a fundamental change in the character of post-palatial monumental architecture, and supports the notion that structures like Building T did not serve as a residence, but rather as a communal hall, where an assembly of members of noble families convened under the direction of the ruler. In this case, the residence of the ruling family could have been situated in Buildings like Megaron W in the Lower Town.

A further indication of the relatively unstable social order of the twelfth

36 The necessity to differentiate between actual continuity and the attempt to create the impression of continuity by reference to the past is also stressed by Bradley 2002: 156.

37 For a different interpretation of the rarity of fresco painting in LH IIIC see Rutter 1992: 62, who suggests that the disappearance of the palace-based elites gave the artisans little opportunity to exercise their skills.

century BC is provided by the frequent use of agonistic motifs or war-like encounters in vase painting of LH IIIC (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 20–3; Deger-Jalkotzy 1991b: 148–9; Güntner 2000: 197–8). It is certainly not a coincidence that we have to go back to the beginning of the Mycenaean period to find a similar popularity of such motives. The beginning and the end of the Mycenaean period had the competition for the position of leadership in common, while the consolidated social order of the palatial period did not need such depictions. These representations remind us that in the post-palatial period power was not only based on the control of land and the accumulation of wealth, but also on individual accomplishments in war, hunting and competitions. While this description would in principle also be coherent with the basic features of Homeric society (Finley, *World of Odysseus* 1991: 82–6, 118–23; Donlan 1985: 303–5; Donlan 1989: 23–5; Ulf 1990: 213, 224–9), there existed a specific ingredient in the self-image of the ruling class of the post-palatial Argolid which ran counter to the instability of leadership and to the potential for social mobility inherent in the emphasis on individual accomplishments. With this I refer to the specific way of relating to the palatial past, which aimed at the perpetuation of power within the same family. On the basis of the above mentioned evidence I would conclude that, at least temporarily, certain families succeeded in consolidating their leading role by claiming descent from the strong kings of palatial times (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a: 64–6; Deger-Jalkotzy 1995: 375–7; Deger-Jalkotzy 1991b: 148–9). These families were decisive for the revival of architectural symbols of kingly power as well as for the attempts to legitimise the claim by the possession and conspicuous use of old and new symbols of authority. Therefore, the specific structure of the Tiryns treasure just as much mirrors the peculiarities of the social order and the value system of the post-palatial period as the construction of Building T and the re-use of the place of the throne and the altar in the Great Court. The relative ease with which in twelfth century BC the claim to power could still be bolstered by systematic references to the palatial period, can be explained by the fact that this was not a mythical but a recent past, whose protagonists and material as well as immaterial constituents were still firmly embedded in the memory of society.³⁸

To summarise, I would draw the conclusion that, in contrast to Homeric society, the ideology of the post-palatial period in the Argolid combined two conflicting principles for the justification of rulership, one based on individual accomplishments and the other on the proof of descent from the former elite. The actors in the social arena of the twelfth century BC were families of a new upper class, who used the possibilities created by the collapse of the palatial system and

38 On the basis of ethnographic data Vansina 1985: 23–4, 168–9 has noted that in societies without writing historical consciousness reaches back in time only between 30 and 80 years. Beyond this time accounts of historical events are not remembered, and instead myths of origin take their place. Since this phenomenon is linked to the change of generations the gap in memory gradually moves onwards, and therefore Vansina has proposed the expression the ‘floating gap’ (see also Assmann 2000: 48–56).

who competed against each other for the roles of leadership. These families were responsible for the restoration of the citadels and for new architectural layouts, like in the Lower Town of Tiryns, and due to their initiative the trade relations which had been interrupted by the fall of the palace were re-established.³⁹ In the case of Tiryns the archaeological evidence suggests that one of these noble families at least temporarily succeeded in legitimising their supremacy by the claim of descent from the kings of the past and by the monopolisation of fixed and movable symbols of kingly power. They thus managed to establish a succession of power within the family and to create a kind of dynasty. But even in Tiryns there is no evidence that rulership was accompanied with the divine connotation of the *wanax*. Instead, the weaker position of the rulers of the twelfth century BC necessitated the separation of the religious sphere from profane power. While the post-palatial ruler undoubtedly had priestly functions, he was not able to control religion in the way the *wanax* could. Therefore, the imposing buildings were stripped of the religious iconography and symbols which had characterised them in palatial times. From then on these religious elements remained confined to specific cultic contexts and most ritual activities were carried out in cult buildings or hypaethral altars. In this way, the basis for the emergence of temples separate from the seats of profane power was created. At the same time the megaron underwent a shift in significance from a residence of a specific dynasty to a communal building. This process made it possible that in a next step, some time during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, this architectural type, which was formally reserved to the ruler, was transformed into a temple (Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*: 340–8).

It is likely that the specific kind of rulership which emerged in Tiryns during the twelfth century BC, was accompanied by the attempt to unify a larger territory under one rule. As to what degree these attempts were successful we cannot say, but given the fact that there is currently no other Mycenaean centre in Greece where we can note comparable indications for the restoration of central power, we must take the possibility of a considerable extent of the territory controlled by Tiryns during the post-palatial period into consideration. However, the crisis provoked by natural disasters as well as the inherent weakness of post-palatial rule ensured that the reign over a larger territory and the introduction of a dynastic principle did not last for long. But even if the attempt to establish a kingship based on genealogical principles was just an episode and in the long run more unstable forms of social organisation prevailed, there can be little doubt that the noble families of the first half of the twelfth century BC contributed to the emergence of a specific way of imagining the palatial past, which outlasted the end of the Bronze Age and eventually found its reflection in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

39 For the re-establishment of trade relations in the twelfth century BC see Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 124; Sherratt 2003: 44–51; Maran 2005.

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LATE MYCENAEAN WARRIOR TOMBS

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

In recent years the last stages of the Mycenaean civilisation, that being the archaeological period of LH IIIC in Greece and the Aegean and LM IIIC in Crete (twelfth and first half of eleventh centuries), has increasingly attracted scholarly attention. This period which followed after the destruction of the palaces has often been viewed as an inglorious epilogue to the Mycenaean palace period and a threshold to the Dark Ages. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the post-palatial period was an illiterate age, lacking in the higher arts, crafts and intellectual achievements that had marked the era of the Mycenaean palaces. However, looked at in its own right, the Mycenaean post-palatial period was by no means devoid of creativity and innovation (Schachermeyr 1980; Rutter 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy forthcoming). In fact, judged by the results of recent archaeological study and research, the Greeks of the last phase of Mycenaean civilisation came to terms, apparently quite well, with the vicissitudes of the time and with the memory of a great past. This appears to have been particularly true of the reorganisation of social structure and political ideology during the post-palatial period, as Joseph Maran has demonstrated (Maran, 2001; Maran, this volume). Maran's conclusions drawn from settlement evidence tally well with the funerary evidence of LH IIIC, as we shall see in the following.¹

Tombs built in the post-palatial period, as well as the array of burial gifts in LH IIIC tombs, were generally modest (for summaries see Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 89–97; Dickinson 1994: 231–2). However, a certain degree of social differentiation seems to be reflected by burials which were accompanied by outstanding gifts of prestigious objects consisting of valuables (gold and ivory objects, bronze vessels, seal-stones, and copiously decorated stirrup jars) and objects which may be called 'exotic' such as amber, as well as objects of Egyptian,

1 Admittedly J. Maran has based his analysis upon the results of the Tiryns excavations and concentrates on the Argolid. However, there is evidence from other regions which suggests that the settlement history of other regions in LH IIIC – local variation notwithstanding – followed a comparable pattern (see Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 124f.; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58; Mühlenbruch 2002).

Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot origin. Many of them were 'heirlooms' or 'antiques' that had been manufactured in earlier periods. Toilet-requisites such as tweezers, razors, combs and mirrors also seem to indicate an elated status of their owners. Moreover, the elite funerary rite of prothesis (mourning the deceased on the bier), which had been practised during the palace period as witnessed by the evidence of the clay sarcophagi from Tanagra, continued to be practised in LH IIIC (Schoinas 1999). Later on this rite became a favourite theme of Attic Geometric vase-painting.

It is in this context that the so-called warrior burials and warrior tombs of LH/LM IIIC have already been treated by several authors (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 95, 161–66; Papadopoulos 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 130–1; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58–62; Moschos 2002: 29–32; Eder 2003a: 38–41; Kanta 2003). The term 'warrior tomb' is generally applied to funerary monuments containing burials that are distinguished from other interments by a pronounced military character and symbolism of their burial gifts. This phenomenon was by no means confined to the final phase of Mycenaean civilisation, as testified by the cemeteries of the pre-palatial periods from the Shaft Grave era through LH/LM II/IIIA1.² During the Mycenaean palace period of LH IIIA2 and IIIB the display of weaponry in funerary contexts was far less pronounced. It may be assumed that ostentation of military ethos was a prerogative of the rulers at the palatial centres (Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 124–9), and the same may have applied to the deposition of weapons with the dead (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 126). Among the prestigious burial gifts of dynastic tombs – of which none has escaped grave-robbery – weapons may well have played an important role.

Affluence of prestigious goods and valuables may be another characteristic of Mycenaean warrior burials, but it is not a decisive factor. Mycenaean cemeteries provide many instances of rich tombs and burials that did not contain weapons or objects carrying a military symbolism. Conversely warrior burials, apart from weaponry, may appear as less richly equipped than other burials of the same tomb or cemetery (see also Macdonald 1984: 66–7). Moreover, there can be no doubt that a much higher proportion of the population must have been engaged in warfare than the number of warrior tombs seems to suggest. It is therefore clear that warrior burials and warrior tombs refer to a status of excellence and not to a profession (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 111).

The progress made in recent years in defining the phases of LH IIIC relative chronology has induced me to approach once again the subject of the warrior tombs of that period. A basic chronological scheme consisting of three phases

2 For sociological analyses of Early Mycenaean warrior tombs see, for instance, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986; Acheson 1999; Voutsaki 1999: 115; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 121–4). On warrior burials dating to LH/LM II–IIIA1 see Macdonald 1984.

General chronological scheme	Rutter 1977	Mountjoy <i>Regional Mycenaean</i>	Mycenae	Tiryns Unterburg
LH IIIB2 (Late)	LH IIIB2 (Late)	Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC	LH IIIB2 (Late)	SH IIIB2 Ende
LH IIIC Early	Phase 1		LH IIIC Early	SH IIIC Früh Phase 1
	Phase 2	LH IIIC Early	Tower Phase	SH IIIC Früh Phase 2
	Phase 3			SH IIIC Früh Phase 3
LH IIIC Middle	Phase 4a	LH IIIC Middle	LH IIIC Developed	SH IIIC Entwickelt
	Phase 4b		LH IIIC Advanced	SH IIIC Fortgeschritten
LH IIIC Late	Phase 5 Early	LH IIIC Late	LH IIIC Late (Final)	SH IIIC Spät
Sub-Mycenaean	Phase 5 Late	Sub-Mycenaean	Sub-Mycenaean	Sub-Mycenaean

Figure 9.1 LH IIIC Chronological systems

– LH IIIC Early, Middle and Late – has been generally accepted. Moreover, at the reference sites of Tiryns and Mycenae a four-partite scheme has been introduced by which LH IIIC Middle is subdivided into a Developed and an Advanced phase (Figure 9.1). It is true that scholars still disagree on how the two schemes should be aligned and synchronised.³ Nevertheless, it has become possible to view the warrior burials of LH IIIC in a diachronic perspective and to place them into a historical context. Therefore late Mycenaean warrior tombs and burials are grouped in this chapter under the following chronological premises:

1. warrior burials recently excavated and already dated with reference to the subdivisions of LH IIIC;
2. LH/LM IIIC warrior burials known from earlier excavations: re-assessment of chronology;
3. warrior burials of LH/LM IIIC date in general, but without clearly ascertainable contexts: re-assessment of chronology not possible.

³ Moreover, there is a lively scholarly discussion as to whether the stylistic development of Mycenaean pottery actually warrants the introduction of a phase called Sub-Mycenaean, or whether this phase should be regarded as the last stage of LH IIIC Late. In Figure 9.1 the phase of Sub-Mycenaean is retained since we believe that this was an important cultural and chronological stage in the process of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age of Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 116).

1. WARRIOR BURIALS (MAINLY) DISCOVERED BY RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND ALREADY DATED ACCORDING TO THE SUBDIVISIONS OF LH IIIC

Perati (Figure 9.2 (15))

In the 1950s a LH IIIC cemetery was discovered and excavated on the hill of Perati in the bay of Porto Raphti. Strictly speaking, this site ought to be counted among the earlier excavations mentioned in our second section. However, it is that very cemetery of Perati which, due to the excavator's careful study of the burial sequence of every single tomb, has become seminal for the chronological subdivision of the period. The results of the excavations, published with remarkable



Figure 9.2 LH IIIC warrior tombs: the Greek mainland

- 1 Patras-Klauss; 2 Krini; 3 Monodhendri-Hagios Konstantinos; 4 Kallithea-Spenzes; 5 Kallithea-Langanidia; 6 Lousika-Spaliareika; 7 Kangadi; 8 Portes; 9 Nikoleika; 10 Palaiokastros; 11 Kephallonia/Lakkithra; 12 Kephallonia/Dhiakata; 13 Delphi; 14 Hexalophos; 15 Perati



Figure 9.3 LH IIIIC warrior tombs: the Aegean Islands

16 Naxos/Grotta-Haplomata; 17 Naxos/Grotta-Kamini; 18 Kos/Langada; 19 Rhodes/Passia; 20 Crete/Mouliana; 21 Crete/Praisos-Foutoula; 22 Crete/Myrsini

speed, provided the first basis for establishing the tripartite chronological scheme of LH IIIIC (Iakovidis, *Perati*).⁴ Among the 219 tombs (of which 192 were of the chamber-tomb type), two may be defined as warrior tombs.

Tomb 38 contained six burials, one of them a cremation (*Perati I*: 279–84). A sword of Kilian-Dirlmeier's type F2 obviously served as a line of demarcation between interments II and III (*Perati I*: 280). The remains of the earlier burial III had been transferred into an oblong pit in the centre of the tomb, its gifts carefully placed around it. They consisted of five stirrup jars, an arm-ring of bronze, and an iron knife. Burial II also had been partly shifted, but the upper part was left *in situ*. Next to the head of the deceased a kylix had been placed, and behind his shoulders a stirrup jar. The position of the sword was such that it lay upright

⁴ It may be regarded as an interesting coincidence that the site of Lefkandi-Xeropolis which provided the first settlement evidence for the tripartite subdivision of LH IIIIC was investigated at about the same time, and a preliminary report was published in 1968 (Popham and Sackett 1968).

on his cutting edge, alongside the pit containing burial III, as well as alongside of the arm of burial II. It thus lay between the two burials. The excavator did not expressly attribute the weapon to either of them (*Perati I*: 280–1). The respectful treatment of interment III might suggest that this was the burial of a warrior. However, the kylix found near the skull of burial II seems to indicate that the deceased also had held an elated social position.⁵ The adult individual of burial VI (the cremation) may also have been a person of rank: the jug used as the ash-urn also contained the burnt bones of a goat and a sheep,⁶ as well as a piece of gold wire. In short, Tomb 38 of Perati seems to have been the burial place of an important family or clan of whom one member (individual II or individual III) had attained warrior status. Chronologically the tomb entirely belonged to Phase III of Perati (*Perati II*: 400), that is, to *LH IIIC Late*.

It is less easy to establish the chronology of the warrior burial of *Tomb 12* at Perati, a large tomb which was used throughout *LH IIIC* (*Perati II*: 400). Of the obviously numerous burials deposited in this tomb neither contexts nor burial sequence could be ascertained (*Perati I*: 304–14). Most finds had been concentrated at the back of the tomb, while immediately behind the south-western corner of the entrance a sword of type G (after Sandars) was placed. Its hilt rested on a small, thin stone plaque, and it was accompanied by the famous bronze knife with a handle in the shape of a duck-head. A humerus fragment lying next to the two weapons possibly induced the excavator to interpret this ensemble as a burial *in situ* (*Perati I*: 305). However, on the parallel of *Tomb 123* (see below) it appears to me more likely that the evidence suggests a ceremonious abandonment of *Tomb 12*: the burial remains (perhaps after having been searched) were transferred to the back of the chamber, while the sword and the knife were deposited together near the entrance, in memory of a warrior who had been once deposited in the tomb.⁷ Burial gifts such as seven silver rings (among them three shield-rings), a mirror, steatite cones and a large number of vases suggest that *Tomb 12* also belonged to a family or clan of a higher social rank. The date of the warrior burial, even if we believe that it was *in situ*, cannot be established since the weapons were not accompanied by any vase. The excavator assigns it to the end of Phase II or already to Phase III of the cemetery, that is, to *LH IIIC Middle* or *LH IIIC Late* (*Perati II*: 402).

Depending on whether or not spearheads alone are accepted as indicative of warrior burials,⁸ there may have been a third warrior tomb at Perati. *Tomb 123* was built in Phase II (*LH IIIC Middle*) of the cemetery and abandoned during

5 On the significance of kylikes in connection with elite cult practice in the Late Mycenaean and Early Iron Ages see Eder 2003b: 104–8.

6 In this connection the warrior burial at Naxos-Kamini comes to mind, situated on top of a pyre that contained animal bones; see further below.

7 A comparable arrangement, albeit of later date, was found in *Tomb L* of the chamber-tomb cemetery at Elateia. When this tomb was abandoned in the LPG period, a Mycenaean sword of Sandars type G and a pair of tweezers were laid down ceremoniously behind the entrance of the tomb.

8 On this point see the discussion further below, pp. 169, 172.

the same period (*Perati I*: 426–30). Before it was given up, it was searched and partly cleared. Of the remaining burial gifts, a large krater together with several drinking vessels, a razor, a pair of tweezers and a whetstone certainly belonged to those objects which were appreciated by the members of LH IIIC elites. Moreover, in the SE corner of the chamber a spearhead was found. The spear had been carefully placed alongside the entire east wall of the chamber. Given the small size of the spearhead and the small dimensions of the chamber a short shaft is suggested, so that the weapon may have been a spear or javelin rather than a large lance (*Perati II*: 357). Nevertheless, its position suggests that it was deposited with deference, and it was the only spearhead found in the cemetery.

Krini-Drimalēika in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (2))

The publication of the burial sequence carefully observed in *Tomb 3* at this site in the Patras region provided, for the first time, the criteria for dating a warrior burial of Achaïa more closely within the LH IIIC period (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994). The upper level of two burial layers contained two pairs of interments. One of these burials clearly was that of a warrior. It was accompanied by a Naue II sword still in its scabbard, placed along the warrior's right hand. The hilt was laid towards his head. The scabbard is of particular interest. It was made of leather and decorated with an eight-spoke wheel-made of bronze strips, as well as with bronze bands riveted with hollow studs. The excavator compared them to the riveted bands found in the warrior tomb of Kallithea Tomb A (see below, p. 160). A spearhead was placed on the warrior's right, with its point towards the back wall.⁹ A silver ring was placed on his right forefinger. A bronze spiral ornament and an ivory comb also belonged to this burial. Next to the warrior, and closely associated with him, lay the burial of a woman, perhaps his wife or companion. The excavator even suggests that the pair were buried simultaneously.

There can be no doubt that the warrior burial of Krini-Drimalēika had been treated with exceptional respect. This also appears from the fact that no other interment of the upper layer was equipped with individual burial gifts. These were all piled up at the back of the chamber, among them a number of vases dated by the excavator to LH IIIC Middle/Developed (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994) after which period the tomb was abandoned. *LH IIIC Middle/Developed* may therefore be accepted as the date of the warrior burial.

Spaliareïka near Lousika in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (6))

Further evidence for warrior tombs was found in the area of Kato Achaïa. A cluster of nine tombs was excavated at the site of Spaliareïka. *Tomb 2* contained six burials, three of them of outstanding character (Petropoulos 2000).

9 A parallel to Perati Tomb 123 (see above)?

The *first* burial in terms of chronology was a cremation deposited in a bronze kalathos near the southern wall of the tomb (Petropoulos 2000: 75; pls. 6, 25–7). The burial gifts included a long knife (0.27 m), a knife of normal size, a razor, a pair of tweezers, two whetstones, and six vases. The burial was dated by the excavator to *LH IIIC Early* (Petropoulos 2000: 75; pls. 24, 30). There can be no doubt that the cremated individual had been a member of the social elite. Although there was neither a sword nor a spear that would justify its classification as a warrior burial, the large knife which had almost the length of a dagger may well have served the purpose of a weapon. In fact, the object has been called *encheiridion* ‘dagger’ by the excavator (Petropoulos 2000: 75).

The *second* warrior burial was an inhumation, dated by the excavator to *LH IIIC Middle and Late* (Petropoulos 2000: 75). It was deposited in the north-western corner of the chamber, and it may have been the last interment on the floor. The burial gifts included a Naue II sword, and, as in Krini-Drimaleïka, several hollowed studs which may once have decorated a scabbard. Further there was a long knife, as well as a small knife with a thin twisted handle, and finally two spearheads which still contained fragments of the shafts. This burial was accompanied by nine vases, one of them a bird-vase, a typical shape of the ceramics of Achaïa.

Most impressive was the *third* assemblage of weapons, deposited in a pit which displayed some interesting features: it was large and oblong, and underneath it there was a second, oval pit covered with stone plaques. This lower pit was found empty. The plaques were covered by ashes and burnt earth, according to the excavator perhaps remains of an incense burning ritual (Petropoulos 2000: 68). On top of this layer a Naue II sword was deposited, accompanied by a spearhead, a spear-butt spike, a knife and a circular shield boss. The latter was surrounded by what may have been the remains of the leather coverings of the shield. There also was a bi-conical button. The only vase associated with this assemblage was a stirrup jar of *LH III C Advanced* or *IIIC Late*.

To conclude, the sequence and chronology of the interments of Tomb 2 of Spaliareïka suggest that warrior status may have been *hereditary* within the family or lineage that owned the tomb. The cremation in the bronze kalathos cannot be called a warrior burial in the true sense. However, the outstanding features of this burial and the large knife may have indicated that this man had been the first person of his lineage to aspire, some time in *LH IIIC Early*, to the status of a military leader. The two other burials accompanied by weapons were definitely of the warrior type, succeeding one another in *LH IIIC Middle/Advanced* and *Late*. Moreover, Tomb 2 was the *only* warrior tomb within the entire group of graves, although some of them were equally well equipped with items of prestige and personal ornament. Finally, Tomb 2 was the largest funerary monument of the group. Its height was 3 m, the roof imitated a vault, and the surfaces of the walls were carved with great care. In short, much effort was invested into the construction of this tomb (Petropoulos 2000: 71).

Portes-Kephalovryso in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (8))

Recent funerary evidence has been reported from this site near the border between Achaia and Elis. An extensive settlement site has been identified, and a cemetery is being excavated (Kolonas 2001; Moschos 2000; for preliminary reports see *AD* 48, 1993, Chron. B1: 123; *AD* 49, 1994, Chron. B1: 230–1; *AD* 50, 1995: 217–18). So far twelve chamber tombs have been found which had replaced, at the beginning of LH IIIA, three tumuli of Early Mycenaean date. All chamber tombs displayed a great wealth of precious burial gifts including ostentatious vases. However, *one* chamber tomb was deliberately built into one of the tumuli so as to give the impression of a funerary monument covered by a mound. This tomb contained the burial of a warrior in his armour, of which a Naue II sword, a spearhead, a dagger, a pair of greaves, a bronze headgear still preserving part of the inner lining, and a bronze bowl have been reported by the excavator (Kolonas 2001: 260f.).

It appears that, similarly to Spaliareika, we may be dealing with a single warrior tomb situated within a group of what seem to have been the funerary monuments of a local elite group. However, more information has to be awaited before further conclusions can be drawn. In particular, so far no pottery has been published from this tomb. According to first reports the date of the warrior burial was *LH IIIC Early*, but further pottery study may lead to a date in LH IIIC Middle (information kindly supplied by Dr I. Moschos, Patras).

The headgear found at Portes-Kephalovryso is of particular interest. When first excavated, it had the appearance of a crushed bucket (see Papadopoulos 1999: pl. LIXb). However, after restoration the object has become quite impressive.¹⁰ It has the shape of a tall tube made from bronze bands, and the elliptical shape becomingly fits the human head. A soft inner lining offered protection against bruises. The surface is finely highlighted by the decoration of the metal bands, consisting of horizontal ribs that alternate with single horizontal rows of rivets. The object cannot have protected the head as its top is open.¹¹ More likely its purpose was to demonstrate a position of rank, if not of rule. The excavators have called it a ‘tiara’ (Kolonas 2001). In fact, it may well have been a crown, and it was not an isolated find. Most probably it had a very close parallel in the ‘bucket-shape’ cylindrical object found in the tholos-tomb at Praisos-Foutoula (see below, p. 164). Moreover, the metal strips found in Tomb A at Kallithea-Spenzes may well have been the remains of a warrior’s crown rather than of a corselet or of a scabbard (see further below).

10 Autopsy was made possible for me by Dr M. Petropoulos, Director of the Ephorate at Patras, and Dr I. Moschos. Sincere thanks are due to both of them.

11 Moreover, none of the manifold helmets depicted on LH IIIC vases exhibits a shape that could be compared to the headgear from Portes, as well as to its counterpart from Praisos-Foutoula (see below).

Nikoleika near Aigion in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (9))

In the village of Keryneia near the modern town of Aigion a Mycenaean cemetery was discovered at the site of Kallithea. Fourteen chamber tombs were detected of which four have already been investigated. *Tomb 4* proved to be of importance to our present subject. It was in use from LH IIB through IIIC. The burials were contained in seven pits. The burial gifts comprised, *inter alia*, more than thirty vases, beads of glass and rock crystal, a bronze pin, a bronze knife, and above all a Naue II sword. Although the contexts have not yet been published in detail, the excavator has given the information that the Naue II sword was found together with a stirrup jar dated to *LH IIIC Middle* (Petropoulos forthcoming).

2. LH/LM IIIC WARRIOR BURIALS KNOWN FROM EARLIER EXCAVATIONS: RE-ASSESSMENT OF CHRONOLOGY

Kallithea-Spenzes in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (4))

The Mycenaean cemetery at this site near Patras has yielded two famous warrior tombs (Yalouris 1960). Although the contexts of *Tomb A* had been disturbed, the excavator was able to distinguish two interments of which the warrior burial came second. It contained a Naue II sword, a spearhead, and greaves. Bronze sheet bands ornamented with ribs and rivets (Yalouris 1960: pl. 29) were formerly interpreted as fittings of a (leather) corselet. On the Krini evidence (see above, p. 157) it has been suggested that they, too, originally had served as decorative parts of a scabbard (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994). However, the Krini pieces as decorations of a scabbard notwithstanding, it appears more likely that the bronze bands from Kallithea had been parts of a headgear like those found at Portes in Achaia and at Foutoula in east Crete (see above, p. 159, and below, p. 164), that is to say, of a warrior's crown. In contrast to an earlier *communis opinio*, the warrior equipment of *Tomb A* was not deposited in LH IIIC Early. According to the excavator the only vase clearly associated with the weapons was a stirrup jar (Yalouris 1960: pls. 27.4 and 30.1), now dated to *LH IIIC Middle* (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991: 27; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 427 and fig. 150.96). In my own opinion this vessel could be even assigned to the earlier sub-phase of this period, contemporary with LH IIIC Middle/Developed of the Argolid. Therefore the weapons of *Tomb A* at Kallithea-Spenzes were deposited in LH IIIC Middle, perhaps at the same time as the warrior burial at Krini-Drimalaika (see above), or somewhat later, contemporary with the LH IIIC Middle/Advanced phase of the Argolid. All other vases of *Tomb A* are LH IIIC Middle/Advanced and possibly Late (see Yalouris 1960: pls. 30.2–4).

The vases associated with the warrior burial of *Tomb B* at Kallithea-Spenzes are of *LH IIIC Advanced* or *IIIC Late* type (Yalouris 1960: pl. 32.4–6).

Consequently this has to be regarded as the date when the Naue II sword, the spearhead, the sauroter, boar's tusks (remains of a helmet?), a knife, a razor, a pair of tweezers were deposited.

In short, the warrior burials of Tombs A and B at Kallithea-Spenzes can be dated, at the earliest, to LH IIIC Middle. Stylistically the stirrup jar from Tomb A may perhaps suggest a slightly earlier deposition of the warrior burial of this tomb, but still within LH IIIC Middle. The pottery chronology of Tomb B points to LH IIIC Middle or even IIIC Late.

Palaiokastro in Arcadia (Figure 9.2 (10))

Near the archaeological site of Palaiokastro (Gortynia) an extensive Mycenaean cemetery was discovered. Three clusters of chamber tombs were excavated in 1957 by C. Christou and published much later (Demacopoulou and Crouwel 1998). One cluster contained a warrior tomb (*Tomb 6*), the architecture of which imitated elements of the tholos-type of tombs. The finds included a Naue II sword, two spearheads, two knives, and pottery dated to *LH IIIC Middle*. The tomb contained at least seven interments, and it appears difficult to assign the finds with certainty. Demacopoulou and Crouwel suggest that the sword and one spearhead, together with a bronze pin found inside its socket, belonged to one burial, while the second spearhead is assigned to a different interment (Demacopoulou and Crouwel 1998: 281–3).

Over 100 more tombs have been excavated by Th. Spyropoulos since 1980. One of them is reported by the excavator as having contained a Naue II sword. The general character of the pottery shown in a preliminary report is again *LH IIIC Middle*, and more probably of the Advanced stage of that phase (see *AR* 43, 1996–7: 33–4, figs 42–5).

Hexalophos in Thessaly (Figure 9.2 (14))

The site lies in western Thessaly near Trikkala. It comprised a burial tumulus where two cist-graves were excavated (Theocharis 1968). Each cist contained one burial. *Grave A*, situated in the centre of the mound, contained a sword of Kilian-Dirlmeier's Aegean type F2, as well as a spearhead and five kylikes with ribbed stems. These vases point to the very *end of the LH IIIC period*. The cist was constructed of five large schist plaques, one of which served as the bottom, and it was covered by three smaller plaques. A burnt area, perhaps a pyre, was also mentioned in connection with *Grave A*. The construction of *Grave B*, near the perimeter of the mound, was not at all as elaborate as that of the central grave. It also contained two kylikes, as well as hand-made pottery and a few pieces of bronze jewellery. It is said to have been the burial of a woman. The excavation of the tumulus, which may have been the burial monument of a clan (Schachermeyr 1980: 307), has remained incomplete.

Grotta on Naxos (Figure 9.3 (16, 17))

Near the modern town of Grotta on the island of Naxos two Mycenaean chamber-tomb cemeteries, *Haplomata* and *Kamini*, were discovered. They were not part of an extensive cemetery but arranged in two clusters (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221). Each of them contained a warrior tomb. According to a recent reconstruction of the burial contexts of *Kamini Tomb A*, the warrior burial was accompanied by a Naue II sword and by seven bronze objects with indentations, interpreted as parts of a curry-comb for horses (Vlachopoulos 1999a: 308; 310 fig. 17).¹² The pottery assigned to this warrior burial is of *LH IIIC Middle* date.

According to the excavator another warrior burial was found on the north-eastern edge of the *Kamini* cemetery, in the vicinity of chamber tomb Delta. A small platform was covered with a thick black layer of earth which contained burnt bones from animal sacrifices. On top of the pyre, a human skeleton was inhumed, accompanied by a spearhead and a butt-spike. The burial gifts further included a second spearhead, gold jewellery, a seal-stone, a silver ring, bronze rings, and a great number of vases (Zapheiroopoulos 1960: 335–7). Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221 interprets this ensemble as an open air warrior burial. Here, as in several other cases, the question arises whether the presence of a spear (or spears) is sufficient for qualifying an interment as ‘warrior burial’. This problem will be discussed later in this chapter.

The pottery of *Haplomata Tomb A* (Kardara 1977) can also be dated to *LH IIIC Middle* and *Late* (Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 939). By analogy with *Kamini Tomb A* it may be suggested that the Naue II sword found in *Haplomata Tomb A* had originally been associated with the splendid stirrup jars of *IIIC Middle* rather than with the plain vessels of *IIIC Late*. This would also provide a date for the deposition of the warrior burial in *LH IIIC Middle* (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221).

It should be added that not only the warrior burials, but all interments of the two cemeteries at Grotta displayed an extraordinary wealth of precious objects and prestigious goods such as copiously decorated pottery, seals, jewellery, precious metal and ivory objects. They testify to the prosperity and the lively contacts across the Aegean enjoyed by the inhabitants of Naxos during *LH IIIC Middle* and the early years of *LH IIIC Late* (Vlachopoulos 1999b). Free from the political and economic influence that had been formerly exercised by the mighty powers first of the Minoan and later of the Mycenaean palaces, the Cyclades in *LH IIIC* were able to make the most of their advantageous geographical position.

12 Horse-breeding and horsemanship appear to have been part of the ideology and self-awareness of the Naxian elite(s), as also testified by representations of horses, horsemen and riders on *LH IIIC* kraters found in the Mycenaean settlement layers at Grotta and Iria (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 225, 227 fig. 10).

Langada on Kos (Figure 9.3 (18))

Of the sixty-one Mycenaean tombs excavated at the site of Langada on Kos *Tomb 21* contained a late Mycenaean warrior burial (Morricone 1965–66: 136–42). Along the southern wall of the tomb-chamber a bench of c. 0.50 m height was carved into the rock. On the bench a Naue II sword was laid, while the deceased was apparently deposited on the floor alongside the bench. If so, the sword lay at his side, but on top of the bench. Near the skull a spearhead was found, at a spot where the excavator guessed that his shoulders may have been (Morricone 1965–66: 136). Both the sword and the spearhead belonged to the most advanced types of the time.¹³ Moreover, the position of the sword, together with the fact that it had been bent ('killed') and thus rendered unserviceable, suggests that the deceased warrior was treated with great reverence. Apart from the weapons, the burial gifts deposited in the tomb were, on the whole, modest. The majority of the nine vases found in Tomb 21 exhibit the characteristics of LH IIIB pottery, to which date the warrior burial of Tomb 21 has been consequently assigned (Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 1078, 1097). However, this chronology is not water-tight: one stemmed bowl (Morricone 1965–66: 139 and fig. 126.69) in my view should be classified as LH IIIC Early, if not Developed. Yet even so Tomb 21 of Langada has to be regarded as one of the earliest warrior tombs of the post-palatial era.

Crete

Warrior tombs of LM IIIC have mainly been found in eastern Crete. Their significance has been recently analysed by A. Kanta's article on Cretan elites in the aftermath of Minoan palace period (Kanta 2003).

The best-known warrior burials are those of two built tholos tombs of rectangular shape which were excavated at *Mouliana* (Figure 9.3 (20); for the excavation report see Xanthoudides 1904: 22–50). According to the pottery dating from LM IIIA through IIIC, *Tomb A* was used over a considerable span of time. The last interments appear to have been an inhumation and a cremation. The latter was contained in the famous krater decorated with a hunting scene on one side, and on the other side with a man on horseback carrying a spear and a shield (Xanthoudides 1904: pl. 3). The excavator attributed to this interment three more vases, a golden ring with a plain shield, and another ring of gold. Many more burial gifts were found mainly in the left part of the tomb. They included two swords of Kilian-Dirlmeier's type F2, as well as a Naue II sword, a spearhead,

13 The sword belongs to the earlier 'Typ A' (after Kilian-Dirlmeier) of the Naue II class which was of Italian and ultimately of central European origin. The type first appeared in the Aegean in LH IIIB (see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 177 n. 18) and was subsequently incorporated into the Aegean repertoire (see also Eder and Jung 2005). The same is true of the spearhead from Langada Tomb 21 (Avila 1983: 61).

two bow fibulae, a bronze pin with globular head (representing an early type), and four rectangular plaques with indentations. The latter, looking like little saw blades, were interpreted by the excavator as a kind of *strigilis* (Xanthoudides 1904: 28). However, they may well have served a similar purpose to the toothed objects from Tomb A of Grotta-Kamini, namely for horse-grooming (see above, p. 162), even if their appearance differs from those.¹⁴ There were also a few vases, mainly stirrup jars. Of all these objects A. Kanta attributed one sword of F2 type, the spearhead, the bronze vases, the fibulae and the pin to the inhumation found in this tomb which she interpreted as a warrior burial (Kanta 2003). As for the other two swords (one of F2, the other of Naue II type), it may be assumed that the cremation contained in the krater also had originally been a warrior burial. The pictorial decoration of the krater (see above) seems to support this view.

Tomb B, also a rectangular tholos tomb, also contained two warrior burials (Xanthoudides 1904: 38–50). One was deposited in a larnax, the other one on the floor upon a thick layer of earth and pebbles. The burial in the larnax was accompanied by a Naue II sword, a gold ring, two stirrup jars, and two pairs of bronze discs, perhaps cymbals or ‘phalara’. On the floor of Tomb B a second Naue II sword and a gold mask were found, most probably the burial gifts of the second burial. The stirrup jars found in this tomb have become famous for their octopus decoration. There were also two spearheads which the excavator could not attribute with certainty to any of the burials.

According to Kanta, the burial vases found in both tombs typologically refer to the *later part of LM IIIC*. The krater containing the cremation as mentioned above was dated by Kanta to the end of the period (2003: 180). The high bow fibulae and the pin with globular head attributed by Kanta to the inhumed warrior burial of Tomb A also point to a rather late chronological stage of LM IIIC. On the Mycenaean mainland such finds would be generally taken as indicative of SM.

At *Praisos-Foutoula* (Figure 9.3 (21)) another tholos tomb may have contained a warrior burial (Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 180f.). Among the burial gifts there were a spearhead, a gold face-mask, a gold ring, a large bronze vessel, and an ivory handle. Of particular interest is an object ‘looking like a cylindrical bucket’ (Platon 1960: 304) which consisted of metal bands alternately decorated with a series of ribs and with horizontal rows of rivets (Platon 1960: pl. 241b). It is very likely that this was a headgear like the ‘crowns’ of LH IIIC warriors in Achaia (see above, pp. 159, 160). While the face-mask and the gold ring relate the owner(s) of this tomb to an East Cretan elite group and specifically to Tomb B of Moulia, the headgear of Foutoula and the Naue II swords found in Crete testify to a much wider network of connections among the elites of the post-palatial period. Whether or not the Foutoula tomb may be counted among the

¹⁴ It is perhaps no mere chance that both in Naxos and in Moulia not only such objects with indentations were found, but also kraters with representations of riders.

warrior graves of the post-palatial era (Kanta 2003: 180) once more depends on the evaluation of the significance of spearheads (see below, pp. 169, 172), since no sword was found in the tomb. The pottery found is of LM IIIC Late character; the stirrup jars resemble those from Moulana (Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 181).

3. WARRIOR BURIALS OF LH/LM IIIC DATE IN GENERAL, BUT WITHOUT CLEARLY ASCERTAINABLE CONTEXTS (TABLES 1 AND 2)

There are a number of warrior tombs, mostly known from earlier excavations, whose chronology cannot be established more precisely. The reason has to be mainly sought in the lack of ascertainable contexts, even if in some cases a general date in LH/LM IIIC seems certain. This applies to the looted chamber tombs at Monodhendri-Agios Konstantinos and Kangadhi in Achaïa, to Lakkithra Tomb A and Dhiakata Tomb 2 in Kephallonia, to the Temenos-Tomb from Delphi, to Passia Tomb 2 on Rhodes. In some other cases the tombs concerned had been used over a longer period so that the warrior burials cannot be dated to LH/LM IIIC with certainty. This applies in particular to Tomb 2 of Agios Konstantinos and two (perhaps three) tombs at Kallithea-Langanidia in Achaïa, and to the chamber tombs of Myrsini in Crete. There is no point in describing at length and enumerating the evidence from such tombs since they do not contribute to the understanding of the diachronic dimension of the phenomenon of LH/LM IIIC warrior burials. However, these tombs and burials have to be considered if an evaluation of the distribution and a general characterisation of post-palatial warrior tombs in the Aegean are to be attempted. For this reason, they are listed in our Tables 9.1 and 9.2.

Four chamber tombs of the Mycenaean cemetery at *Patras-Klauss* in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (1)), recently excavated by T. J. Papadopoulos, are provisionally included in this group. They have been called warrior tombs mainly on account of the weapons found in them, and less so on account of other finds. Of those tombs, *Tomb Theta* definitely contained a warrior burial of LH IIIC. This was burial A, furnished with a Naue II sword, a spearhead, a knife, a pair of tweezers, and two amphorae of LH IIIC type (Papadopoulos 1999: 270–1). Three more graves of the Klauss cemetery have also been classified as warrior tombs by the excavator, mainly on account of a dagger found in Tomb A and spearheads found in Tombs M1 and Tomb E. However, the chronology of these tombs has been generally characterised as LH IIIA-C or LH IIIB-C (Papadopoulos: 270). Clearly more information on the typology and chronology of the pottery is required.

Earlier excavations of the Patras-Klauss cemetery yielded a Naue II sword and a spearhead (Papadopoulos 1999: 270, with references). The Naue II sword seems to indicate the existence of a further warrior tomb of LH IIIC date but the contexts have remained unclear.

Table 9.1 LH IIIC warrior tombs without certain contexts and possible LH IIIC warrior tombs of the Greek Mainland

Region, Site	Findings	Remarks	References
Achaea Monodhendri/Ag. Konstantinos (Figure 9.2 (3))	Sword, type Naue II; vases of LH IIIC	Looted chamber tombs. Contexts not ascertainable.	Petropoulos, M., <i>AD</i> 45 (1990), pp. 132–3. Papadopoulos 1999: 271
Achaea Hag. Konstantinos Tomb 2 (Figure 9.2 (3))	Spearhead; knife; fragments of bronze-strip (diadem?); 3 bronze finger-rings; jewellery of semi-precious stones; pottery of LH IIIA–C	Half-looted chamber tomb. Date in LH IIIC not certain.	Kolonas, L., <i>AD</i> 45 (1990), pp. 131–2.
Achaea Kallithea-Langanidia (Figure 9.2 (5)) Tombs VI, VII Tholos-tomb	2 spearheads; 2 daggers; 1 knife Boar's tusks; 1 knife; tweezers; fibula	Date in LH IIIC not certain. Plundered. Situated among 14 chamber tombs. Warrior burial likely, date uncertain.	Papadopoulos 1999: 269f.
Achaea Kangadhi (Figure 9.2 (7)) Chamber tombs	Sword, type Naue II; spearhead	No context.	Papadopoulos 1978–79: 25, 164 and fig. 353a, 166 and fig. 320c, d.
Kephallonia Lakkitra (Figure 9.2 (11)) Tomb A, pit 6	Sword, type not ascertainable; spearhead; shield (?)	'Cave-dormitory', 10 pits. No certain contexts for: 5 knives; 1 razor; jewellery, amber beads, gold necklace; 148 vases of LH IIIC.	Souyouzoglou-Haywood 1999: 42. Sword: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 93.
Kephallonia Dhiakata (Figure 9.2 (12)) Tomb 2 (two burial pits)	2 swords, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; 4 knives; razor; fibula; amber; 2 vases preserved, LH IIIC	Contexts of the two burial pits not ascertainable.	Souyouzoglou-Haywood 1999: 38–9.
Phokis Delphi (Figure 9.2 (13)) 'Tombe d'un chef' of the Temenos chamber tomb group	Sword, type G Sandars; knife; razor; tweezers; leaf-shaped bow fibula; c. 50 vases, LH IIIB through LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean; stone pendant; 3 biconical spindle-whorls	Contexts not ascertainable.	Perdrizet 1908: 6–10. Pottery: Mountjoy, <i>Regional Mycenaean</i> : 741.

Table 9.2 LM IIIC warrior tombs without certain contexts and possible LH IIIC warrior tombs from the Dodecanese and Crete

Region, Site	Finds	Remarks	References
Rhodes Passia (Figure 9.3 (19)) Chamber tomb T. 2	Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; knife; 1 arrowhead; silver shield-ring; bronze finger-ring; 4 vases, LH IIIB–C	Possibly four burials. Contexts not ascertainable.	Dietz 1984: 21–50; 96–104.
Kos Langada (Fig. 9.3 (18)) T. 53	Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; clip-shaped bronze wire; spindle whorl; clay bead; 5 vases, LH IIIB–III B–C Early	Contexts not ascertainable. LH IIIC Early date for sword possible.	Morricone 1965–66: 238ff. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 83.
Crete Myrsini (Figure 9.3 (22)) Chamber tomb A Chamber tomb B	Sword, type Naue II; 'bronze weapons', inclusive of spearheads; 2 triton shells; c. 30 vases LM IIIA–C Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; Sword, type D 1g Kilian-Dirlmeier; 'bronze tools and weapons'; vases LM IIIA–C	Several interments, contexts not ascertainable; Naue II sword presumably LM IIIC. LM IIIC context of sword F 2 probable.	Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 95. Kanta 2003: 178. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 62, 82. Kanta 2003: 178.
Crete: Moulia T. A (Figure 9.3 (20)) For burial 1 see Table 9.3 Without context:	Sword, type Naue II; Sword type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier	Krater LM IIIC Late, containing cremation.	Xanthoudides 1904.

DISCUSSION

The distribution of LH IIIC warrior tombs as displayed in Figures 9.1 and 9.2 suggests that this particular type of burial was common in post-palatial Mycenaean Greece. In addition, weapons found outside tomb contexts, such as the LH/LM swords of late types from Euboea-Avlonaki, Euboea-Palioura, Siteia, the Mesara, or the graves from Athens seem to indicate that the phenomenon of warrior tombs extended to those regions, as well. The lack of warrior tombs in Messenia can be easily explained by the marked depopulation of the region after the fall of Pylos. The same may have been true of Boeotia and of the

Volos region after the palaces of these districts had been destroyed, although the possibility that future archaeological research may change the picture cannot be excluded.

A different explanation is required for the absence of warrior tombs in the Argolid. The LH IIIC period is well represented in the settlement record of the region, and at several sites older chamber tombs continued to be used or were re-used in LH IIIC; some even were newly constructed (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 89, 99). Yet so far no warrior burial has been discovered. On the other hand, the settlement evidence of Tiryns gives reason to assume that in the post-palatial period a new elite emerged 'who used the possibilities created by the collapse of the palatial system' (Maran, this volume: p. 143) and competed for political power and leadership (Maran, this volume; Mühlenbruch 2002). Moreover, figural vase painting, particularly on LH IIIC kraters from Mycenae and Tiryns, abounds in the representation of military action and of aristocratic occupations such as riding the chariot and hunting (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: part XI). These images of a 'heroic' lifestyle may well reflect the self-awareness of the social elites of the post-palatial period, as well as the importance attributed to military prowess during a period of upheaval and general unrest (see Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 20). Furthermore, the Mycenae and Tiryns hoards contained swords including some of the Naue II type. It is therefore likely that the absence of warrior tombs at Mycenae and Tiryns reflects the present state of research, and that LH IIIC elite burials and warrior burials in particular are still waiting to be discovered. Moreover, J. Maran's analysis of the Tiryns 'treasure' suggests that at Tiryns a kind of legitimate rulership was at least temporarily established, accompanied by the attempt to unify a territory of considerable extent under its rule (Maran, this volume). If so, it is reasonable to assume that a similar kind of rule and of territorial control was established at Mycenae.¹⁵ Under these premises, the absence of warrior tombs in the cemeteries of other sites and particularly of Argos and Asine may be ascribed to the predominance of the two powerful centres at Tiryns and Mycenae. However, reflections of this kind have to remain hypothetical until further evidence is available.

In striking contrast to the Argolid, the region of Achaea has produced the largest number of warrior tombs and burials (see Figure 9.2). Most of them were found in the cemeteries of the Patras and Dyme regions in Western Achaea, but recent discoveries have revealed warrior tombs in the southern and eastern parts of the district, as well. The sharp increase in numbers of warrior burials in LH IIIC has been explained in terms of a need for protection and defence felt by the

15 Excavations on the Lower Terraces at Midea gave evidence for the transformation of a large megaroid LH IIIB-building into a post-palatial structure quite similar to Building T at Tiryns (Walberg 1997; Maran 2001: 117). Apparently also at the third palatial site of the Argolid a local centre of power was temporarily established in LH IIIC. However, there is no further evidence which would necessitate a discussion of this site in the present context.

local communities after the disasters (Papadopoulos 1999), and/or in terms of the rise of a new social class whose power was not inherited from the preceding period but was based on military preparation and organisation (Moschos 2002: 30; Eder 2003a: 38–41). The distribution of warrior tombs in Achaea further suggests that the social and political map of the district in LH IIIC was marked by small autonomous polities, each under a local political leadership (see also Moschos 2002: 29–30). It has often been pointed out that most weapons found in the warrior tombs of Achaea were of ultimately ‘European’ types, developed in the regions of the so-called ‘*koiné metallurgica*’ of Italy, eastern Central Europe and the Balkan regions (Harding 1984; Bouzek 1985; Papadopoulos 1999; Eder 2003a; Eder and Jung 2005). Achaea clearly played a decisive role in mediating and monitoring the contacts between the regions of the Adriatic and the Aegean (see, for instance, Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 65–6; Eder and Jung 2005). As a result, the district enjoyed a remarkable prosperity in LH IIIC which is reflected by the rich burial gifts of the time. The main profit from the exchange of raw materials and prestige objects was obviously claimed by the members of a ruling elite (or ruling elites) whose role very likely included the safeguarding of the transportation of goods. This central function characterised by B. Wagner-Hasel as the main source of income and of political power of Homeric *basileis* (Wagner-Hasel, this volume), may well have had its roots in the social and economic conditions of LH IIIC.

Warrior burials found in defined contexts suggest that the basic equipment consisted of a sword and a spear or 2 spears/javelins (Table 9.3). However, there are exceptions. At Grotta on Naxos there is a striking contrast between the warrior tombs of Kamini T. A and Haplomata T. A where only swords were found, and the burial on top of the ‘pyre’ of Grotta/Kamini which was only accompanied by spearheads. Similarly T. 4 of Nikoleika in Achaea only contained a sword, while the military equipment of T. 123 of Perati and of the larnax-burial of Praisos/Foutoula consisted of spearheads. Most scholars would agree that the application of the term ‘warrior grave’ or ‘warrior tomb’ is justified by the presence of swords or daggers, weapons which were exclusively used in single combat (see, for instance, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998). Opinions diverge with regard to contexts which only contained spearheads. On the one hand it has been pointed out that spears are one of the most efficient and most lethal weapons. On the other hand, others claimed that the use of spears is not exclusively military and therefore suggested that burials accompanied only by spearheads ought to be considered as those of warriors of a lower rank (see Macdonald 1984: 56, with references; Papadopoulos 1999). However, while this hypothesis may find some support from the evidence of LM/LH II through IIIB cemeteries, it cannot explain the ‘spear-warrior’ burials of LH IIIC. First of all, their number is much smaller than that of burials which contained both swords and spears. Moreover, at Naxos and at Praisos/Foutoula the elaborate arrangements of these burials, as well as the wealth of their burial gifts exclude any idea of a lower social rank of

Table 9.3 Ascertainable find contexts of warrior burials, with special regard of weapons, bronzes, significant items, architectural features

Site no.	Name	Sword	Spearhead	Armour	Other bronzes	Significant burial gifts	Special architectural features	Pottery chronology	Remarks	See page
1	Patras-Klauss Tomb Theta Old finds	Naue II Naue II	1 1		Dagger	Tweezers		LH IIIC	By preliminary reports	165
2	Krini-Drimaleika	Naue II; scabbard	1			Comb; ring; bronze spiral		LH IIIC Middle/Devel.		157
4	Kallitheaspenzes Tomb A Tomb B	Naue II Naue II	1 1, with butt-spike	Greaves	Knife	'Crown' Razor; tweezers; boar's tusks		LH IIIC Middle LH IIIC Middle-Late	Looted tomb Looted tomb	160f.
6	Lousika-Spaliareika, T.2. Burial 1 Burial 2 Burial 3						X			157f.
8	Portes-Kephalovryso	Naue II	1	Greaves	Dagger	'Crown'; bronze bowl	X	LH IIIC Early or Middle	By preliminary reports	159
9	Nikoleika T. 4	Naue II			Knife	Rich burial gifts		LH IIIC Middle	Preliminary reports	160
10	Palaiokastro T. 6	Naue II	1		2 knives	Bronze pin	X	LH IIIC Middle	Context reconstructed	161
11	Hexalophos A	Type F 2	1			5 kylikes	X	LH IIIC Middle	Connected with pyre?	161
12	Grotta/Naxos Kamini T. A 'Warrior' burial near T. D Haplomata T. A	Naue II Naue II	2; one butt-spike.		Curry-comb (?)	Rich burial gifts Seal-stone: gold jewellery Rich burial gifts		LH IIIC Middle LH IIIC Middle and Late LH IIIC Middle	Context reconstructed Pyre; animal offerings Contexts not certain	162 162 162

Site no.	Name	Sword	Spearhead	Armour	Other bronzes	Significant burial gifts	Special architectural features	Pottery chronology	Remarks	See page
15	Perati T. 12 T. 38 T. 123	Type G Type F 2	1	Bronze knife	Arm-ring Razor; tweezers; whetstone	Iron knife		LH IIIC Middle or Late LH IIIC Late LH IIIC Middle	Richly furnished tomb Burial gifts above average standard	154-7
18	Langada/Kos T. 21	Naue II	1				X	LH IIIC Early		163
20	Moulana Tomb A Tomb B, burial 1 Tomb B, burial 2 Without context	Type F 2 Naue II Naue II	1 2	4 bronze discs	Bronze vases Gold ring	2 bow fibulae; bronze pin; curry-comb (?) Gold mask	X	LM IIIC Late LM III C Late LM III C Late	Inhumation; context reconstructed. For a possible further warrior burial see Table 9.2 Larnax burial	163f.
21	Praisos-Foutoula		1		Large bronze vessel	'crown' (?); gold mask; gold ring; ivory handle	X	LM IIIC Late	Larnax burial	164f.

the individuals buried.¹⁶ Under these premises, a comparison to the evidence of the Homeric epics may perhaps prove more useful than to that of Mycenaean cemeteries of earlier periods. In the Homeric world, to carry a spear and a sword indiscriminately was the right of every free and noble man demonstrating his military prowess (Gröschel 1989: 75f.; van Wees 1998). In this sense both weapons exceeded their original military function, having acquired the additional significance of status symbols. The evidence of the LH IIIC warrior burials, supplemented by LH IIIC pictorial representations as depicted on the famous warrior vase from Mycenae and on the painted stele from the same site (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: XI: 42; 43; for other sites see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: X.37, 38; XI.1B, 57; Güntner 2000: tables 7.1b, 8.1b), give rise to the hypothesis that the Homeric significance of sword and spear had already prevailed in LH IIIC, even if there may have been some difference, at Naxos, between the 'sword warriors' in the chamber tombs and the man buried on the 'pyre', or in Crete between the man buried in the larnax at Foutoula and the 'sword warriors' from Moulia and Myrsini.¹⁷ It is certainly of interest to note that among the LH IIIC representations of fighting there are more scenes involving the use of spears than the use of swords.¹⁸

The swords were mostly of the Naue II type, the most advanced cut-and-thrust weapon of the time. It had been introduced during LH IIIB and was soon integrated into the palatial production of weapons.¹⁹ Therefore it does not come as much of a surprise that after the fall of the palaces this efficient and prestigious weapon was taken over by the rulers of LH IIIC. However, the Aegean sword types had not died out. As a matter of fact, splendid swords of the Aegean types F and G were found, for instance, at Perati in Attica and Hexalophos in Thessaly (see also Tables 9.1–9.3). B. Eder has recently pointed out that these swords seem to have been preferred in peripheral regions, while Naue II swords were mainly found in warrior tombs of the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands (Eder 1999). During the SM period, however, mainly type F and G swords were deposited with elite burials, the only exception being the Naue II sword of T. 201 of the North Cemetery at Knossos. Perhaps these weapons which *in praxi* were soon to become obsolete at some point adopted an intrinsic value as testimonies of exalted status and of ancestry.

Apart from swords and spears, LH IIIC warrior burials were frequently accompanied by many more military items such as daggers, knives, helmet, greaves and shield. Moreover, tweezers, combs and razors seem to indicate that personal grooming befitted a warrior as it befitted other male members of the leading

16 Note that Perati T. 123 had been searched and cleared before it was abandoned (see above, p. 156f.).

17 It would be beyond the scope of this paper to pursue this matter further, even if it is of some interest.

18 Apart from the representations quoted above, a new pottery fragment from Naxos may be mentioned which shows a single combat with lances or spears. See Vlachopoulos 2003a: 511, fig. 21.

19 The type survived far into the Early Iron Age when it was converted into an iron weapon.

social ranks. In contrast, for prestige objects such as jewellery, antiques and exotica warrior burials were frequently surpassed by other elite burials. Clearly this does not indicate that warriors were less prosperous than members of the social elite. It only shows that for a warrior burial the military equipment was the decisive element (see the beginning of this chapter).

Warrior tombs of LH IIIC may stand out by their architectural arrangement. They may differ from other tombs by their size or by a different shape such as tumulus or tholos. Distinctive architectural designs of the chamber included benches, niches or vaulted roofs (see Table 9.3).

Turning to the chronology of LH IIIC warrior tombs, they probably did not figure among the cultural characteristics of LH IIIC Early. According to the present state of research, Langada Tomb 21, dating to LH IIIC Early rather than IIIB (see above, p. 163), was the earliest warrior tomb so far known of the post-palatial period in the Aegean. Tomb 2 at Lousika-Spaliareika dated to LH IIIC Early may have been the earliest warrior tomb of Achaea, provided its first burial is accepted as a warrior burial on account of the *'encheiridion'* (above, p. 158). Therefore, unless the tombs listed in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 (see also above, p. 165) contained warrior burials of LH IIIC Early, the majority of post-palatial warrior burials date to *LH IIIC Middle* and *IIIC Late*. Those of Tomb 3 at Krini-Drimaleika and of Tomb A of Kallithea-Spenzes, both in Achaea, seem to have been deposited in LH IIIC/Middle. All others belong to LH IIIC Advanced and Late. The latest LH/LM warrior burials are those of Perati, Hexalophos and the East Cretan tholoi. Considering the general chronology of the pottery found in the tombs of Lakkithra and Diakata on Kephallonia, it is likely that these tombs date to LH IIIC Late, and the same may well be true of the *'Temenos Tomb'* at Delphi (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

The cultural, sociological and political background of Mycenaean warrior tombs in general has been studied so frequently that there is no need to raise a general discussion in the present context (see, for instance, Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Wright 1987; Cavanagh 1998; Voutsaki 1998; Voutsaki 1999; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*). Confining ourselves to the warrior tombs of the post-palatial period, it is evident that they reflected the deep-rooted change in social organisation and economy caused by the demise of the palatial system (on the following see Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 1998, 2002, forthcoming). No palace was restored. The lexical disappearance of the political, social and administrative terms of the Linear B texts is even more pronounced than in the field of work and production (Morpurgo Davies 1979). Arts and crafts, technology, social behaviour, cult practice, burial customs and other cultural features were no longer maintained by an advanced and complex political system commanding over highly developed economic and cultural potentials. Artisans no longer had to meet the demands of theocratic monarchs and sophisticated courtiers, who had disappeared together with the palace system. Moreover, the loss of the art of writing was of the greatest consequence. For more than four centuries Greece remained illiterate (Deger-Jalkotzy forthcoming).

However, as has already been stated by way of introduction, it would be wrong to view the post-palatial period only in terms of impoverishment and lack of innovation. On the contrary, technologies, particularly in the field of bronze-work (Kayafa, this volume) were promoted, and there was no decline in ship construction (Basch 1987: 140–8; Jones 2000: 17–20). Mycenaean pottery, too, was not affected by any technical or artistic deterioration. Contacts overseas were quickly re-established, particularly within the Aegean (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002; Kanta 2003), as well as with the regions across the Adriatic and to the north along the Great Isthmos Corridor Route (Eder and Jung 2005). As a matter of fact, during the LH IIIC Middle phase the communities of post-palatial Greece achieved a certain economic prosperity, and Mycenaean civilisation witnessed a last blossoming which is revealed by a certain revival of representational arts and architecture (see Maran, this volume) and particularly by the flamboyant decorations of LH IIIC Middle clay vessels (Schachermeyr 1980: 101–63; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: XI–XIII; Rutter 1992).

LH IIIC settlement plans testify to the fact that the people of post-palatial Mycenaean Greece were capable of reorganising their social and political life. In fact, the demise of the palace system may well have been welcomed by the general population as a relief from the strain imposed by the demands of the palace economy. Local communities may have found themselves free to dispose of their own resources and products. Judged by the archaeological evidence, post-palatial settlements were inhabited by village-like communities which consisted of self-contained and economically independent households (Maran, this volume; Mühlenbruch 2002). Their communal productivity does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of self-sufficiency (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58 and nn. 72, 73). The existence of such small, autonomous communities may well have prompted, in the post-palatial period, the application of the political term *damos*, which once had been a designation for local administrative units of the palace system, to its later use (*demos*) in Greek political terminology.

As we have already pointed out, there is ample evidence from LH IIIC settlements and cemeteries to prove that social ranking and elite behaviour had not come to an end with the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system but continued to play a decisive political role in the post-palatial period. Moreover, it may be suggested that social rank and political position in post-palatial communities were largely defined by the demonstration of military prowess. This is well borne out by the representations of 'heroic' male attitudes on the copiously decorated vases of LH IIIC Middle. Favourite themes were warriors equipped with the latest types of weapons and riding on chariots or defiling in procession, as well as representations of single combat, of fighting on foot and on chariot, and naval battle scenes (Deger-Jalkotzy: 1999, with references). Most of these images served as decorative elements of large open vessels (kraters) found in settlement contexts and accompanied by a rich array of drinking vessels, undoubtedly the remains of symposia which brought together the members of the leading ranks.

Representations of warriors and fighting, certainly demonstrating the self-awareness and the corporate identity of the leading groups of LH IIIC, may have also reflected the lifestyle of these people. The archaeological evidence of settlement sites and cemeteries suggests that LH IIIC was by no means a peaceful period easy to live in. It was obviously marked by a great deal of upheaval, population movements, and general unrest. Therefore war and fighting may well have been a historic reality of the time, and military excellence an essential quality required of political leaders.

So far the LH IIIC vase paintings and warrior tombs may be viewed as complementing each other. However, the evidence of the post-palatial warrior tombs seems to imply that, at least during LH IIIC Middle and Late (that is, the main chronological setting of these tombs), a further step in the development of political organisation took place. Even in large cemeteries such as Perati, Palaiokastros and Achaia Klausea no more than one or perhaps two tombs containing LH IIIC warrior burials have been found. As I. Kilian-Dirlmeier first observed, they were surrounded by other tombs containing the burials of other members of the community's elite. Similar clusters continued to exist throughout the final stages of LH IIIC and the transition to the EIA, until the development reached a pinnacle with the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998).

Cemeteries of the pre-palatial periods had not been arranged in this fashion. Elite tombs of those periods had all been characterised by the ostentation of wealth, as well as of weapons, even if a more conspicuous tomb may have stood out among the others. It may therefore be suggested that by the warrior tombs of LH IIIC the aspirations were reflected of certain families or lineages to establish some kind of monocratic rule, possibly following to the model of Mycenaean palace kingship. The disintegration of the unified territories of palace states may well have promoted the rise in status of local dignitaries who had previously figured in the marginal attention of the Linear B texts. This was particularly true of the bearers of the title of *basileus* (*qa-si-re-u* in the Linear B texts) who in post-Mycenaean times even rose to the position of Greek kings (Carlier, *Royauté*). There is some evidence that the rise of the *basileis* to the rank of a chief began in LH IIIC. In fact, attempts towards restoring certain aspects of the ideology of the */wanax/* (that is, of Mycenaean palace kingship) succeeded by LH IIIC Middle (see Maran, this volume). Moreover, just as the position of a *qa-si-re-u* had been hereditary during the palace period, LH IIIC evidence such as that of Tomb 2 at Spaliareika or, according to the ingenious interpretation by J. Maran, the Tiryns 'treasure' seem to indicate that dynastic aspirations were also known in the post-palatial period.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the warrior tombs of the post-palatial Mycenaean period demonstrate that the ostentation of military prowess and elite status was not only an issue of rulers and leading social ranks of the Early Mycenaean and the Mycenaean palace periods. This feature of social behaviour outlasted the fall of the palaces and survived right into the EIA of Greece.

Moreover LH IIIC warrior tombs may be viewed as the funerary monuments of individuals who either held, or were entitled to hold the title of *basileus* and to obtain the position of a political leader, if not of a petty king or prince. It was their prerogative to be buried together with their swords and spears, even if we may assume that military prowess was a quality which was generally expected from all members of the social elites of the period. Under these premises the political function of the men buried in the warrior tombs of LH IIIC may well be viewed as a step along the line of development from Mycenaean *qa-si-re-we* to the Homeric *basileis*.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF *BASILEIS*

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian

The general title of my chapter is undoubtedly a very broad one and I certainly do not intend to cover the whole topic within the following pages. Since my aim is to discuss the material evidence for the existence of *basileis* in Early Iron Age Greece, I choose to limit myself to a few case studies which in my opinion can contribute towards a better understanding of the position of the *basileus* from the tenth to the eighth centuries BC.

The material evidence for identifying an individual of high status, who could have been a *basileus*, can be divided into direct and indirect. The former consists of tombs with prestige goods and status symbols, especially bronze urn cremations which were associated both in Greece and Cyprus with top-ranking individuals, high status and social distinction (Morris 1999; Crielaard 1998b). In this group one could also include a series of 'Homeric' burials, especially of warriors (Whitley 2002; Mazarakis Ainian 2000b: 172–7). Other direct evidence concerns the identification of hero cults (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*; Deoudi 1999; Hägg 1999; Boehringer 2001), especially at tombs of the recently deceased, and of the actual dwellings which could have belonged to *basileis* or to members of the elite. The discovery of prestige goods, antiques, status symbols and ritual meals found usually in sanctuaries could also point indirectly to an elite visiting an important sanctuary which functioned as a wider arena for competitive display of valued objects (Morgan, *Oracles*; Fagerström 1993; de Polignac, *Origins*). Narrative art, through which the aristocrats of the Late Geometric period aimed in underlining their status or even their heroic descent, may be regarded as one additional type of such indirect evidence of displaying them (Snodgrass 1998; Hurwit 1985: 124).

Numerous scholars have dealt with the topic of the *basileus* in Early Iron Age Greece (notably Drews 1983; Carlier, *Royauté*; van Wees, *Status Warriors*; Lenz 1993; Weiler 2001). Here I will concentrate on a few case studies, that is to say sites which have yielded evidence for the existence of buildings which may have belonged or been used by members of the elite, perhaps *basileis*, dated between the eleventh and the early seventh centuries BC. The common feature of the cases discussed is that the occupants of these buildings appear to have been implicated in the supply, control or manufacture of metal items of prestige. I will argue that

elite status in the Early Iron Age was connected not only with the possession of valuable metallic objects, but also with the supply of metals and the actual manufacture and trading or distribution of finished products. It is therefore not surprising that several of my examples derive from the Euboean milieu.

Defining a *basileus* in Early Iron Age Greece is not easy, and in fact, with a few notable exceptions, one cannot easily point out clear instances of physical evidence for these *basileis*. I naturally exclude from this statement Cyprus, which followed a different historical trajectory and will not be discussed here (Snodgrass 1995; Coldstream 1989: 325–35; Rupp 1989: 336–62). In a broad sense, we could accept that what we are looking for is material evidence pointing towards persons of high status, leaders of other men, rulers of some sort.

Before trying to summarise the basic opinions about the nature and standing of Early Iron Age *basileis* it is imperative to make a brief excursus to the Late Bronze Age, and the Mycenaean *wanax* in particular, for which we possess on one hand the Linear B tablets and on the other the palaces and the central *megara*, as well as the tholos tombs and for the earlier period the rich contents of graves, such as those of Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae. The *wanax* stood at the head of a complex hierarchy of state officials who were responsible for the administration of the Mycenaean states and had important religious duties as well. It is generally believed that another official mentioned in the tablets, the *qa-si-re-u* (*basileus*), was a rather unimportant official, possibly the chief of a semi-independent provincial town, perhaps serving as a priest as well (Carlier, *Royaute*: 108–16; Lenz 1993: 92–104) and sometimes responsible for the allocation of bronze. Soon after the destruction or decline of these centralised administrative centres of the Late Bronze Age, the system collapsed and Greece was apparently segmented into what we would call today petty states. The *wanax* disappeared, but the local rulers, the *basileis*, managed to consolidate their power after the upheavals of the end of the Late Bronze Age and therefore from being local governors they assumed the leadership of self-sustained communities. I will argue later on that one of the factors which reinforced their status was that they were the only individuals capable of ensuring the continuation of the metal industry after the collapse of the central administration. By the LH IIIC Middle period, as Deger-Jalkotzy argues in this volume, the emerging elites, perhaps already bearing the title of *basileis*, were adopting new heroic ideals of fighting, hunting, seafaring (including raiding) and communal feasting, characteristics which endured into the Iron Age.

In such a discussion one cannot avoid using the Homeric epics, despite the fact that their historicity is much disputed and scholars widely disagree. In the poems, which in my opinion may be cautiously used as evidence for the political structure of the eighth century and of the earlier Iron Age, the *basileus*, sometimes also called *anax*, was in most cases simply a *primus inter pares*. Sometimes he may even have shared his powers with other noblemen. Usually, however, we hear of single *basileis*, but still, it is not clear whether these should be regarded as high-born

leaders who held the right to rule on a hereditary basis (van Wees, *Status Warriors*; Lenz 1993: 12–13) or whether they held power due to their competence to lead, thanks to their personal wealth, charismatic virtues, and their abilities to attract followers and make alliances. In the latter eventuality, as several scholars have long pointed out, their status may have been similar – though I would add by no means identical – to that of the *Big Men* of primitive cultures (Qviller 1981: 117–20; Donlan 1985; Whitley 1991; Fagerström 1993: 53). Indeed, in Homer, despite the fact that good birth is a condition of high status, it is not a guarantee as well, since a *basileus* has to attract and to maintain followers. A third alternative, the so-called ‘*chiefdom*’ model, stands between hereditary kingship and the so-called *Big Man* system: power is vested in the chief on a hereditary basis but the chief is constantly challenged by peers. This, according to Wright, appears to have been the case in early Mycenaean times, before the consolidation of the *wanax*, and the system may have re-emerged after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization (Wright 1994; 1995; Donlan 1997). The re-emergence of Middle Helladic patterns in the Early Iron Age has been recently emphasised by Gounaris (2002). From the above it seems to me that the position of Homeric *basileus* is not clearly institutionalised, an opinion, however, not shared by all scholars (Carrier, *Royauté*; van Wees, *Status Warriors*; Lenz 1993): a leader earns recognition by a series of actions and through his personal resources and behaviour. But on the other hand it appears that Homeric *basileis* were usually hereditary monarchs, though their power could be challenged.

It is most likely that in the so-called Dark Ages society was ranked, since there seems to have existed ‘more ‘qualified’ persons than positions of status (Fried 1967; Tandy 1997: 92–3). Gradually, however, especially from the mid-eighth century, these chiefs would have ‘given way to a system of collegial rule by land-owning nobility’ (Donlan 1985: 305). Society was apparently becoming more stratified, since the archaeological record attests that during the eighth century there was an increase in wealth in conjunction with population growth (Donlan 1997: 39). By Hesiod’s time the *basileis* were characterised as ‘gift-devouring kings’, which modern scholars usually take to have been local aristocrats or a collegial group of kings.

THE DWELLINGS OF THE *BASILEIS*

One of my points concerns the question of the religious prerogatives of the *basileis* in Early Iron Age Greece and the evidence for the practice of communal religious ceremonies inside or in proximity to their dwellings. I have expressed my views in length in earlier studies (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*). Here I will briefly present the basic structure of the argument, which necessarily has to take into account the situation in the Mycenaean world.

The *megaron* in the Mycenaean palace, with its monumental central hearth and four columns around it, symbolised the centre of the state, as Wright has shown.

He concludes that the hearth denotes 'a cult institution of power and authority that reinforces the stability of the state, but it also demonstrates the priority of religion in the organisation of the seat of power' (Wright 1994: 58). The same scholar argued that these and other elements point towards 'a centripetal organization located in the megaron of the palace and focused on the hearth where the ruler is responsible for the maintenance of the cult' (Wright 1994: 60). Indeed, other elements, such as the altar which was located in front of the *megaron* at Tiryns, or the libation channel next to the throne of the ruler's residence in Pylos, as well as the finds, such as offering tables and miniature vases associated with the latter megaron, confirm this view. Furthermore the Linear B tablets prove that there were close ties between the *wanax* and official cult practice. On this evidence one is led to the assumption that the Mycenaean ruler, though certainly not a divine king, nor a chief-priest of the community, was directly involved in communal religious activities. Thus, the Mycenaean system appears to have been one of 'appropriation of primary cult under the control of the ruler', which explains why communal sanctuaries are so rare in this period. Within the palaces there were cult centres, and little attention was paid with regard to their setting and architectural adornment. The evidence which derives from the variety and lack of uniformity of the finds in these sanctuaries suggests that the purpose of their existence was, as Wright concludes, 'to embrace the diversity of religious beliefs and customs in the territories of the palaces and thereby gave an official sanction to these beliefs by having a recognized centre within the citadel' (Wright 1994: 63). As for the rural sanctuaries of the Mycenaean period, these may be viewed as 'an act of appropriation and incorporation of local and rurally based cults into the official palace-based religion' (Wright 1994: 76).

By the eleventh century, when the remnants of the palatial system had faded away, cult practices reverted to the earlier Middle Helladic scheme, which according to Wright consisted of cults 'celebrated at every household hearth by every head of household' (Wright 1994: 75). The centrifugal sacred role of the Mycenaean palatial megaron was presumably transferred to the more humble dwellings of the ruling nobility of the Early Iron Age, while sanctuaries outside settlements were no longer controlled by some kind of central authority, which either was no longer existed or was too weak to intervene. These changes may have marked the origin of the 'panhellenic' sanctuaries, which could not have been any longer appropriated by the petty 'states' as previously by the Palace, but, as Morgan has shown, became instead the meeting places of the aristocracy, and a neutral ground where noblemen would compete (Morgan, *Oracles*).

As I have argued extensively elsewhere, in the Early Iron Age it is usually possible to distinguish between dwellings of ordinary people and those of the wealthier or ruling classes (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*). From an architectural point of view, the differences between houses of various social strata are basically confined to their dimensions and the complexity of design. At the beginning of the Iron Age the differences between the two categories of housing are more

pronounced (e.g. Nichoria, Lefkandi) but as we progress in time, these become less evident (the presumed ruler's dwelling at eighth-century Zagora is often used as a typical example to illustrate this point (Cambitoglou et al., 1971: 18–19; 30–1; 1988: 79–106; Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 171–6). The political organisation and the social stratification of the Early Iron Age are therefore reflected in this differentiation.

The rulers' dwellings in the Early Iron Age were often situated close to a communal sanctuary which is open to the sky, or beside an altar. At the same time, in all the places where such a pattern can be observed, a temple of a poliad divinity is always absent. A ruler's dwelling often comprises a spacious room which is usually provided with long stone benches and a central hearth. Occasionally, the presence of substantial numbers of animal bones attests practice of large scale feasts, while sometimes it is possible to identify ritual objects among the normal household finds, which suggest that on certain events dedications to the gods may have been deposited inside these dwellings.

In Homer the *basileus* had a significant religious role, apart from a social one. He appears to have been responsible for the celebration of sacrifices and guarantees the preservation of ritual custom (Mondi 1980: 201). Likewise, important religious duties were attached to the kings of the Archaic and Classical *poleis*, regardless of whether these *basileis* were hereditary monarchs or elective officials (Carlier, *Royauté*).

Based on the above I reached the conclusion that thanks to his complex nexus of powers and prerogatives, the Early Iron Age *basileus* acted also as a communal priest. His material wealth probably enabled him to supply the sacrificial victims and invite the participants in the sacrifice to dine at his residence (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*).

The catalogue of dwellings which could be associated with the governing or non-governing elite of Early Iron Age Greece that I offered several years ago (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*) is mostly valid, though some of my attributions or reconstructions have been challenged, sometimes thanks to new data, as the case of Building T at Tiryns (Maran 2000), or on more theoretical grounds, as in the case of Aigeira or Eretria (Weiler 2001: 124–7).

In the earlier so-called Dark Ages, in mainland Greece at least, the houses of the elite were clearly differentiated from those of the common people. A few examples are enough to demonstrate this point. The large apsidal building which occupied the central area of the nucleated Dark Age settlement at Nichoria has been plausibly identified by the excavators as a ruler's house (Unit IV-1, Figure 10.1a, 10.1b) (*Nichoria III*). The concentration of metal finds in and around this building is exceptional compared with the remaining areas of the settlement and Morgan has even suggested that some of these may have been related to the cult activities associated with this house (Morgan, *Oracles*: 7–78; 196–9). The raised circular paving near the back of the main chamber was covered with a thin layer of carbonised matter, while a heap of animal bones mixed with charcoal was

(a)

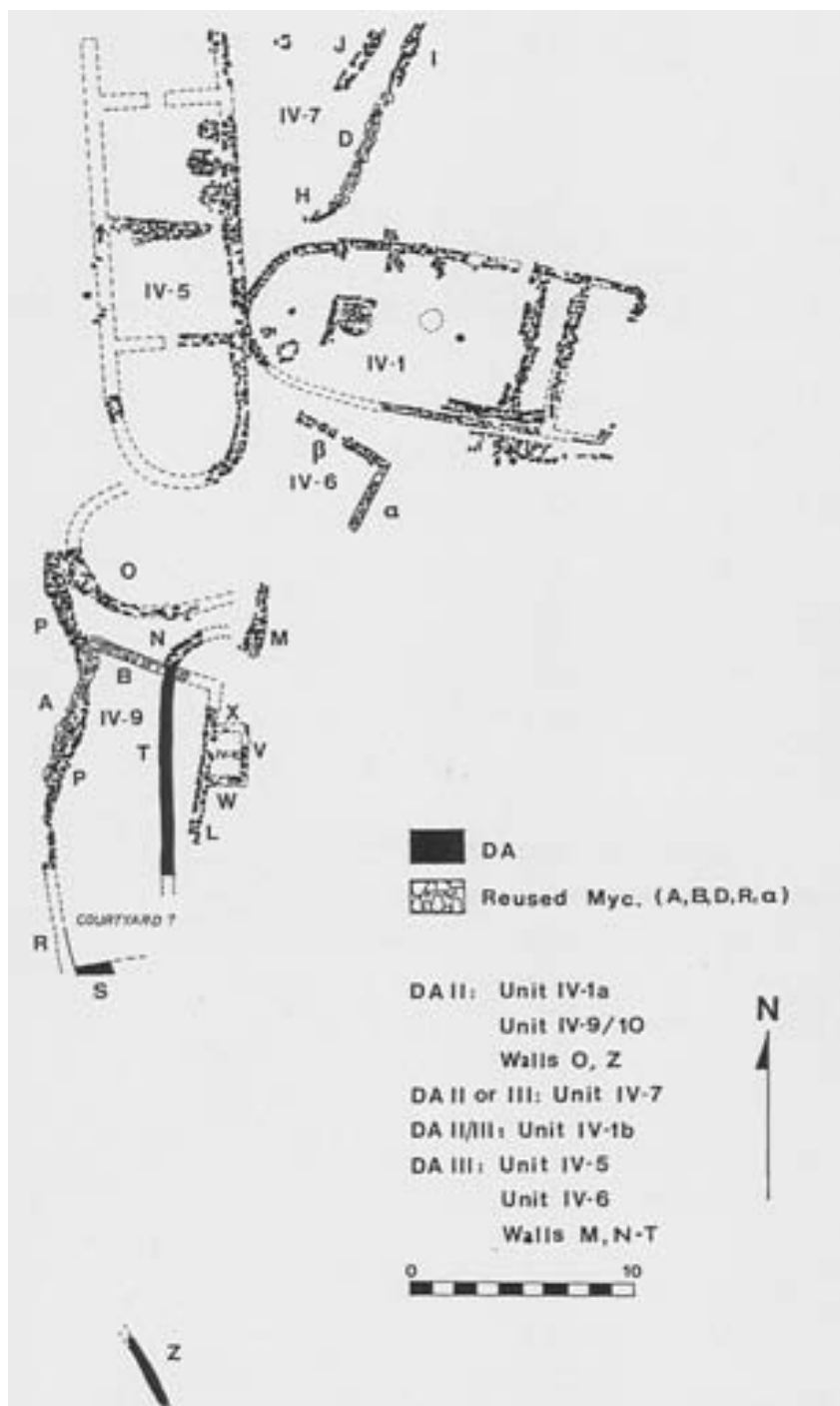


Figure 10.1 (a) Plan of the Early Iron Age remains at Nichoria (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: fig. 257) and (b) aerial photograph of Unit IV-1 (*Nichoria III*: pl. 2-16)

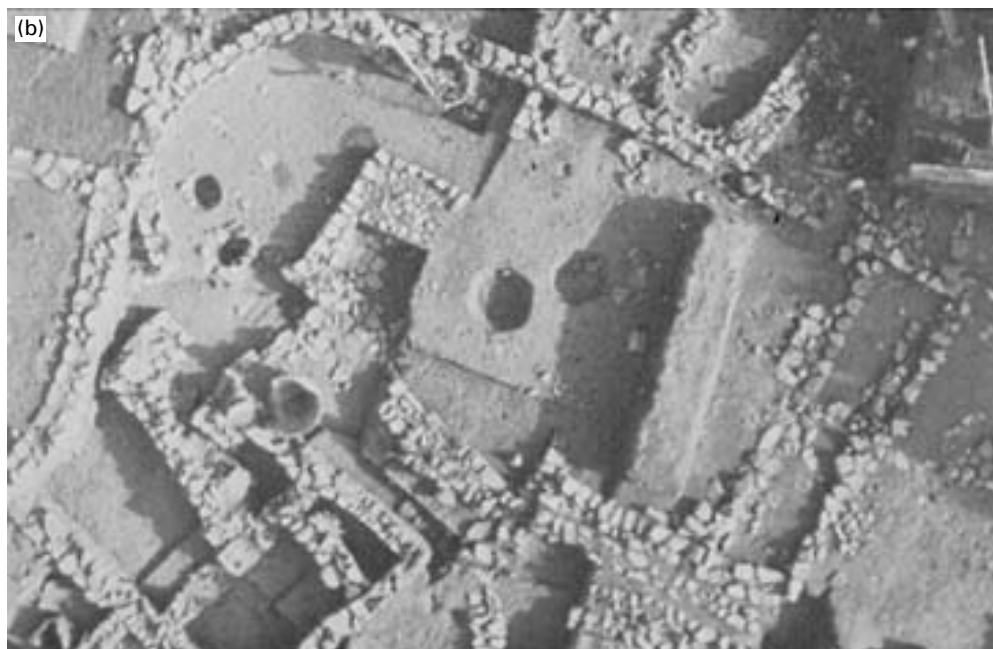


Figure 10.1 (b)

recovered nearby, suggesting that the structure may have served as an altar for burnt sacrifices. It is interesting to note that similar raised platforms are encountered towards the rear of apsidal buildings of the same period at Tarsus (Goldman 1963: 3–5) and Klazomenai (Aytaclar 2004: 19), but their function remains enigmatic. The excavators convincingly proposed that the unit served political, religious and economic functions (*Nichoria III*: 40). Sourvinou-Inwood objected (1993: 6) that even if one identifies the house with a ruler's dwelling, the cult would have been of purely domestic character, but this is rather unlikely. The apparent absence of a communal cult place within the limits of the settlement is I believe suggestive on this point. It is more logical to assume that sacrifices followed by ritual meals were held inside the building. These would have been presided over by the ruler, and the participants would have been the other noblemen of Nichoria, and occasionally other chiefs.

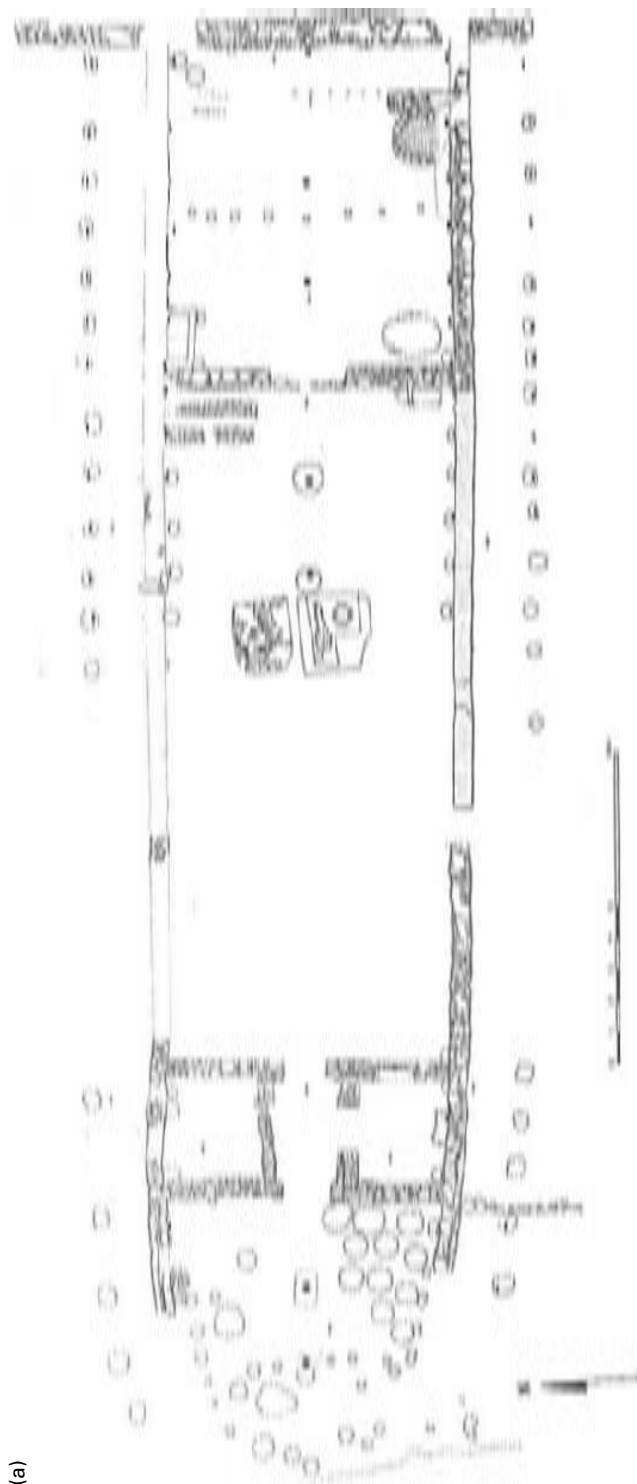
Unit IV-1 at Nichoria remained in use for approximately 200 years and was replaced around 800 BC by another important, though less impressive, apsidal house which was built nearby and which perished in the conflagration which led to the abandonment of the entire settlement. It has been suggested that this building served similar functions to its predecessor (*Nichoria III*: 52–3). Thus, it would seem that at Dark Age Nichoria, the rulers may have been hereditary, and the settlement, contrary to Whitley's opinion (Whitley 1991: 347), cannot be classified as 'unstable', because its life was interrupted suddenly due to human action, perhaps by the Spartans during the First Messenian war. It is interesting to note

that in the later eighth century, after the abandonment of the settlement, a warrior burial inside a *pithos* perhaps became an anti-Spartan symbol (*Nichoria III*: 109; 260–5, esp. 326), possibly because the deceased ‘had achieved prominence in the course of whatever conflict surrounded the end of the settlement’ (Morgan, *Oracles*: 99). It would have been tempting to identify this ‘prominent’ individual with the last occupant of the second ruler’s house, which was violently destroyed by fire around 750 BC, but no supporting evidence entitles one to do so.

Power in Dark Age Greece is almost synonymous with the well-known peripteral apsidal building of the first half of the tenth century which was excavated on the hill of Toumba at Lefkandi (Figure 10.2a, 10.2b). This outstanding edifice has been thoroughly discussed, over the past two decades, but no unanimous conclusion has been reached concerning its function. The two basic opinions are that it would have served as a princely residence of the deceased couple who were buried inside (a hypothesis which I have also upheld), or as an ‘imitation of (though possibly grander than) such a residence, for his use after death’ (*Lefkandi II.2*: 49). Both assumptions have been conditioned by the rich burials found in the centre of the building: the warrior cremation and the female inhumation, and the skeletons of four horses (Figure 10.3). The arguments of the excavators in favour of the latter hypothesis are well known and indeed quite strong (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 145), though it is unanimously acknowledged that this theory, like all the others that have been proposed (for instance Calligas 1988; Crielaard and Driessen 1994; Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 48–57; Coucouzeli 1999; Morris, *Archaeology*: 195–256), faces problems.¹

The fact that the building is not situated in the midst of a nucleated settlement (the Xeropolis promontory in this specific case) has puzzled scholars. Calligas suggested that the prevailing pattern until the end of the ninth century would have been that of widely dispersed independent ‘patriarchal’ *oikoi* situated on the summit of nearby hills. This idea could be confirmed in the future, but at present, the data from the sites incorporated in this model, such as Chalcis, is still incon-

1 According to more recent opinion, the Toumba double burial could be viewed as a result of rethinking identities, which we can trace in Hesiod 300 years later (Morris, *Archaeology*, 195–256). Morris suggests that a new elite emerged in central Greece at the end of the eleventh century, as suggested also by the changes in burial customs, which brought order after chaos. This new elite would have distanced itself from the Mycenaean past instead of trying to reproduce it and proclaimed that Zeus had created a new race of iron (which was so firmly embraced in burial symbolism by 1000 BC) and paired it with a race they were not, that of the Heroes. An outstanding man, like the hero of Lefkandi, could transcend this line. ‘Instead of challenging the internal egalitarianism of the ruling class, his success reinforced it. Promoted on death (but not before) to parity with the heroes, he left the order of the age of iron intact’ (Morris, *Archaeology*: 232–3). According to Morris, the Greek concept of the hero would have taken shape at the same time (heroisation at or after death). He believes indeed that the warrior of Lefkandi was honoured like a hero, even if traces of subsequent worship are lacking – as worship of gods is practically invisible, so is that of hero cults (low archaeological visibility). ‘The heroic age was not the Mycenaean age, and never had been; it was a creation of the final years of the eleventh century, a mirror in which the new elites defined themselves’ (Morris, *Archaeology*: 237).



(a) Plan (a) and reconstruction (b) of the so-called 'heroon' at Toumba, Lefkandi (a: *Lefkandi II.2*: pl. 38).

(b)

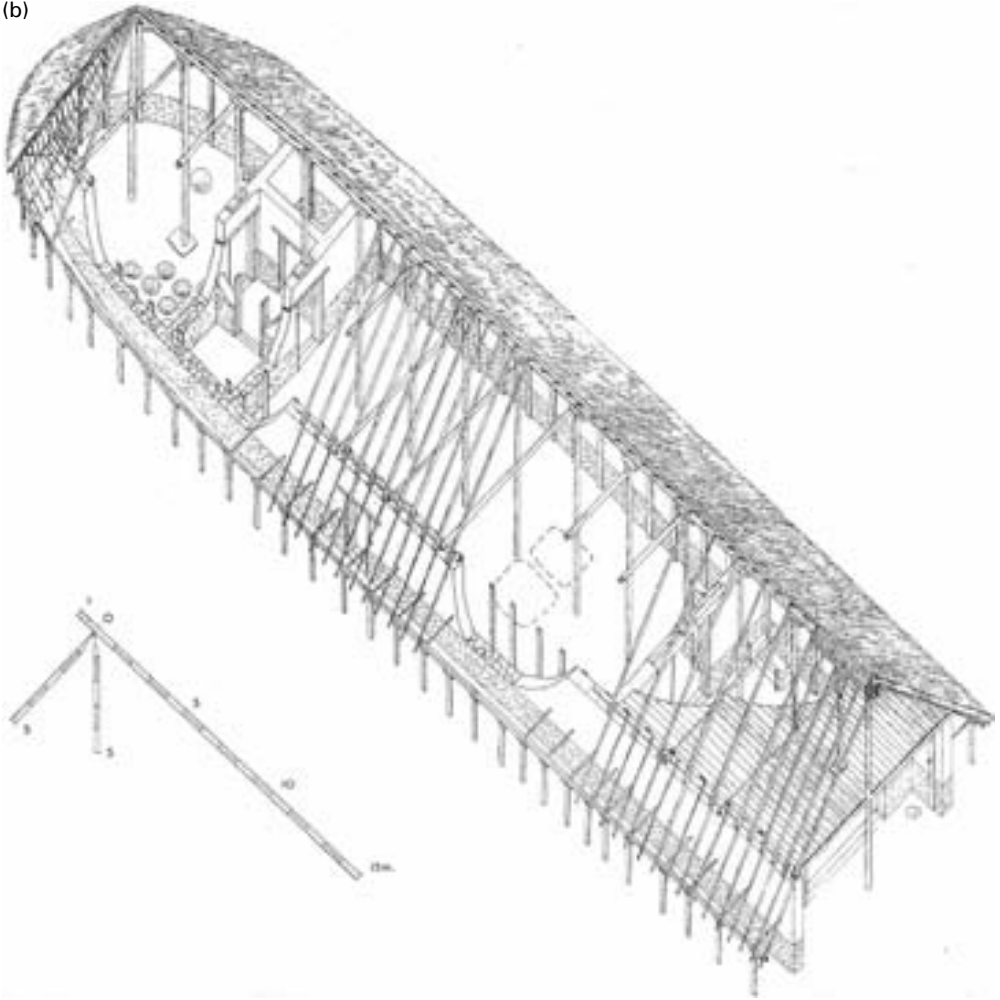


Figure 10.2 (b: *Lefkandi II.2*: pl. 28)

clusive (Calligas 1987; Lefkandi: Calligas 1984–85; Chalcis: Calligas 1988/89: 94, and fig. 3 at p. 95). More recently, Coucouzeli identified the edifice with ‘an unfinished longhouse, a type of dwelling characteristic of stateless, small-scale, kinship-based societies’ (Coucouzeli 1999). She therefore imagines that it was the common residence of ‘a number of families forming a large corporate kinship-group, probably a clan made of a number of lineages, and it would have constituted an independent social, political, economic, juridical and religious entity’. Coucouzeli argues that the construction of the longhouse was abandoned because the headman of the clan, who would have been also the sponsor of the project, died. Despite the fact that Coucouzeli’s hypothesis is interesting and thoroughly documented through ethnographical parallels, the evidence so far recov-

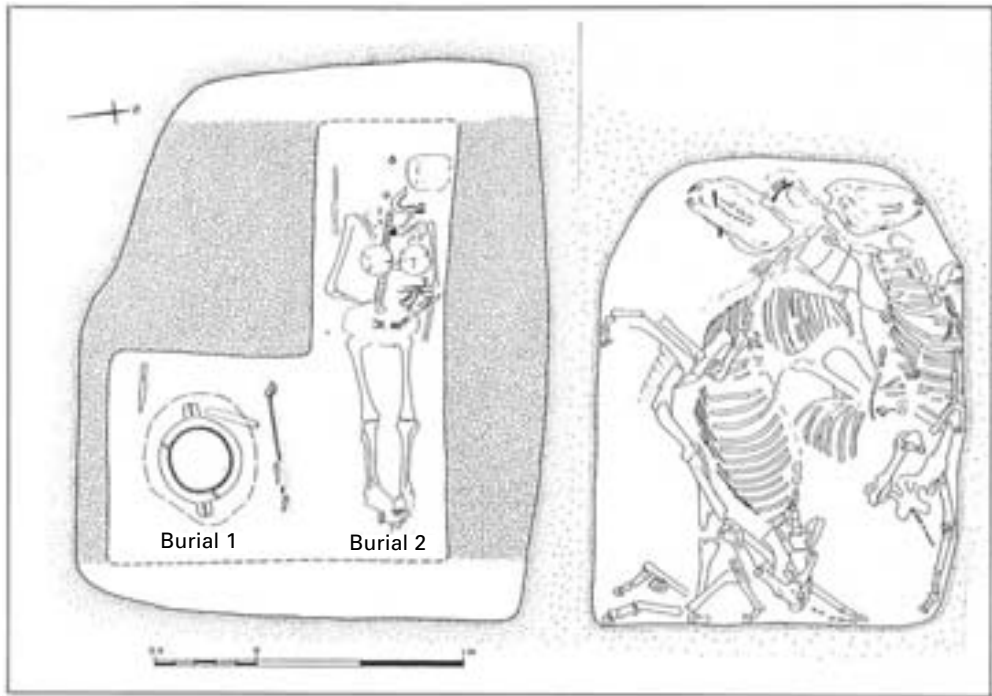


Figure 10.3 Plan of the burials inside the Toumba, Lefkandi building (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: fig. 90, based on *Lefkandi II.2*: pls 13 and 22b)

ered all over the Greek world suggests that communities in the Early Iron Age lived in nucleated settlements or in loosely organised villages. In the case of Lefkandi, it is likely that the neighbouring promontory of Xeropolis was also occupied during the period of use of the Toumba building (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 140) and one assumes that there must have been a nucleated settlement there. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Toumba building was a heroon, as the excavators, and Popham in particular, assume (Popham, Touloupa and Sackett 1982; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 140–6), since it cannot be excluded that the *basileus* resided at some distance from the actual settlement, as appears to be the case of Tiryns, Aigeira or Emporio (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 197–8).

The case of Thermon in Aetolia (Figure 10.4) could serve as a parallel to the Lefkandi case, though the lack of precise descriptions of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century excavations does not allow us to push the discussion far and to reach firm conclusions. It seems that the old chief's house of the Late Bronze Age, Megaron A, changed function in the last period of its use, presumably at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The possible presence of graves within the apsidal compartment and of inverted *pithoi* containing ashes in the main room could indicate that the building was converted into a heroon in the

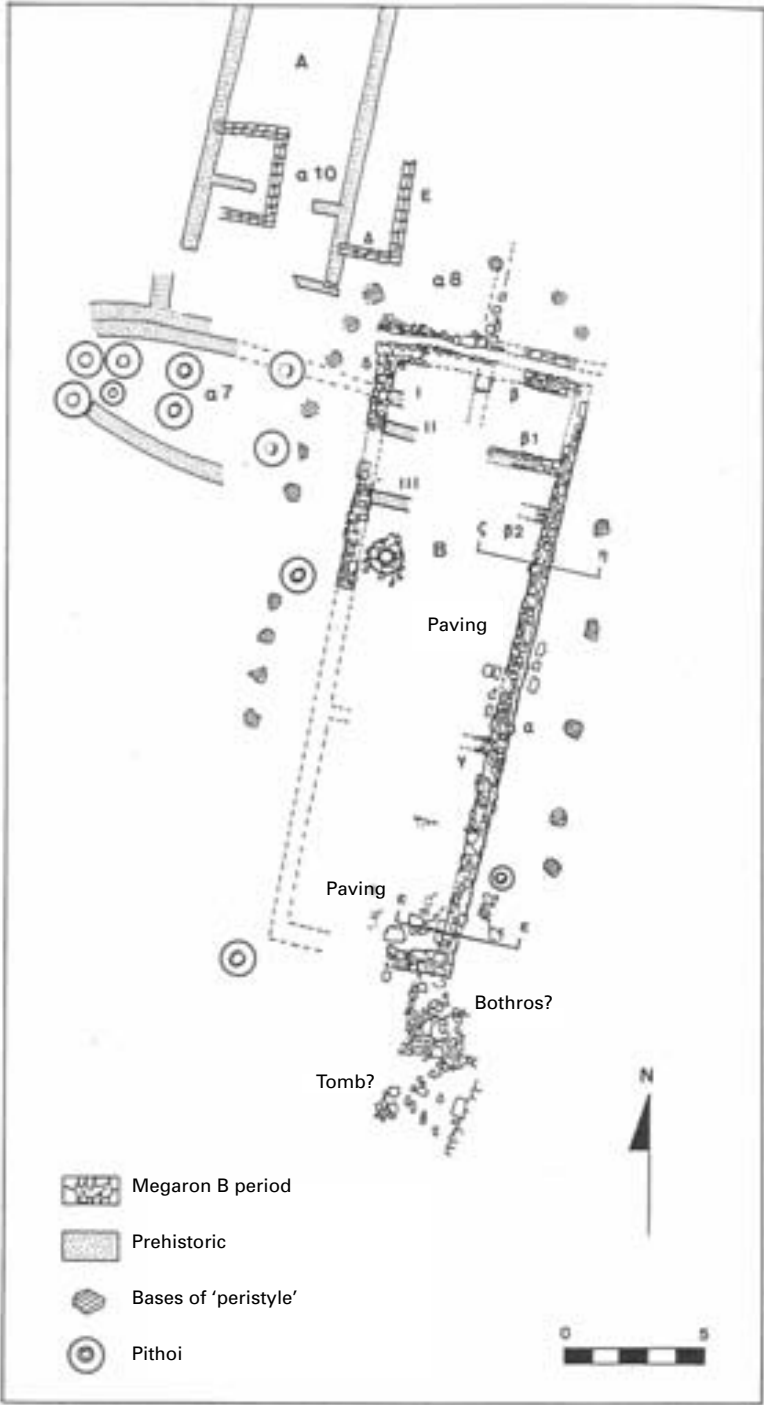


Figure 10.4 Thermon, plan of Megaron B and the other Early Iron Age remains (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: fig. 44)

later period of its use, as the first excavator claimed. It seems that Megaron B, which replaced Megaron A, was built next to one or more warriors' cremation graves and that religious ceremonies were held certainly outside and perhaps inside the edifice, both before its construction and during its period of use. A mound crowned by a triangular slab has been interpreted as a burial and some adjoining pits may be connected with a cult which would have been practised in honour of the deceased, who was presumably a warrior. Megaron B could be regarded as yet another case of a ruler's dwelling which also housed cult activities, including those addressed to the deceased occupants of the house. By the end of the eighth century, at which time Megaron B was in ruins (it was destroyed c.830 BC), the area was primarily devoted to the cult of Apollo (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 125–35; Morris, *Archaeology*: 225–8; Papapostolou 1990).

Let us return to Lefkandi. The rich grave goods of the twin burial, mostly metallic, suggest contacts and influence from the eastern Mediterranean, as all scholars acknowledge, (Popham, Touloupa and Sackett 1982; Popham 1994: 15–16). The funerary urn of the male warrior was a bronze Cypriot amphora which was an heirloom of the twelfth century (H. W. Catling, in *Lefkandi II.2*: 81–92; Catling 1994: 138), and next to it lay the iron weapons of the deceased. His female consort was adorned with precious jewels, including a necklace of gold and faience beads with an attached gold pendant, an antique from the Near East dated in the second millennium BC (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 131–2). Likewise, the origin of the ivory pommel of the iron dagger which was found next to the woman's head must be sought in the Near East too. Lastly, the depiction of a pair of trees beneath the handles of the huge krater that had been placed by the twin burial is usually thought to derive from the East as well and according to Coldstream could be also seen 'as a symbol appropriate to the highest élite' (*Lefkandi II.1*: 29–30, 110, n. 327; Coldstream 1994: 83). Coldstream suggests that a huge Attic amphora may have stood as a grave marker over the female burial, marking her high elite status (Coldstream 1996: 142).

Based on these finds, which are exceptional for the period, it could be sustained that one of the basic reasons for which the 'hero's' *authority* (on the definition of the term see Donlan 1997: 40) was perhaps unanimously recognised would have been the fact that he could guarantee the trade, exchange and supply of metals and other rare and costly items from the East, thus satisfying an eclectic taste for orientalia by the local aristocracy which scholars have unanimously recognised in the archaeological data. Especially for the presence of 'antiques' in Early Iron Age tombs, Whitley has emphasised that they should be viewed in a number of ways, exceptionally as family heirlooms and usually as 'forming part of a restricted sphere of exchange, more often than not being retained within the same family for a number of generations, but also passing from one individual to another as a gift or payment of ransom' (Whitley 2002: 226; see also Crielaard 1993; Crielaard 1998a: 190; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 132).

The rich cemetery which developed in front of the apsidal building after it had

been transformed into a funerary landmark most probably contained the relatives and descendants of the royal couple. In one grave, Tomb 79, dated in the early ninth century, the cremated remains of another warrior were found. His ashes were placed inside a bronze cauldron, presumably in emulation of the earlier 'royal' burial inside the apsidal building. Among the finds associated with the burial, apart from two large kraters, was a bronze weighing balance, several stone weights and numerous imports from the Near East and Cyprus. Popham and Lemos suggested that the occupant of the tomb may have been a merchant venturer of warrior status (Popham and Lemos 1995). To all this one may add the subsequent horse burials in the Toumba cemetery. These facts, apart from reflecting a consistent funerary ideology, are indicative of an important noble lineage with strong eastern connections.

Indeed, the excavations at Lefkandi have shown that there was a dramatic increase of the Cypriot and Levantine imports from the mid-10th century onwards, that is the period immediately following the death of the hero. It is beyond doubt that from that point onwards exchanges with the eastern Mediterranean, and Cyprus in particular, were intensified. One of the motives for the maintenance of these contacts was presumably the need for metals. Today several scholars believe that the Greeks derived their knowledge of metal technology from Cyprus. Kourou suggests that the Euboeans would have traded iron in return for copper (Kourou 1990–91: 273–4; Kourou 1994), just as Mentès, king of the Taphians in the *Odyssey*, seeks to exchange his cargo of iron for copper (*Od.* 1.182–4). Such an explanation also accords well with the moulds found at Xeropolis, and dated around 900 BC, which were for the casting of bronze tripods of Cypriot style. Catling suggested that 'we should not exclude the presence there of a bronze-smith trained in the east working as an itinerant craftsman' (*Lefkandi I*: 93–7, esp. 96). Popham added that 'a resident or, at least itinerant, Cypriot metalsmith is suggested for the technology and character of the product' (Popham 1994: 22), while scholars such as Boardman and Burkert have amply demonstrated that oriental craftsmen migrated in the Aegean in the later Dark Ages (Boardman 1980; Burkert 1992). Such a possibility is acceptable since it has become clear today that the Cypriots maintained contacts with the Aegean world throughout most of the Dark Ages, and it has been proven that the Cypriot syllabic script was used for the writing of the Greek language as early as the eleventh century BC.

All this leads us to formulate an assumption. We could perhaps identify the eminent warrior of Lefkandi, like the occupant of the later Tomb 79, as a leader who excelled not only in war but also in long-distance trade, through which the supply of metals and costly objects was secured. The Cypriot bronze ash-urn, apart from being an antique, perhaps underlined this eastern connection. Boardman asks whether 'the buried king, and perhaps his queen, themselves might have been immigrants from Cyprus or even further east, fêted, even heroised, folk who helped forge Euboea's new interest in the east?' (Boardman 2002:

72). Could it even be that we are dealing here with a case of 'hero returned', as suggested by H. Catling for the earlier rich 'grandees' - to use his own terms - burials of mid-eleventh century Knossos (Catling 1995)? Or, could it not be argued that following the contacts first established by the 'hero' of Lefkandi, Cypriot or Near Eastern craftsmen may have also settled and mingled with the Lefkandians and became acculturated? Coldstream has pointed out that the cases in which immigrants arrive in small numbers, marry into the local population and merge with it are archaeologically the most elusive, since they are likely to follow the burial customs of their new homes (Coldstream 1993: 104-5). Securing trading partnerships through marriage appears to have been a practice not unknown in the area, especially in the succeeding period, for instance in Attica (Antonaccio 2002: 34) and Pithekoussai (Hodos 1999).

Let us now turn our attention to the Geometric period. The identification of the house of a *basileus* is now even more difficult than in the preceding period (Fusaro 1982; Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*). Nevertheless, it is possible to link several such buildings with metalworking activities. This remark, however, applies mostly to the Euboean *koine* (Lemos 1998). At Eretria (Figure 10.5) evidence for stable human occupation becomes evident from the late ninth century onwards. The discovery of a Middle Geometric (ninth century BC) warrior burial in the immediate vicinity of the subsequent sanctuary of Apollo (Blandin 2000), and a transitional MG II/LG I funerary pyre and two further LG pyres in the fringes of the subsequent Agora (Psalti 2004), could be taken as indications that a group belonging to the elite would have lived in the surroundings. Long ago I identified the area of the future sanctuary with an aristocratic habitation quarter situated near an open air cult place, which, by the end of the eighth century developed into the sanctuary of the poliad divinity of the Eretrians (Mazarakis Ainian 1987, *Dwellings*). I presented arguments supporting the identification of the building formerly identified as the first temple of Apollo (the so-called 'Daphnephoreion') as the dwelling of an important individual with religious prerogatives. Today, other scholars too follow this line of thought: for instance Schachter agrees that 'the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros grew out of a group of dwellings clustered together in the centre of the city, obviously the houses of the head of the community and those closest to him (1992: 37). Bérard, as well as the younger excavators of the sanctuary, no longer clings to the theory of the 'Daphnephoreion'. Bérard appears instead more favourable to the idea that the area of the future sanctuary may have been originally inhabited by the Eretrian elite (Bérard 1998), and Verdan is also considering this possibility (2001; 2002). Indeed, a new apsidal building was found a few metres to the south of the so-called Daphnephoreion (Figure 10.6). Both buildings were apparently contained within the same enclosure. I have argued in a recent paper that this is a pattern observed also elsewhere, for instance at Oropos, and that we have *oikoi* consisting of several buildings surrounded by an enclosure wall (Mazarakis Ainian 2003). Near the apse of the new building a clay platform was found and on it the base

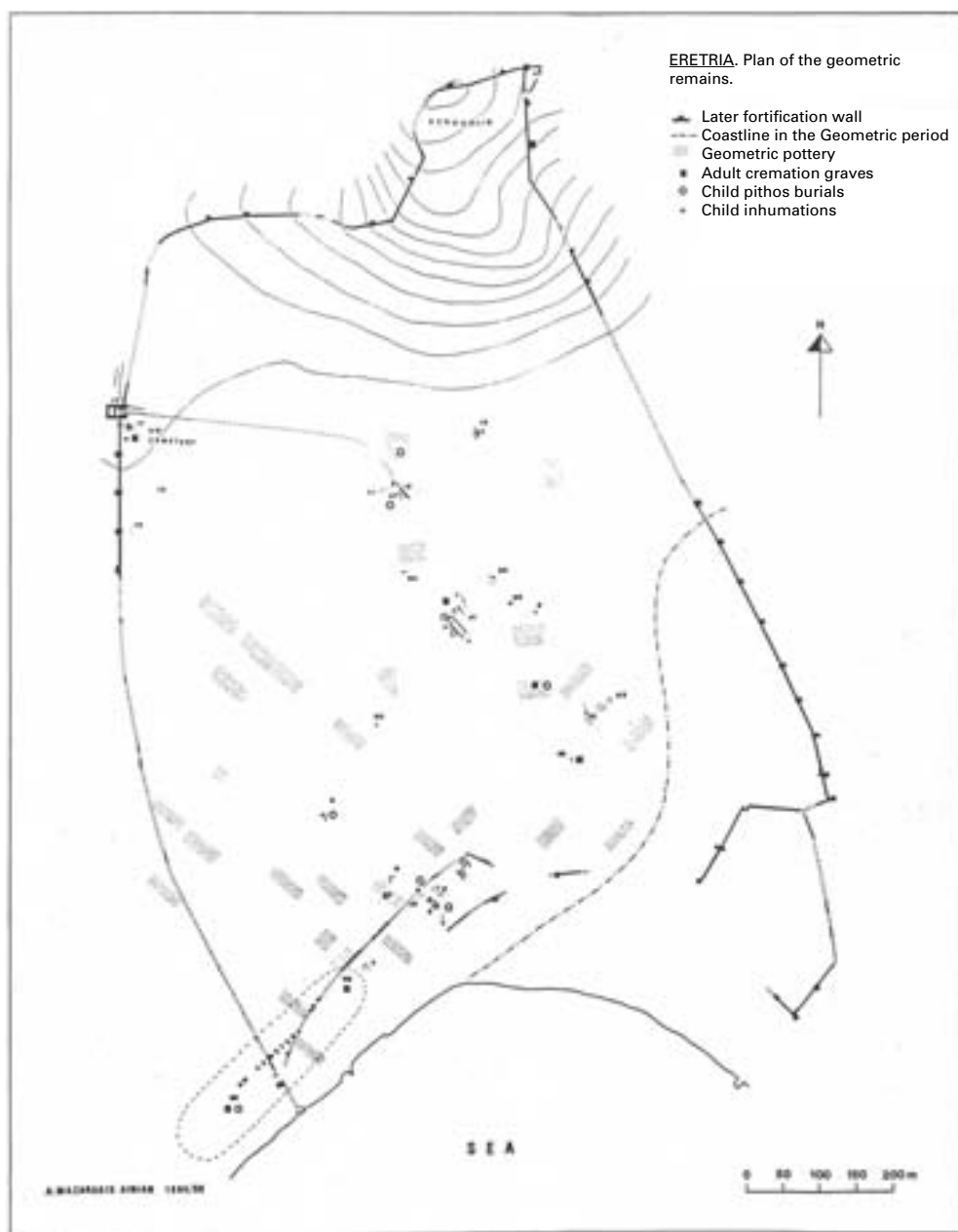


Figure 10.5 Eretria, plan of the settlement of the Geometric period (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: fig. 101)

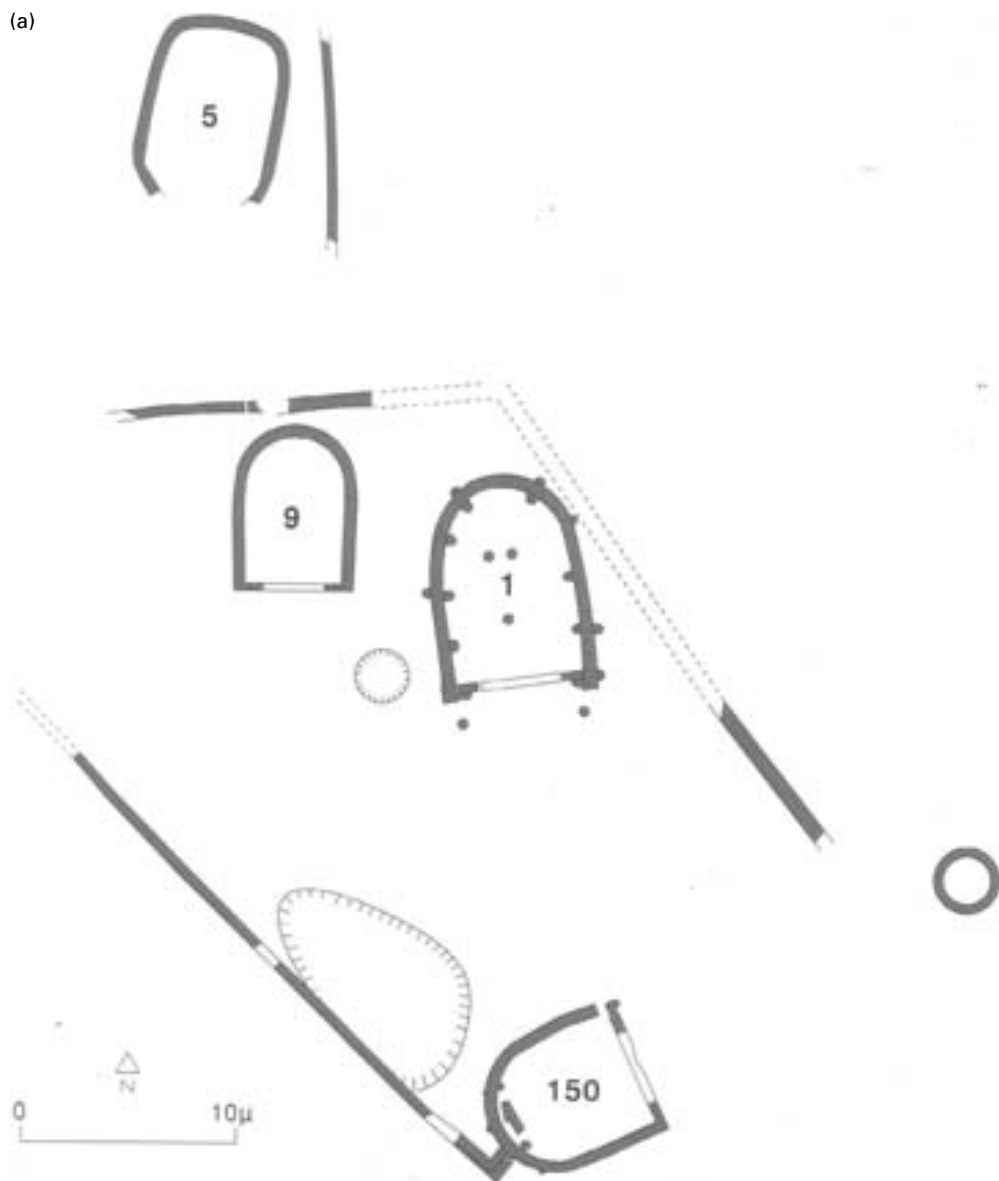


Figure 10.6 Eretria, plan of the sanctuary of Apollo. (a) First half of the eighth century BC (Eretria 2004: 229).

(b)

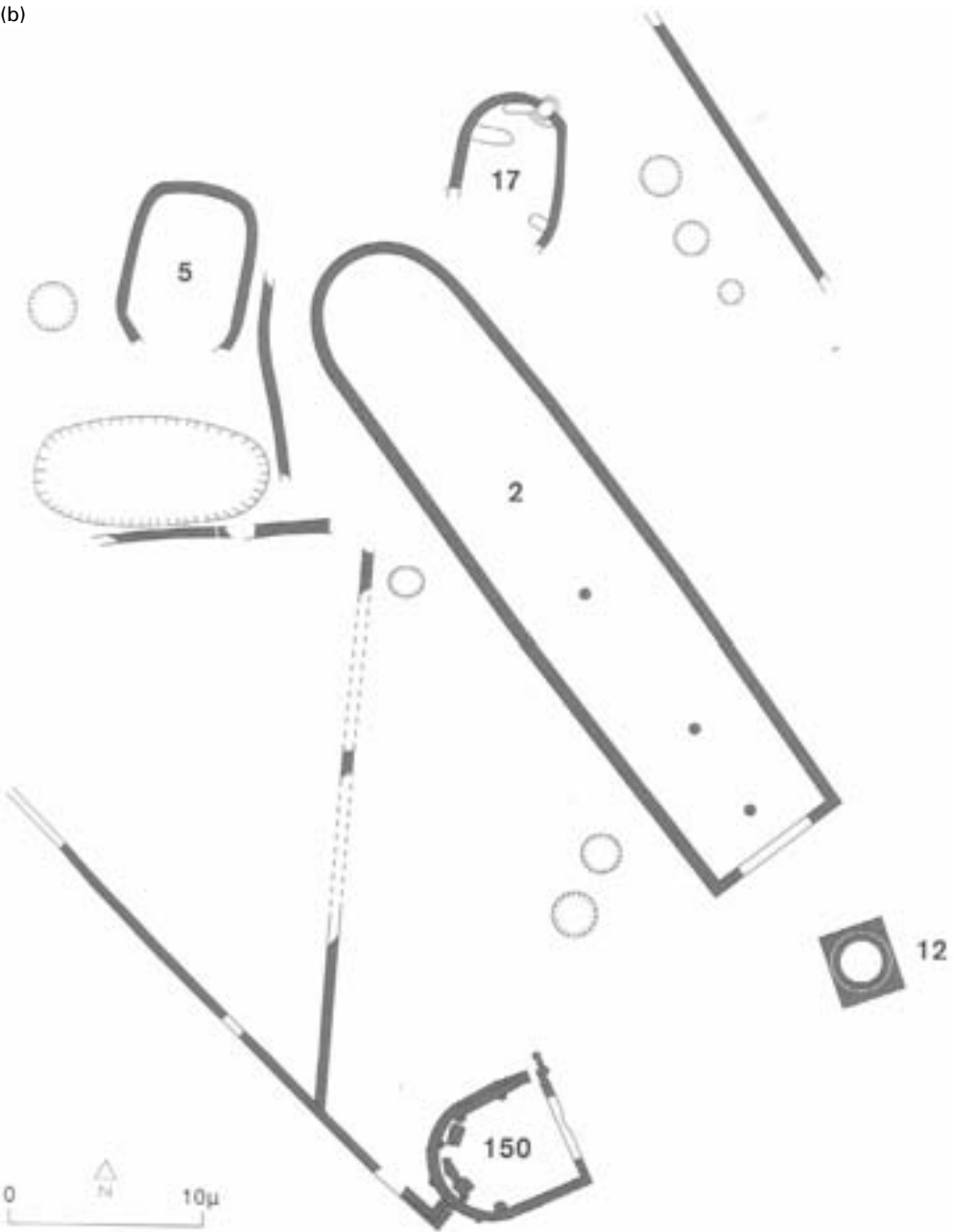


Figure 10.6 (b) second half of the eighth century BC (Eretria 2004: 233)

of a large krater. It is well known that fine kraters have been found within the sanctuary limits (Gisler 1993/94; Verdan 2001: 86), but one wonders whether these should be regarded as votive offerings or, more likely in my opinion, as prized vessels used for the performance of formal or large-scale symposia. Moreover, it should be underlined that a large proportion of the finds from the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, prior to the construction of the hekatompedon, does not appear to have been votive in character. On the contrary, a substantial amount of the pottery consists of drinking vases and coarse ware (Verdan 2001: 87). By observing the plan, one can reconstruct at least four distinct areas separated by dividing walls, bordered at the north-east and south-west by torrents. Within each enclosure one observes at least one main apsidal or oval building (Eretria 2004: 94, 228–33). This hypothesis rests not only on the new discoveries in the area south of the Daphnephoreion but also on the older ones in other parts of Eretria. Indeed, a similar organisation is apparently repeated in other quarters of the geometric settlement, as in the areas excavated by the Swiss and the Archaeological Society further to the north (Mazarakis Ainian 2003).

This account allows a comparison with the area of the subsequent West Gate of Eretria, where the members of a privileged and powerful *genos* were buried. The graves are grouped near the earliest and richest one, Tomb 6, belonging to a leader who died around 720 BC. This leader was accorded a Homeric funeral and was later honoured like a hero. Though it is practically impossible to prove, the parallel sequence of events could suggest that one of the aristocratic dwellings in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, perhaps the Daphnephoreion itself, may have been the home of this warrior. According to Bérard, this ‘prince’ possessed a *skeptron*, a spear possibly dating to the Mycenaean period, and its deposition marks the abolition of kingship at Eretria (Bérard 1970; 1972). Kourou has advanced an interpretation of the symbolism of sceptres and maces in the Early Iron Age and concluded that such objects presumably belonged ‘to prominent people of the same status and authority performing the same function’, such as ‘a supervisory managerial function in the metals industry’ (Kourou 1994: 214). It is not a coincidence that maces and mace heads have been found in large numbers in tombs in Cyprus, which was one of the major sources for metal ores, especially of copper. The only similar instance from Greece, excluding those which were offered as dedications at sanctuaries (Lindos, Samos), is from Lefkandi: a Cypriot mace head which turned up in Tomb 5, of the early ninth century in the Skoubris cemetery (Kourou 1994: 215; *Lefkandi I*, 252, pls 93 and 239j–k). And we could even go back in time and accept, as Kourou argues, that the Mycenaean *basileus*, the *qa-si-re-u khal-ke-wes* (basileus-chalkeus) who was responsible for the allocation of bronze, may have also possessed a similar insignium underlying this specific status (Kourou 1994: 214). I suspect that one of the factors which reinforced the status of the *basileis* at the beginning of the Dark Ages was that they were the only persons capable of ensuring the continuation of the metal industry after the collapse of the central Mycenaean administration. Muhly (1989) has indeed offered

a similar explanation for the metal industry in Cyprus during the twelfth and eleventh centuries. In conclusion, we can assume that the members of the Early Iron Age elites appropriated such activities since their power depended very much on this connection.

So, based on the evidence from Lefkandi and Cyprus, the parallel explanation of the unusual sceptre of the princely tomb at Eretria as a symbol of a *basileus* controlling the metals industry is also likely. Yet, the date and provenance of the spearhead have been challenged recently, as it has been suggested that it represents an import from central Europe, dated to the eighth century, and therefore it could not have been an emblem of rank (Bettelli 2001). If one accepts this view, the above reasoning cannot be applied for the case of the Eretria burial. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that the arms, as well as the bronze cauldron which served as a funerary urn of the 'prince', were status symbols and provide clear proof that metal was synonymous with prestige.

The connection between elite status and metalworking is strengthened by the discovery of another oval edifice of the late eighth century inside the sanctuary of Apollo, identified as a bronzesmith's workshop (Huber 1991) and the recent excavations have brought to light important residues (mostly slag) attesting to metalworking in the opposite side of the area of the sanctuary (Verdan 2004). Huber (1991) suggested that the oval workshop fulfilled functions in relation to the construction of the *hekatompedon*, and later on for the maintenance of the metal items of the sanctuary. Even if this assumption proves to be correct, one could argue that the fact that the latter developed out of the aristocratic quarter of the geometric town may not be an unrelated phenomenon, since, as argued earlier, the control of metal production would have been in the hands of the Eretrian elite.

This idea is further strengthened by the discovery of a hoard of gold fragments beneath an oval building of the late eighth century, located some 150 metres to the north of the sanctuary of Apollo (Themelis 1983: 157–65; Themelis 1992: 29–38; Mazarakis Ainian 1987: 6–10; Le Rider and Verdan 2002). Long ago I argued in favour of some sort of social stratification within the geometric town, and suggested that the central and northern quarters were inhabited by the Eretrian elite (Mazarakis Ainian 1987: 20). Crielaard recently suggested that a group of higher social status presumably lived by the seashore as well (Crielaard 2004). This is not impossible, though when the entire body of the evidence is examined, it would seem that the elites inhabiting the central and northern zones of the subsequent Eretrian polis were of a higher status.

The link between elites and metalworking is further strengthened by the excavations at Koukos, an Early Iron Age settlement on the Sithonia prong of Chalkidike (Figure 10.7). The site lies near Torone, which according to tradition was colonised by the Chalcidians no later than the first half of the seventh century. The finds from both sites are suggestive of a pre-colonial activity of Euboeans before that date. A portion of the geometric pottery from Koukos is Euboean in

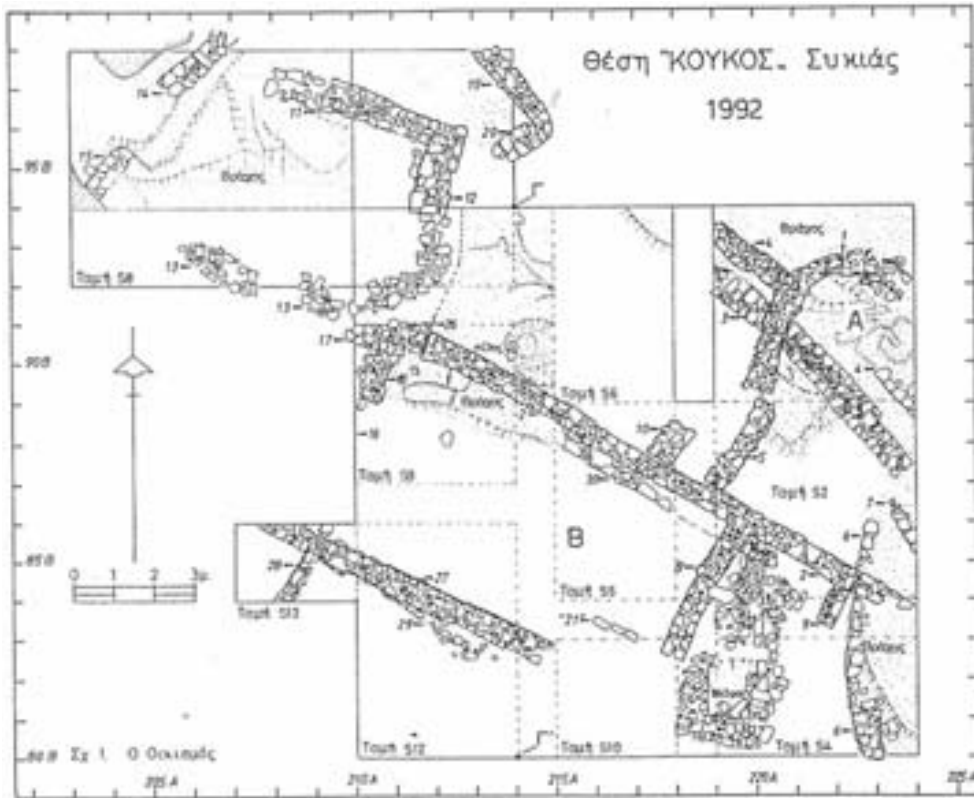


Figure 10.7 Plan of Early Iron Age remains at Koukos (Carrington-Smith and Vocotopoulou 1992: 496, fig. 1)

character, indicating mutual contacts. Popham and Snodgrass have rightly underlined in my opinion these early connections, not only with Koukos but with the Chalkidike in general, though Papadopoulos has argued against this view (Popham 1994; Snodgrass 1994; Papadopoulos 1996). A long and rather narrow building, B, was according to the excavators one of the most important houses of the small settlement. This edifice lay on top of an earlier one which was associated with a stone-lined sacred *bothros*, containing among other finds four small nodules of melted bronze, while nearby evidence for casting metal objects was recovered. The excavators concluded that ‘mining and metalworking may . . . have been one of the reasons for the existence of the Koukos settlement’ and that this ‘would explain its apparent connection with more southerly parts of Greece’ (Carrington-Smith and Vocotopoulou 1992: 498). Indeed, it is today beyond doubt that Chalkidike was exploited for metals from the Late Bronze Age, and with southern Greek, including Euboean, involvement. Here then we observe again that two superimposed buildings may have been occupied by important members of the Koukos community concerned with metalworking and one suspects that the

bothros was perhaps associated with religious ceremonies which were connected with these activities (Carington-Smith and Vocotopoulou 1988: 358–9; 1989: 425–7; 1990: 443–7; 1992; Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 239–41).

Oropos, lying opposite Eretria and plausibly identified with Homeric Graia (*Il.* 2, 498) can help us better understand the relationship between metals and elite groups during the Early Iron Age (Figures 10.8–9) (Mazarakis Ainian 1998; 2000a; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2003; 2004). Judging by the finds, metalworking at Oropos during the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods was one of the primary activities of the community living in the area which conventionally has been dubbed ‘Central Quarter’. The buildings here are more spacious than those of the neighbouring ‘West Quarter’, where such activities are not attested. In the former area excavations have revealed two basic habitation units: a main complex of oval (I, IA, Θ1, Θ3), apsidal (Θ2), round (ΣΤ, ΙΓ, ΙΔ, ΙΕ) and rectangular (Ζ) buildings surrounded by a rectangular peribolos and to the south-west a group of two oval edifices, A and B. It has been definitively proved that Building A was a metal workshop, while the adjacent large oval building to the East (B) seems to have been a dwelling. Likewise, inside the neighbouring compound, judging by the distribution of slag and other similar material, metalworking appears to have been concentrated around – though not necessarily inside – Building IA, while next to it stands the largest building of the site, Θ, which has been identified with a dwelling of a wealthy individual (Doonan and Mazarakis Ainian 2003). I have argued elsewhere that at Oropos, as well as at Eretria, groups of curvilinear buildings surrounded by an enclosure wall represent family *oikoi*, reminding us of the descriptions of the Homeric *oikos* (Mazarakis Ainian 2001; 2002b; 2003). A family unit would have consisted of one or more dwellings – depending on the number of the members of the family – workshops, storage facilities, shrines and animal pens. The number, type and size of the buildings were determined by several factors, such as the extent of the family and its economic or social status. Indeed, the *oikoi* of the Central Quarter, compared with those of the West Quarter, represent family units belonging to wealthier families, and of these the one surrounded by the great enclosure may have belonged to the leading family. Whether the head of the household who would have resided inside Building Θ may be called a *basileus* is a matter which cannot be settled yet, since we cannot fully understand the relation of this area to the rest of the settlement, the limits of which are still unknown. What, however, appears rather likely is that this individual was probably responsible for the management of the metalworking activities and perhaps his wealth was to a certain degree conditioned by this activity.

The discoveries at Oropos inevitably bring to mind the metalworking quarter at Pithekoussai (Figure 10.10). The area excavated there does not represent a portion of the main nucleus of the settlement, but a cluster of buildings situated at a certain distance outside. On the upper terrace there were two buildings: one apsidal (I) and another rectangular (III). The latter, judging by the finds, served

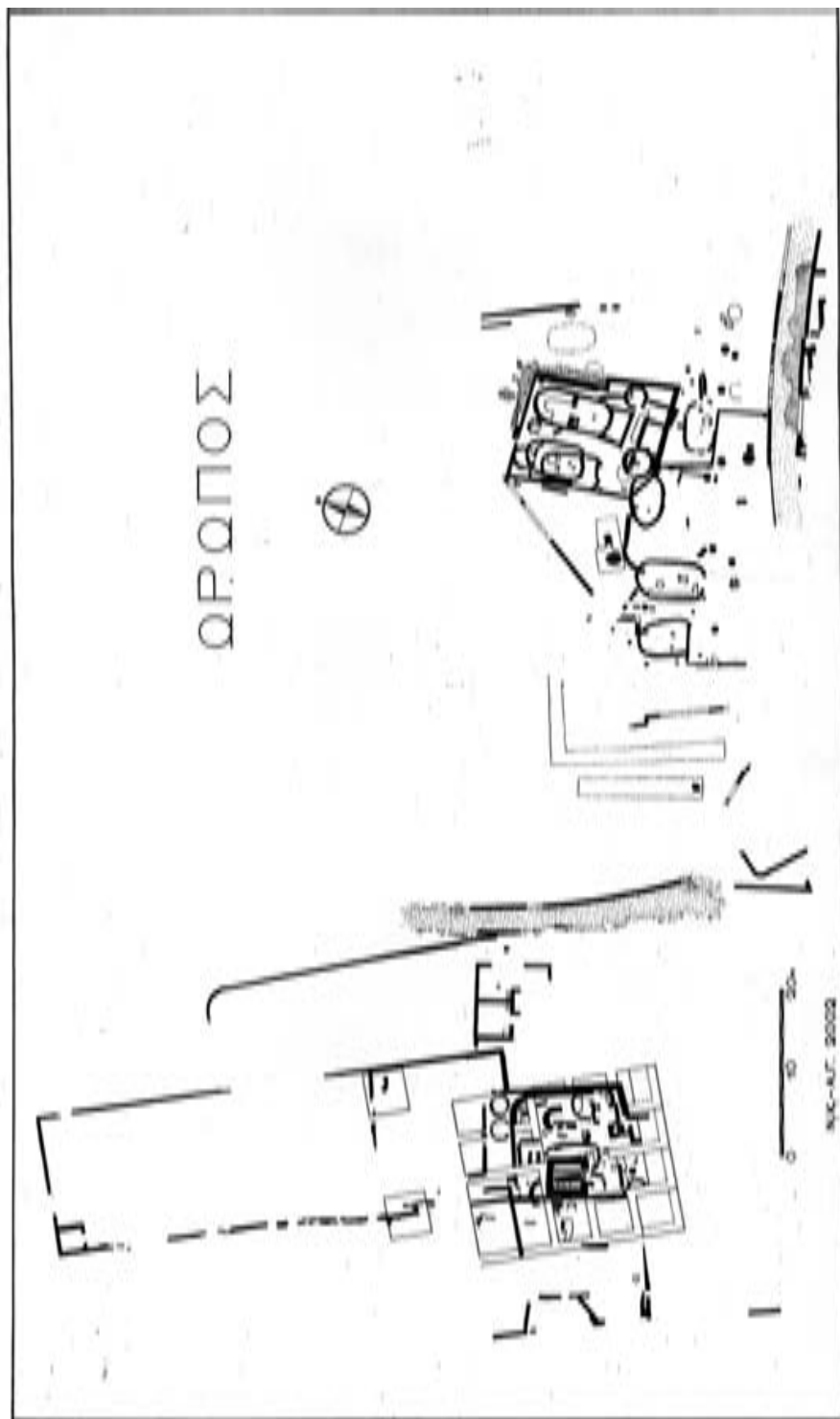


Figure 10.8 Oropos, plan of the Early Iron Age remains (A. Mazarakis Ainian; drawing by A. Gounaris)

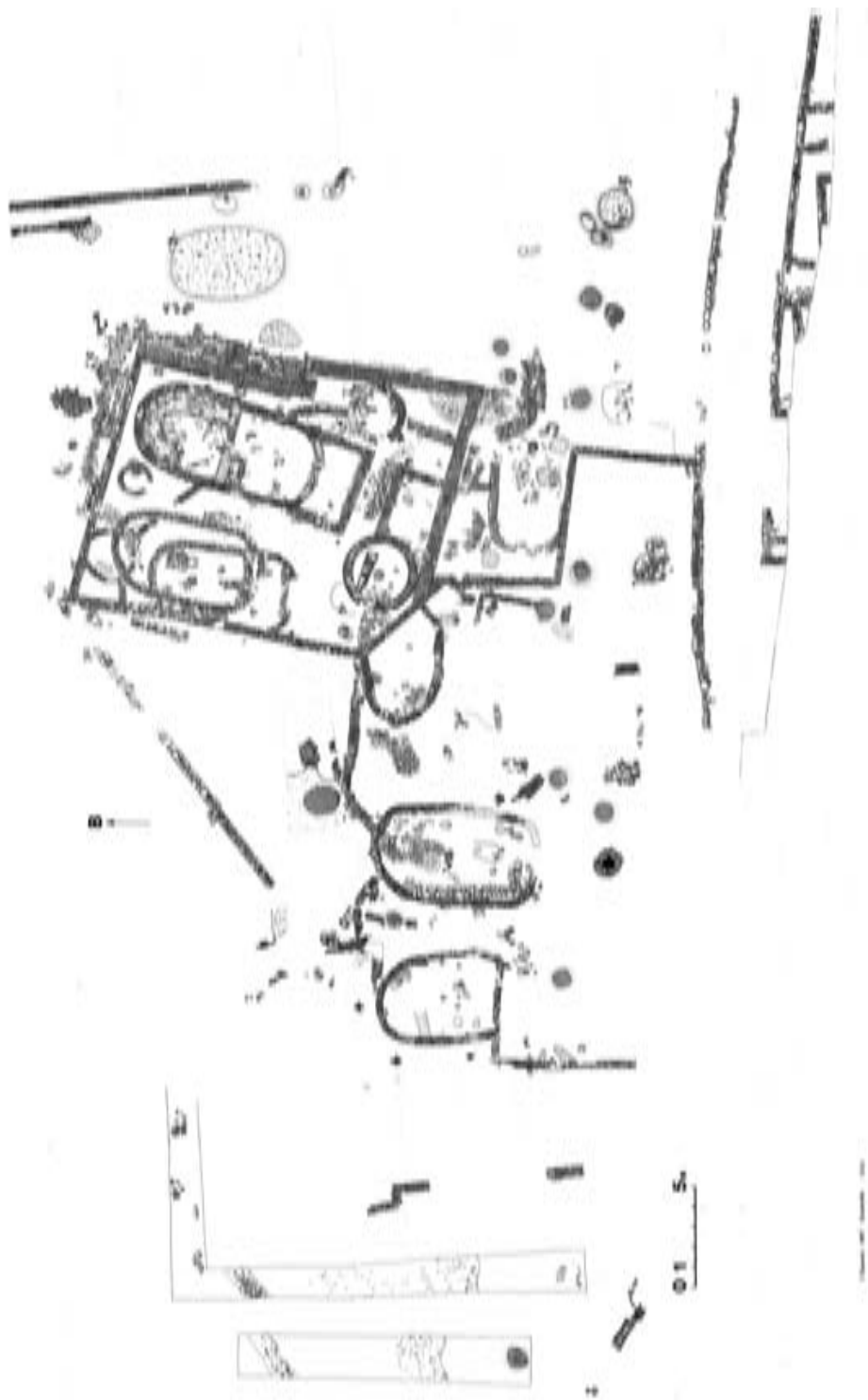


Figure 10.9 Oropos, plan of buildings of the Central Quarter (A. Mazarakis Ainian; drawing by N. Kalliontzis)



Figure 10.10 Plan of the metalworking quarter at Pithekoussai (Buchner 1970/71: 65, fig. 5)

as a metal workshop. The apsidal edifice, which was provided with a bench along the back wall, yielded numerous almost complete vases, both hand- and wheel-made, including an impressive krater. The excavators suggest that this specific edifice served as a habitation. Several scholars, such as Coldstream and Ridgway, regard the decorated horse panels of the krater as a suitable insignium of Euboean aristocracy (Buchner 1970/71: 65; Klein 1972: 38, fig. 3; Ridgway 1984: 106; Coldstream 1994: 79, fig. 2), like the decorated kraters from the area of the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria (Gisler 1993/94). This accords well with the fact that the Euboean elite at home, as we have seen in the case of Eretria, supplemented by the evidence from Oropos and Viglatouri near Kyme, lived in such rather unpretentious houses. In the latter site a spacious oval building comprising two rooms yielded feasting sets. Kraters were found in the North room which was furnished with a bench and *obeloi*. Sakellarakis suggests that it had a cultic function connected with the veneration of ancestors, a kind of 'heroon'. However, an elite dwelling appears a more likely alternative (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1998).

It is not without reason then that Crielaard has argued that the leaders of the first Euboean colonists in the West were aristocrats (Crielaard 1992/93). Strabo seems to confirm this view, if indeed we interpret in such a way the passage in which he says that the Euboean colonies in the West were sent out during the rule

of the *hippobotai* (10.1.8). We could then suggest that the buildings discussed above from Eretria, Oropos, Koukos and Pithekoussai, served analogous functions, that is, they would have been the dwellings or buildings reserved for feasting, belonging to rather wealthy families who managed the metalworking activities, though they were not necessarily directly involved in the process of production. Their social status may have been close to what Starr defined many years ago as 'semi-aristocrats' (Starr 1977: 123–8).

CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence reviewed it would seem that the *basileis* of Early Iron Age Greece derived much of their power not only from their bravery and skills as warriors or their possession of arable land, but also from their abilities to offer feasts and their connection with metals and trade. This new elite class finds its origins in the earlier Dark Ages, when, following the breakdown of the Bronze Age political and economic system, few people could assure the continuation of the metals industry or the steady provisioning of metal goods and other prized objects. I argued that the introduction of iron, the supervision of the metals industry in general, as well as the maintenance of contacts with areas rich in metals and the trade of costly goods, especially metallic, go in tandem with the formation of a new elite in the beginning of the Early Iron Age, a period during which there seems to have existed a limited degree of specialisation. As, however, overseas trade and contacts were intensified, communities stabilised and grew in number, land ownership gained importance and craft specialisation started to become a necessity, the members belonging to this elite gradually grew in numbers and by the later eighth century were no longer strongly differentiated from the main body of the community. My point therefore is that the emergence of iron metallurgy in the Aegean had a significant impact on the economic, social and political life of the Greeks, which gradually led to the classical concept of 'middling', as set out by Morris (*Archaeology*: 109–54).

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FROM LATE BRONZE AGE TO EARLY IRON AGE COPPER METALLURGY IN MAINLAND GREECE AND OFFSHORE AEGEAN ISLANDS

Maria Kayafa

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric metallurgy can be studied either from an archaeological standpoint, focusing on typology, or from a technological perspective, examining the internal structure of metals with the aid of scientific methods. This chapter deals with the chemical composition of ancient metal artefacts found in Greece and dating to the LBA and the DA¹ with the intention to show the technological development of copper-based metallurgy in mainland Greece and offshore islands from around 1400 BC to 900 or 850 BC. The evidence derives mainly from the chemical data available in publications.

More specifically, this paper focuses on the identification of the nature of the alloy used and investigates the way that alloys differ through time. A further question refers to the possible interrelation between the alloy used and the function of the artefact or in other words in what way, if any, the type of the object necessitated the use of a specific alloy recipe. The chemical data under consideration here have been published by their analysts, but a fresh approach is attempted, mainly because the archaeological commentary accompanying their original publication was minimal.

A particular interest in the technological study of metal artefacts found in DA contexts lies in the so-called ‘bronze shortage theory’, a hypothesis formulated by Snodgrass in an attempt to explain the switch from bronze to iron technology (Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 237–9; 1980: 348–9). The ‘bronze shortage theory’ is based on the change of balance in bronze and iron objects particularly in the years after 1025 BC.² At that period iron became a ‘working metal’ and replaced bronze in the making of functional items such as weapons and tools. This theory implies a general pattern of isolation during the DA and it is also connected to a hypothetical break of contact with Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean,

1. For a list of abbreviations particular to this chapter, see p. 229.

2. See the tables comparing the copper-based and iron finds from Lefkandi (Catling and Catling 1980: 232) and those published by Snodgrass (1980: 348, 350) regarding Athens and Vergina. They clearly show a gradual replacement of bronze by iron.

which made the circulation of copper and tin difficult. This theory was originally favoured by Waldbaum (1978: 72), although in a later publication she appears more sceptical (1999: 39, 43). Rolley (1986: 59, 22) argues that it was only the Greek mainland that suffered from the break in the supply chain of copper and tin, especially during the period 1025–950 BC. Catling back in 1964: 298 also perceived the end of the BA as a period with a high demand for copper and tin but with a possible difficulty in obtaining them. The validity of this theory has been questioned on archaeological grounds³ and it is worth checking it again using as evidence the chemical data of DA bronze artefacts. It is logical to assume that a shortage of tin would show up as a reduced concentration of this element in the bronzes and possibly the data would reveal other elements as hardening additives like arsenic, antimony or zinc (see Pickles and Peltenburgh 1998: 68).

THE LATE BRONZE AGE CHEMICAL ANALYSES

A significant aspect of Mycenaean material culture is metalwork. Taking into account the Peloponnese alone, the metal artefacts discovered in LH IIIA, IIIB and IIIC contexts represent approximately the 50 per cent of the total number of metal objects discovered in this region during the whole of the BA.⁴ Late Helladic III metalwork has the following characteristics:

- prevalence of copper-based artefacts over gold (as opposed to the Early Mycenaean period),
- prolific use of lead,
- fragmentary state of many assemblages,
- discovery of several hoards dating to the end of the Mycenaean period.

The most common types of bronze artefacts include weapons, tools and personal implements. New types occur mainly in weaponry and after the collapse of the palaces a variety of objects attributed to foreign inspiration betray some form of communication with Europe (for instance, fibulae, long pins, Naue II swords). It is plausible that the LH IIIC society faced a shortage of gold but not a general shortage of metals. It is also more likely that the Peloponnese faced a shortage of specialised metalworkers for luxury items: once the palaces collapsed the services

³ See, for instance, Desborough 1995: 368–9; Morris 1989: 513; Muhly 1998: 323–4. They argue that there is some archaeological evidence for contacts between Greece and the eastern Mediterranean during the DA, which may account for the importation of tin from that direction, while it cannot be demonstrated that long-distance trade was required in order to acquire copper. Alternatively, the relative disappearance of copper for less than a century can be explained by the novelty value of iron, which became fashionable not out of necessity but out of circumstantial preference for the new metal.

⁴ This figure derives from the study of all metal artefacts discovered in the Peloponnese in my Ph.D. thesis (Kayafa 1999).

of such craftsmen became redundant and their skills quickly died out. The collapse of the palatial organisation signalled a retreat to a different system of social stratification based on a warrior class which did not need extravagant objects to establish itself, but could do so with the display of effective weapons. As a result, one of the few industries that survived and thrived after the breakdown of the palatial centres was the production of bronze-work.⁵

The analytical data concerning LH IIIA–C metal artefacts come from such sites as Menidi and Perati in Attica, Palaiokastro in Arcadia, Voudeni, Clauss and Kallithea in Achaia, Nichoria in Messenia, Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, Kastri on the island of Thasos, Katamachi and Kalbaki in Epirus and Agrilia in Thessaly (see Table 11.1). Overall approximately 160 analyses of copper-based samples are available, which are presented in summary in Table 11.2. The main points deriving from their study are the following:

Table 11.1 Presentation of the LB III assemblages subjected to chemical analysis

Site	Chronology	Samples	Method	Elements	Reference
Voudeni	LH IIIA–C	7	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Kallithea	LH IIIA–C	4	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Clauss	LH IIIA–C	3	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Palaiokastro	LH IIIA–C	12	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Mycenae: House of Tripod Vessels	LH IIIC	15	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Mycenae: Poros Wall Hoard	LH IIIB–C	7	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Bi, Au	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Mycenae: oxhide ingots	LH IIIB–C	11	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Bi, Au	Mangou and Ioannou, 2000

5 See Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 122 who specifies bronze working and pottery making as the only technical skills that survived in LH IIIC. The vitality of the period has also been observed by Rutter 1992: 70, who correlates the apparently simpler way of life in LH IIIC with a hypothetically less complex stratification of society.

Table 11.1 (*continued*)

Mycenae: Tsountas Chamber Tombs	LH III	9	AAS?	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Fe, Ni, Zn, Ag	Xenaki-Sakellariou, 1985
Tiryns and Mycenae	LH IIIC	7	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag	Magou, Philippakis, Rolley, 1986
Nichoria	LH IIIA–B	19	NAA	As, Sn, Pb, Fe, Ni, Co, Ni, Sb, Ag, Au	Stos-Gale, Kayafa, Gale, 1999
Nichoria	LH IIIA–B	16	XRF	As, Sn, Pb, Fe, Ni, Zn	Rapp et al. 1978
Perati	LH IIIC	8	AAS?	Cu, As, Sn, Fe, S, Zn	Varoufakis, 1967
Perati	LH IIIC	4	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Menidi	LH IIIB	3	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Agrilia	LH III	6	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Epirus (Katamachi, Dodoni, Kastritsa, Riziani, Terrovo, Elafotopos, Kalbaki)	LH IIIB–C	13	AAS	Cu, As, Sn, Pb, Sb, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag, Au, Bi	Mangou and Ioannou, 1999
Kastri	LH IIIB	22	XRF	As, Sn, Pb, Cu, Fe, Ni, Co, Sb, Bi, Ag	Stos-Gale and Gale, 1992a and b

1. Tin bronze predominates. In several assemblages the only alloy detected is tin bronze (for instance, the chamber tombs excavated by Tsountas, the House of the Tripod Vessels and the Poros Wall Hoard at Mycenae, Palaiokastros, Kallithea, Menidi, Agrilia, Epirus), which indicates the generalised acceptance and the regular production of the alloy. Nevertheless, its use is not exclusive and there are still a few objects made of unalloyed copper to be found (which, however, are usually of LH IIIA–B date). As far as tin is concerned, it is clear that for most sites there is no consistency (see Figure 11.1).⁶ Many of the samples contain quantities

6 The diagram does not include the analyses of oxhide ingots, as they are not regarded as finished products.

Table 11.2 The mean values of tin, lead, iron and arsenic from LB III bronzes

Site	Samples	Sn %*	Pb %	Fe %	As %
Voudeni	7	6.6 (1.18–8.96)	0.6 (nd–3.05)	0.3 (0.10–1.37)	0.5 (0.17–0.81)
Kallithea	4	7.1 (6.17–8.55)	1.4 (0.06–4.73)	0.1 (0.08–0.26)	0.3 (nd–0.56)
Clauss	3	6.3 (4.16–8.03)	0.5 (0.16–1.07)	0.08 (0.06–0.12)	0.2 (0.01–0.59)
Palaiokastro	12	11.3 (6.77–14.67)	0.6 (nd–1.93)	0.1 (0.04–0.3)	0.9 (0.32–1.44)
Mycenae (HTV)	15	7.7 (6.05–10.23)	2.1 (nd–6.69)	0.07 (nd–0.16)	0.7 (0.16–4.42)
Mycenae (PWH)	7	10.5 (9.21–13.7)	0.04 (nd–0.21)	0.2 (0.14–0.33)	0.5 (0.4–0.73)
Mycenae: oxide ingots	11	Nd	0.05 (nd–0.52)	0.43 (nd–3.10)	0.54 (0.01–0.82)
Mycenae (TCT)	9	15 (6.88–40.64)	0.2 (nd–0.92)	0.1 (nd–0.4)	0.1 (nd–0.61)
Tiryns	6	4.9 (1.96–7.84)	(nd–0.06)	0.08 (nd–0.17)	0.2 (0.05–0.42)
Nichoria	19 (NAA)	8.2 (<0.1–21)	0.1 (nd–1.15)	0.2 (<0.1–1.6)	0.3 (nd–0.84)
Nichoria	16 (XRF)	9.5 (nd–20)	1.1 (nd–7)	0.2 (nd–2)	0.6 (nd–2)
Perati	8	5.9 (0.36–11.66)	not measured	0.08 (tr–0.35)	0.1 (tr–0.39)
Perati	4	11.5 (10.47–13.74)	0.4 (nd–0.82)	0.2 (0.16–0.41)	0.5 (0.41–0.57)
Menidi	3	9.1 (7.38–10.3)	not found	0.4 (0.33–0.5)	0.5 (0.38–0.69)
Agrilia	6	9.6 (3.92–13.03)	(nd–0.59)	0.1 (0.03–0.21)	0.3 (0.24–0.51)
Katamachi	6	6.9 (4.96–9.07)	0.4 (0.16–0.74)	0.06 (0.02–0.12)	0.5 (0.36–0.75)
Kastri	22	8.3 (nd–15)	0.1 (nd–0.22)	0.2 (<0.1–0.77)	0.2 (nd–1.41)

* The first figure is the mean value, the other two are the extreme values of the element. The same principle has been applied in lead, arsenic and iron.

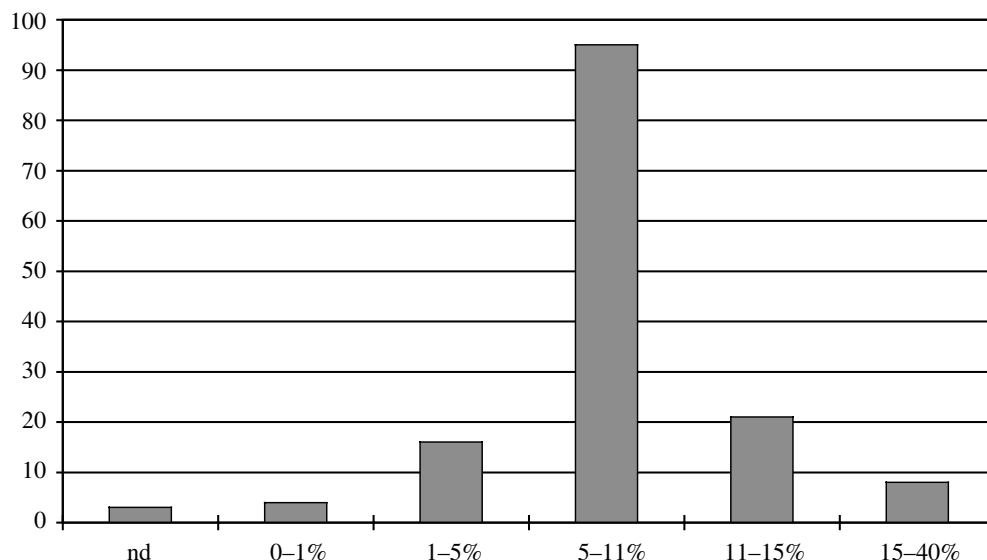


Figure 11.1 The tin content of copper-based artefacts dating to LH IIIA–C

exceeding the 'normal' 10 per cent and even though some of the largest figures may be attributed to corrosion the fact remains that they represent tin-rich objects, reflecting a good supply of the metal. Also, there are quite a few samples with a tin content between 1 and 5 per cent. Such amounts of tin are capable of facilitating casting and strengthening the metal (Catling and Jones 1977: 65). As far as their production is concerned, it can be argued either that they should be considered as the outcome of mixing scrap metal⁷ or as a chosen alloy when a shortage of tin was to be expected or already faced. The majority of the samples, however, have a tin content between 5 and 11 per cent, indicating a more or less reliable and continuous circulation of this metal.⁸

2. The inclusion of arsenic in samples dating to LH III is rare. Many of them contain no arsenic at all, while most seem to contain small amounts below 1 per cent or between 1 and 2 per cent, which can be attributed either to impurities in the copper minerals or to the use of scrap metal to which tin was added.
3. As far as lead is concerned, the overwhelming majority of the samples do not contain more than 1 per cent of this metal, indicating that lead, when present in such low quantities, was coming from the ore. The only exception noted refers to the samples taken from the legs of tripod cauldrons found at the House of the Tripod Vessels in Mycenae (with an LH IIIC date), which contain amounts of lead between 3 and 7 per cent (however, the body of the vessel is lead-free). These samples also contain considerable amounts of tin, which means that lead was used for its own sake and not to compensate for the lack of tin. The use of leaded bronze indicates a preferred and conscious addition of lead to bronze in order to facilitate casting. Leaded bronze is not suitable for hammered pieces and sheet metal, because continuous working makes the metal fragile.⁹ These analyses display the inception of a special metallurgical tradition in mainland Greece.¹⁰
4. Iron is consistently found at levels below 1 per cent but there are very few cases where it exceeds this limit and is measured to 1–2 per cent. Such

7 The recycling of metal would result in the production of a gradually reducing tin content in the sense that bronze would be diluted and lost when melted randomly with unalloyed copper (Liversage and Northover 1998: 138).

8 Northover 1989: 226 stresses that local industries have different standards for the production of tin bronze ranging from 5–15%. In the literature 10% of tin is usually regarded as the optimum amount (for instance, Rapp et al. 1978: 174). However, this is nothing more than a conventional figure which should not be used to judge the intentions and capabilities of ancient metallurgists (for instance, Northover 1988: 46; Northover 1989: 226).

9 For a discussion on this topic see Giumlia-Mair 1998: 49.

10 Early utilisation of leaded bronze is attested in Crete: the analysis of many cast figurines (mainly MM-LM I) has shown them to contain lead in smaller (for instance, 4–8%) or larger (for instance, 20–40%) quantities (Varoufakis 1995: 154–60).

amounts are explained by the use of chalcopyrite or alternatively by the use of iron-bearing flux during smelting (Balthazar 1990: 76). It is worth pointing out that the chemical analysis of oxhide and other ingots indicates that copper was smelted and purified in order to remove any unwanted elements before being cast in ingot form (Lo Schiavo et al. 1990: 177; Mangou and Ioannou 2000: 214).

5. The rest of the trace elements rarely exceed amounts above 0.5 to 1 per cent. As a result, the presence of nickel, antimony, silver, gold and cobalt is attributed to the use of impure copper ores. Zinc can also be included in this group of elements. However, one example from a fibula found at Voudeni does contain 12.75 per cent of this element and probably indicates the first brass in mainland Greece, unless we assume a problematic dating or an erroneous analysis. As a rule, true brasses containing zinc in amounts above 10 per cent are to be found for the first time and in regular production in Roman times when the smiths found a technique to yield brass by alloying copper and a zinc oxide.¹¹
6. It is interesting that the groups of analyses from particular sites seem to share more or less common features, indicating the existence of local workshops which had access to and used specific minerals for the production of their metalwork. For instance, leaded bronzes appear only at Mycenae and the only samples with 1 per cent of antimony come from Palaiokastros. In terms of alloy-making, some stability is achieved, as exemplified by the analyses from Mycenae, Palaiokastros, Kallithea and elsewhere. However, tin is rarely evenly distributed and in several assemblages we find both tin-rich and tin-free objects (for instance, Nichoria, Kastri). This situation probably reflects the empirical methods by which smiths controlled their alloys and to unexpected difficulties during the making of objects. Nevertheless, their intention to produce bronzes, leaded bronzes or just artefacts made of pure copper is usually evident and this is what should be worth stressing here.
7. It is quite difficult to discern patterns connecting typology with the alloy used, since sufficient numbers of analytical data coming from similar types of objects are the exception rather than the rule. For instance, only a couple of tweezers and mirrors have been analysed, while the best-represented group (the knives) includes only 21 specimens. It is a logical assumption that ancient metallurgists experimented with their material in order to achieve better quality and when the desired quality was achieved they standardised it. It is also reasonable to expect that weapons and tools

11 However, some copper-based objects rich in zinc have turned up at EBA Thermi on Lesbos (see Stos-Gale, 1992, 160–1 and Begemann, Schmitt-Strecker and Pernicka, 1992, 225–7). Both articles discuss the issue at length and conclude that the accidental use of specific minerals is the most reasonable explanation. Craddock also has noted a small proportion of Greek and Etruscan brasses before the Roman era (1976: 95).

would be made of the strongest alloy available. The conclusion that can be reached, by taking the analyses so far published at face value, is that some distinctive classes of objects do conform to 'alloy standards'. These include the spearheads and the double-axes, while most knives seem to contain sufficient amounts of tin ranging from 5 to 15 per cent. In general, the composition of the majority of types shows them to be made of bronze but tin usually ranges randomly from 5 to 15 per cent (see Figure 11.2). It is needless to stress that more analyses are required.

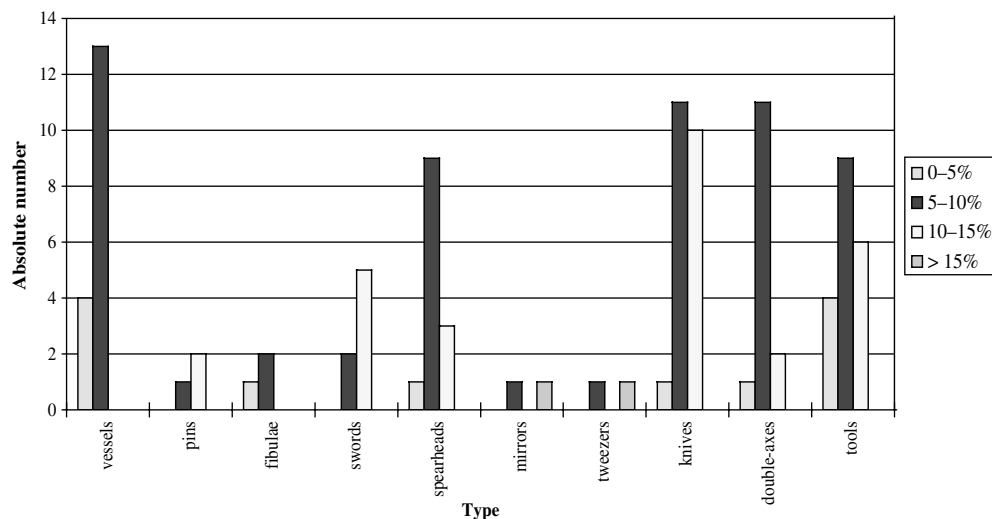


Figure 11.2 The tin distribution of LH IIIA-C objects according to type

THE DARK AGE CHEMICAL ANALYSES

The DA is generally viewed as a transitional period in Greek history. It is characterised by diversity in customs and practices, regionalism and an uneven cultural development in different regions. The metalwork of the period is marked by the use of iron alongside copper-based alloys, while silver, lead and gold were used more sparingly.¹² This period represents a turning point in metallurgy, when iron was not treated as a precious, ceremonial and exotic commodity any more but gradually became suitable for the making of utilitarian objects and was locally produced.

The adoption of iron metallurgy occurred at roughly the same time throughout Greece, from Macedonia to Crete, but there are certain clear regional differences in its spread (for example, certain sites were more receptive to the new technology than others, such as Athens or Vergina). The years 1050–900 BC

¹² See Waldbaum 1978: 48–52.

signify an intermediate phase in the acceptance of iron and therefore we find certain imitations of LBA bronze types in iron. The simultaneous appearance of both bronze and iron objects of the same type is well attested, as is the combination of iron and bronze parts in the same implement (Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 229). It is generally accepted that iron technology in Greece was probably introduced from Cyprus or the Levant (Snodgrass 1980: 346).

Regardless of the significance of iron in the DA and subsequent periods, copper and its alloys did not cease to be produced. In fact, its use was continuous and in some chronological instances increasing. It is true that for ancient societies, much as for modern ones, efficiency and material considerations may have often been of secondary significance to cultural traditions (in other words innovation was not always welcomed and immediately accepted when it contradicted long-lived beliefs and practices). The development of metallurgy, in particular, is generally perceived as a series of technological and ultimately evolutionary steps, although each development did not replace the preceding one but functioned as a new and broader platform from which the metallurgists and metalworkers had wider options to work with (Northover 1998: 113). In the case of copper and bronze during the DA, there are signs that old artefacts remained in circulation as heirlooms,¹³ while a continuation of traditions from LH IIIC is also observed at some parts of the mainland.¹⁴ As a rule, the widespread adoption of iron in Greece triggered a shift in the use of copper-based alloys: the latter were utilised mainly for ornamental and ceremonial/votive objects and also for vessels and certain personal implements, such as fibulae, pins and tweezers. Conversely, iron was preferred for blades and items requiring enhanced mechanical qualities.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the aesthetic superiority of bronze and its ability to be cast contributed to its lasting popularity.

The chemical analyses that have come to my knowledge available for DA or EIA sites of the chronological range between 1050–900 or 850 BC are not particularly numerous and they come from three sites: Nichoria in Messenia, Kastri on the island of Thasos and Lefkandi on the island of Euboea (see Table 11.3). These sites are situated in completely different parts of Greece. However, the large number of analyses from each assemblage is encouraging for the detection of metallurgical trends and regional variations. It is worth pointing out that Nichoria and Kastri have yielded evidence for metallurgical activities in the

13 See, for instance, the two swords from Ancient Elis of type F and G, which are regarded as old-fashioned and testify to some backwardness (Snodgrass, *Dark Age*: 237; Eder 1999: 446).

14 See Morris 1989: 505.

15 In the tables presented by Waldbaum 1978: 48–51 comparing iron and bronze finds from mainland Greece, Crete and the Aegean islands in the twelfth, eleventh and tenth centuries BC, the gradual abandonment of bronze for the making of weapons and tools is clear. In addition, the bronze assemblage from post SMin, DA and Orientalising Knossos demonstrates that the majority of complete objects belong to the classes of ornaments, personal implements and vessels (Catling 1996: 544–50), while most weapons and tools at the same cemetery are made of iron (Snodgrass, 1996: 575).

Table 11.3 Presentation of the DA assemblages subjected to chemical analysis

Site	Chronology	Samples	Method	Elements	Reference
Nichoria	DA	10	XRF	As, Sn, Pb, Fe, Ni, Zn	Rapp et al., 1978
Nichoria	DA	15	OES	As, Sn, Pb, Fe, Co, Ni, Sb, Zn, Bi, Ag, Au	Rapp et al., 1978
Lefkandi	SM-PG	49	XRF	Sn, Pb, Fe	Jones, 1980
Kastri	EIA	14	XRF	As, Sn, Pb, Cu, Fe, Ni, Co, Sb, Bi, Ag	Stos-Gale and Gale, 1992a, Appendix VII
Kastri	EIA	24	XRF	As, Sn, Pb, Cu, Fe, Ni, Sb, Zn, Ag	Stos-Gale and Gale, 1992b, Appendix VIb
Kastri	LBA-EIA	41	AAS?	As, Sn, Pb, Cu, Fe, Ni, Co, Zn, Ag	Asimenos, 1992, Appendix VIa
?	PG	3	AAS	As, Sn, Pb, Cu, Fe, Ni, Co, Sb, Bi, Ag, Au, Zn	Craddock, 1976

period under discussion in the shape of slags and moulds (*Nichoria III*: 325; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992: 677, 688). At Lefkandi the metallurgical remains (moulds and crucible fragments) have a later chronology (*Lefkandi I*: 93–6; Desborough 1980: 279). Therefore, it is very likely that all three sites were capable of manufacturing their own metal products.

In the following pages, the data from these sites are presented in some detail and the chapter concludes with the main points deriving from them and a comparison between the analytical data from the LBA and the DA.

NICHORIA

Altogether 10 XRF analyses of objects dating from DA I to DA II are available (following the chronology of Catling), and 15 OES analyses of material dating to the DA regardless of phase.¹⁶ By examining the XRF results, it is possible to distinguish a large compositional group comprising seven samples (out of 10) where tin ranges from 10 to 25 per cent. In two of the remaining samples 1 per cent of arsenic was detected but no tin, and in just one sample tin was measured to be 3.8 per cent and lead 1 per cent. It is interesting to note that six out of the seven tin-rich samples contain more than 15 per cent of this element, while no other purposeful addition was detected. The typology of the objects mainly comprises pins, rings and tools. The OES results concern uncatalogued and usually amorphous

16 The analytical data have been published by Rapp et al. 1978: 169, 173.

Table 11.4 The mean values of tin, lead, iron and arsenic from DA bronzes

Site	Samples	Sn %	Pb %	Fe %	As %
Nichoria	10 (XRF)	13.1 (nd–25)	0.3 (nd–1)	tr-nd	0.45 (nd–1)
Nichoria	15 (OES)	6.8 (0.03–25)	0.3 (0.001–0.76)	0.2 (nd–2.16)	0.1 (nd–1)
Lefkandi	49 (XRF)	5 (nd–20)	2.4 (nd–20)	0.8 (nd–30)	not found
Kastri	38 (XRF)	7.7 (nd–27.7)	0.4 (0.1–5.3)	0.2 (nd–1.3)	0.9 (nd–6.4)
Kastri	41 (AAS?)	7.8 (nd–14.9)	0.5 (tr–3.11)	0.1 (nd–1.79)	0.1 (nd–0.49)
?	3 (AAS)	7.6 (6–9)	0.7 (0.23–1.4)	0.1 (0.07–0.17)	0.1 (0.1–0.2)

lumps of metal which demonstrate a slightly differentiated picture, with a tin content being essentially random but on the lower side (see Table 11.4). It is clear from these two sets of analyses that tin was far from scarce at Nichoria. It is also clear that such large additions of tin in copper did not result from the recycling of scrap metal and therefore tin or ready-made bronze continued to arrive in this part of Messenia during the DA, despite the evidence for depopulation and general decline in the wider region (Harrison and Spencer 1998: 148; Spencer 1998: 169). The use of exceptionally rich tin bronzes has been explained by Catling 1983: 282–3 as a conscious attempt on the part of the smith to create objects with a silvery appearance intended for decorative purposes. But this explanation does not affect the fact that tin seems to be well-supplied in this corner of Messenia, which would in theory be more vulnerable to fluctuations in the metal supply. The tin distribution at Nichoria is presented in Figure 11.3.

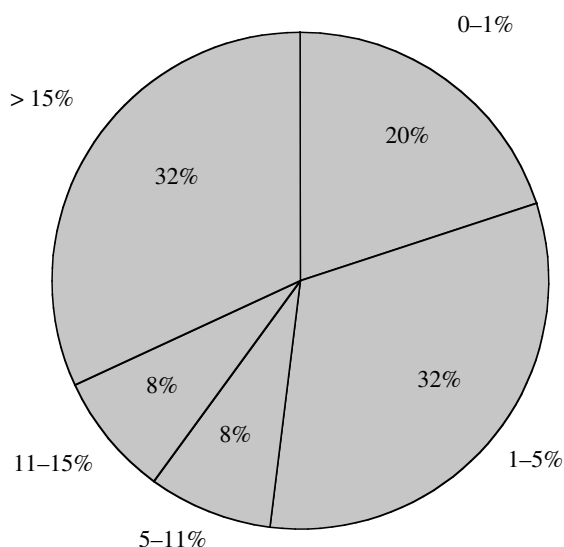


Figure 11.3 Tin distribution in DA Nichoria

THASOS

Overall thirty-eight EIA metal samples from Kastri and Larnaki have been analysed and published as two separate groups by Stos-Gale and Gale 1992a and 1992b: 786, 781. All samples, with only two exceptions, are tin bronzes. The majority of the bronzes include amounts of tin between 4 and 15 per cent, while two samples contain more than 20 per cent of tin and six samples contain tin up to 4 per cent. Iron appears only twice in levels above 0.5 per cent, while lead appears only three times in levels above 1 per cent. The impurity pattern of the samples indicates the use of particular minerals since in several cases we find amounts of arsenic, antimony and occasionally silver, nickel and bismuth above 0.5 per cent. The two objects with more than 20 per cent of tin are in reality complex alloys also containing lead and arsenic (around 5 per cent) and in one case also antimony. The only tin-free object has nearly 10 per cent of antimony. In addition to these samples, there is another large group of objects from Kastri analysed by Asimenos 1992: 779–80 totalling forty-one samples. However, it is not possible to distinguish which of these objects belong to the LBA and which to the EIA phases so they are treated together. The mean value of tin in this group is 7.8, while iron is consistently found below 0.5 per cent and lead is usually found below 1 per cent. Excluding the data produced by Asimenos, the tin distribution at DA Kastri seems to be in agreement with the LBA tradition of the site, since the majority of samples contain between 5 and 15 per cent of tin (see Figures 11.4 and 11.1).

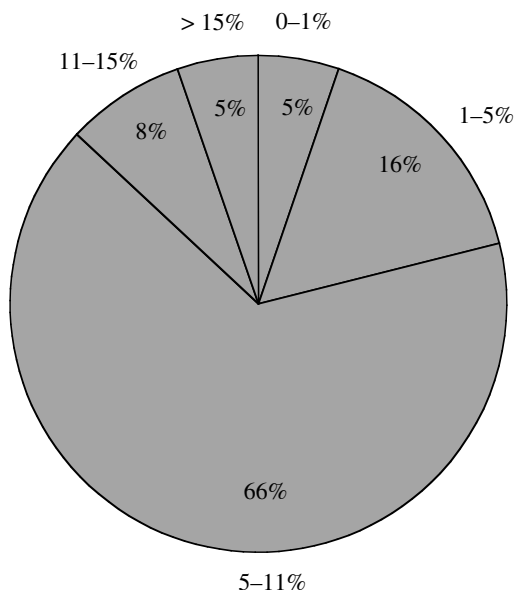


Figure 11.4 Tin distribution in DA Kastri

LEFKANDI

The analysed objects from Lefkandi come from the cemetery of Skoubris and also from Toumba and Palia Perivolia. Their total number is forty-nine and they come from fibulae, rings and pins. As a rule, the samples taken from Submycenaean and Protogeometric objects are made of tin bronze. In the majority of the samples, tin ranges from 1.5 to 9 per cent and only in three cases it was found to be present in quantities exceeding 10 per cent. Very occasionally we find objects made of unalloyed copper. The presence of lead between 1 and 20 per cent is noteworthy and concerns sixteen samples. The smaller quantities of lead may represent multi-metallic ores, but amounts above 3 or 5 per cent must be regarded as intentional additions to facilitate casting.¹⁷ The addition of lead in a copper alloy has certain advantages since it lowers the melting point thus increasing fluidity and decreasing shrinkage and porosity. However, it is also possible that lead was added to copper mainly because it was cheap and easily accessible. In the majority of the samples iron is absent, but in seven cases it has been recognised in minor or major quantities. It is worth mentioning that a small percentage of iron does not have a marked effect on the mechanical and casting properties of the object (Cooke and Aschenbrenner 1975: 266) but it does affect its treatment by hammering (Papadimitriou 1992: 118). In Figure 11.5, showing the tin distribution at Lefkandi, we note that 48 per cent of the samples were made of bronze with a tin

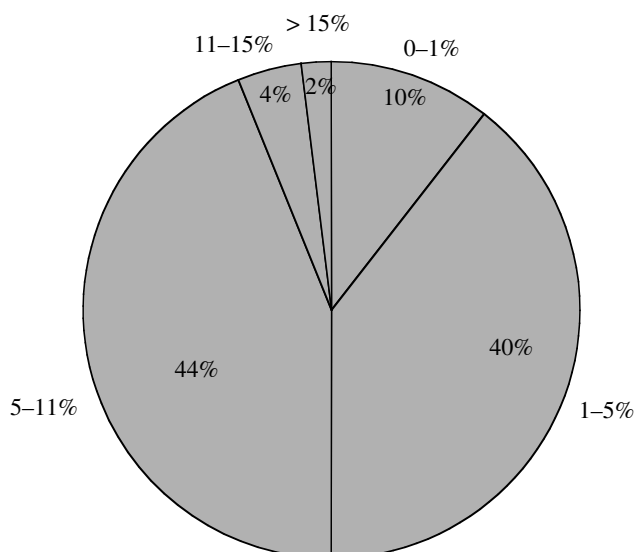


Figure 11.5 Tin distribution in Lefkandi

¹⁷ See, for example, Needham et al. 1989: 397; Pernicka et al. 1990: 272.

content ranging from 5 to 15 per cent and an equally respectable number of samples contained tin in amounts between 1 and 5 per cent. The significance of low-tin inclusions is problematic and this alloy is usually explained as an indication of tin shortage or as result of recycling (Liversage 1994: 76–7).

OTHER ANALYSES

Craddock has analysed three Protogeometric samples, coming from fibulae. However, no contextual information is available. They were found to be tin bronzes with 8, 6 and 9 per cent of tin. Two of them also contained a few per cent of lead and iron.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main characteristics regarding DA or EIA metallurgy deriving from these analyses are the following:

1. As a whole, we do not notice a major departure from the LBA technological level. In fact, the metallurgical similarities between LH III and DA reinforce the view of cultural continuity during this transitional period (see Figures 11.1 and 11.6).
2. To be more exact, tin bronze continued to be used extensively in the DA, with a randomly variable tin content, while unalloyed copper was utilised in a few instances (Figure 11.6). Leaded bronze was sometimes preferred, but the first appearance of this alloy occurred in LH IIIC and its general

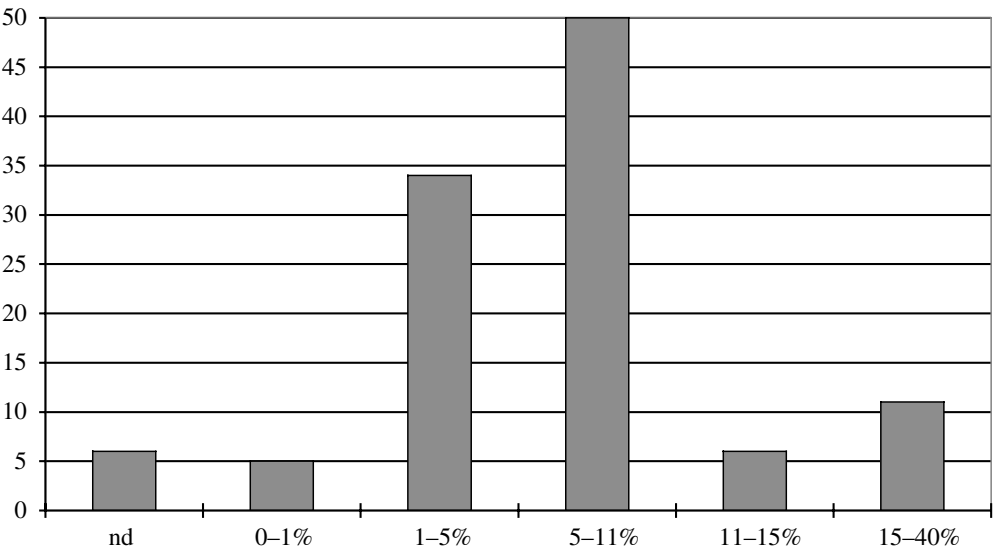


Figure 11.6 The tin content of copper-based artefacts dating to the DA

adoption is evidenced mainly from the Geometric period onwards (Stos-Gale 1992: 161; Craddock 1976: 109).

3. However, we can detect a difference in proportion between the LBA and DA copper alloys. More DA samples are made of unalloyed copper and also more DA samples are made of bronze with a tin content above 15 per cent. Bronzes with a 1–5 per cent tin content are also a more substantial category in the DA. On the other hand, the majority of the analysed samples from the LBA contain ‘normal’ quantities of tin (between 5 and 15 per cent), unlike the DA samples. Therefore, a change in the way people acquired and traded metals or in the way that they produced bronzes can be detected.
4. It is worth noting that the continuity of traditions is more obvious at the sites for which there are LBA analyses available, since the analytical data from their LBA and DA levels do not differ greatly. For Kastri, the mean values of tin for LBA and DA objects are 8.3 and 7.7 per cent respectively, while their impurity patterns are in reasonable agreement. This indicates remarkable stability. Interestingly, the material from Nichoria dating to the DA seems to contain larger amounts of tin in the alloy: the mean value of the XRF analyses for LBA is 8.2 per cent, while the corresponding amount for DA is *c.*13 per cent. Such continuity is confirmed by the archaeological data at this site (Rapp et al. 1978: 175). Lefkandi possesses a few special features. Firstly, the systematic use of leaded bronze in the making of cast objects and particularly fibulae. Secondly, the fact that when compared with Nichoria and Kastri tin is not so abundantly used. In fact, most samples from Lefkandi include less than 10 per cent of tin, the mean value being around 5 per cent, which indicates a spirit of economising.
5. The comparison between DA and Geometric chemical analyses may show that the real break of metallurgical traditions occurred in the Geometric period. According to Papadimitriou 1992: 113 the groups of published analytical results (mainly concerning objects found in Geometric sanctuaries and published by Craddock 1976) demonstrate a clear deterioration of the alloy quality, marked by the presence of a higher iron content in many of the samples.¹⁸ A good example demonstrating this point is Lefkandi: the analysed bronzes dating from 900 BC down to 750 BC contain significantly larger amounts of tin, lead and iron than their counterparts of the eleventh and tenth centuries. Some of the samples contain lead and iron in amounts reaching 30 per cent (Jones 1980: 451–3). A different picture is offered by the AAS analyses published by Philippakis

18 It has been noted that the occurrence of iron in copper-based alloys in substantial quantities is mainly a characteristic of post-BA copper artefacts (for instance, Cooke and Aschenbrenner 1975: 264; Pernicka 1999: 166).

et al. 1983 and Magou, Philippakis and Rolley 1986 concerning Geometric bronzes from Argos, Ithaca, Crete, Olympia and Delphi. Some of the analyses show minor amounts of iron (rarely exceeding 4 per cent) and lead (rarely exceeding 2 per cent) in the alloy, while tin is frequently absent or measured in low quantities (below 4 per cent). Therefore, we are dealing mainly with products made of unalloyed and possibly unrefined metal. It is obvious that Geometric metallurgy is variable and essentially different from LBA and DA metallurgy. The main changes concern the more generalised use of leaded bronze and the use of unrefined metal. These are, of course, marked by regional idiosyncrasies and indicate access to different metal sources, while it is possible that the cultural function of the object played an important role in the quality of the alloy (it is reasonable to assume, for instance, that the metallurgists used an inferior type of alloy for the artefacts intended to be deposited in sanctuaries).

6. The chemical data presented here do not support the bronze shortage theory, since no reduction in the use of tin is observed. Similar observations have been made for Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998: 80). Therefore, although in terms of quantity there are clear signs of diminishing numbers of bronze-work during the DA, the truth is that we do not know how common bronze was (Morris 1989: 508), but we do know that its quality was not compromised.
7. Most analyses of DA objects concern fibulae, rings and knives. Even though the majority of the fibulae and rings come from Lefkandi and all knives from Kastri, there is no evidence for a consistent alloy structure, as one would expect. In fact, the composition of all three types is wide-

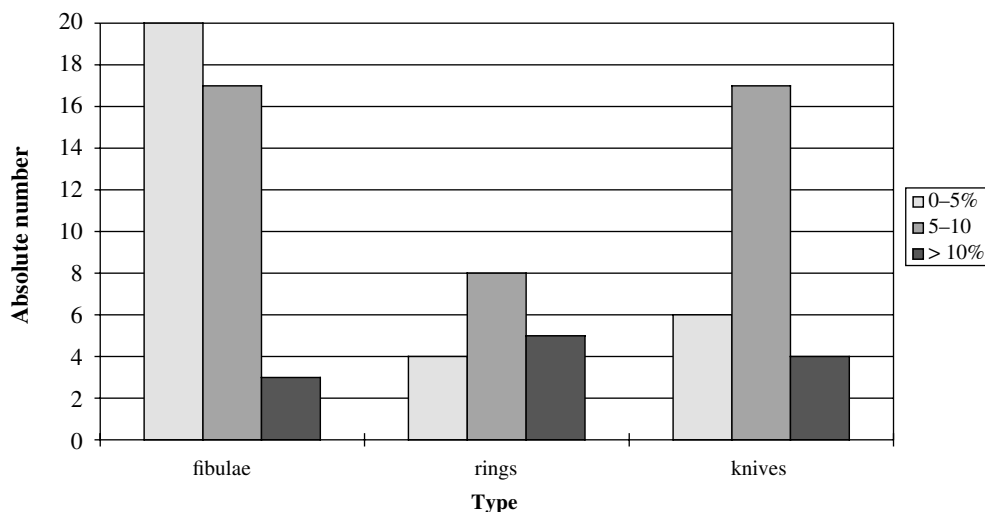


Figure 11.7 The tin distribution of DA objects according to type

ranging, from traces of tin to amounts well beyond 10 per cent (see Figure 11.7). This is also evident from the lead content of fibulae from Lefkandi: fourteen of them seem to contain wide-ranging amounts of lead, while in nineteen of the samples this element has not even been detected. This probably indicates the co-existence of two metallurgical traditions at the same site. The quality control exercised by the smiths does not appear to be absolute but it is worth-repeating that the number of analyses is insufficient to draw general conclusions.

The final paragraph of this chapter is dedicated to suggestions for future research. It is clear that more systematic analytical work is needed in order to fill the gaps and to further substantiate the relatively regular transition from LH III to DA, at least from the technological point of view. A comparative study of the Cretan material would be especially advantageous, given the key position of the island between Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. The sampling and systematic analysis of representative material covering all regions within Greece and conducted preferably in one laboratory using one analytical method is crucial if we require reliable information about metallurgical trends and practices in different regions. This would facilitate the statistical examination of the data, which would demonstrate more clearly the relationships of the elements.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this chapter:

AAS	Atomic Absorption Spectrography
BA	Bronze Age
DA	Dark Age
EBA	Early Bronze Age
XRF	Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence
HTV	House of Tripod Vessels
NAA	Neutron Activation Analysis
OES	Optical Emission Spectroscopy
PWH	Poros Wall Hoard
TCT	Tsountas Chamber Tombs

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ETHNE IN THE PELOPONNESE AND CENTRAL GREECE

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Until quite recently, the nature and early development of *ethne* barely merited mention in scholarly accounts of early Greece.¹ In so far as *ethne* were discussed, it was in terms of geographically extensive networks of low-level ties, traceable via material traits such as regional pottery styles or the ethnic plurals attested from Homer onwards – a simpler but more durable alternative to poleis, and the primitive products of post-palatial socio-political simplification.² Such assumptions have lingered far longer than they merited either on theoretical or archaeological grounds. Theoretically, they represent little more than social-evolutionism and a somewhat crude approach to archaeological ‘cultures’ (Shennan 1989: 5–14; Morgan, *Early States*: ch. 1 n. 64, 17–8, 165–8). Materially, it is clear that the more we know of the so-called *ethnos*-regions, the more complex and varied their archaeological records appear. This is not only the result of new fieldwork, although such work has transformed our knowledge of regions like East Lokris,³ wrongly assumed to have been near-deserted during the Early Iron Age. Projects centred on the reappraisal of old data, such as those from Isthmia and the area of Olympia, have also had a major impact.⁴ This is true not only of the Early Iron Age, but also of the Late Bronze Age, especially as attention has turned to epigraphical and archaeological evidence for the territorial aspects of Mycenaean states.⁵ A further

1 Warm thanks are due to Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene Lemos for their invitation to participate in the Edinburgh symposium, and patience thereafter. I thank John Bennet and John Killen for valuable discussion of some of the issues raised, and my fellow participants for much useful comment in the course of a highly convivial occasion.

2 Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*: 25–6, 42–4, 85–8; Osborne, *Making*: 286, both taking a position barely changed from that of Larsen 1968: 308, 11, and Ehrenberg 1969: 22–5. For reviews of scholarship, see McInerney 1999: 8–25; Morgan, *Early States*: 4–9.

3 Mostly due to the activities of the 14th EPKA, until recently under the direction of Dr Fanouria Dakoronia (see Dakoronia, this volume): for summaries with bibliography, see Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 171–2; Morgan, *Early States*: 28–31, 115–19.

4 Isthmia: *Isthmia*; Morgan 2002a. Olympia: Kyrieleis 2002; Eder 2001b; Eder 2003; Eder, this volume.

5 Lakonia: Cavanagh 1995. For Pylos, see Stavrianopoulou 1989: chs 2 and 10, for the state of knowledge before the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP), and Bennet 1995, 1998a and b for the contribution of PRAP; see also De Fidio 2001.

serious blow is dealt to the traditional picture of poleis and *ethne* by the Copenhagen Polis Centre's demonstration that, far from being a defining criterion of polis status, emphasis on *autonomia* is a fiction of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nation-state inspired scholarship (Hansen 1995). Instead, we should now understand *poleis* and *ethne* not as distinct and alternative forms of state, but as tiers of identity to which groups subscribed at different times and under different circumstances (Brock and Hodkinson 2000: 21–5; Morgan, *Early States*: 5–6).

By Archaic times, most mainland Greek communities constituted themselves with reference to various tiers of identity, and this situation surely reached far back into the Early Iron Age. Even Corinth, with its unusually strong and persistent association between a territory, a central place and a sanctuary at Isthmia (not to mention a remarkably coherent material culture),⁶ has produced at least one tantalising hint of a sub-regional identity in an Archaic dedicatory inscription, 'En[t]imidas Solygeatas anetheken', on the rim of a bronze bowl from Isthmia.⁷ 'Solygeatas' refers to an area of considerable prominence in Corinthian myth-history. The legendary site of the Dorian invaders' first great victory (Thucydides 4.42.2), Solygeia was home to a sanctuary from the end of the eighth century, dedication at which peaked c.650–500 (Stroud 1971; Morgan 1999a: 414–15; Verdelis 1962; Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999: 429–30). This is, however, an exceptional case, and at present there is no comparable evidence for any other sub-regional identity in the Corinthia until the second half of the fourth century, when the name of Kromna (a site of some magnitude from the mid-eighth century) appears in the personal name of Agathon Kromnites.⁸ By contrast, the name 'Qorinthios' appears in the final quarter of the seventh century at Megara Hyblaia, and in the sixth on Pitsa plaque A.⁹

Corinth is, however, an extreme case. More usually, the political identity of a community was formed from a complex of associations, including a relationship to a leader, a residential centre (usually a polis), and one or more *ethne*, all of which could potentially acquire political salience to the point where they might sustain a tier of government.¹⁰ *Ethnos*, after all, simply means a group in the sense of the outcome of a classificatory exercise, with no implications for geographical scale, content, or the register of the association (Smith 1986: 21; Hall 1997: 34–5). The very emptiness of the term makes it a valuable tool for exploring the varied circumstances of early Greece, whereas English translations like 'tribe' have the

6 The evidence is summarised by Morgan in *Isthmia*, part III; Morgan 2002a (focusing on the early centuries of the EIA); Morgan, *Early States*: 55–61, 213–2.

7 Raubitschek 1998: cat. 48, dated as 'Archaic'.

8 Wiseman 1978: 10 (see also p. 66). The preliminary report of the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey for 2000 (<http://eleftheria.stcloudstate.edu/eks>), last consulted 6.5.2004), notes Middle Geometric pottery at Kromna. The name Timos Teneos on an Attic black-figure cup of c. 540–30 from Sellada on Thera is probably a genitive patronymic (*Ergon*, 1961: 209, fig. 224; Wiseman 1978: 14, n. 8).

9 Wachter 2001, DOC 3 (Megara Hyblaia), COP App.1Ad (Pitsa).

10 These associations are explored in detail in Morgan, *Early States*.

disadvantage of modern sociological connotations which can easily be assumed, rather than tested, in evaluating the ancient record.¹¹

If there is no positive evidence for the primacy of *ethne* as political organisations, there is also no easy answer to the question of the relative date of, and balance between, often highly localised ties of place and broader notions of people and/or geography in the construction of political identities.¹² The attribution of political salience to regional ethnics may be seen as a positive step towards the political formalisation of states like Phokis, Lokris or Achaea, which were primarily recognised as *ethne*, even though they contained communities which explicitly called themselves poleis. But there is little direct evidence for this before the late sixth or fifth century.¹³ Phokis is a rare case where *ethnogenesis* can be traced to clearly defined events, namely the ending of Thessalian occupation and especially the early sixth-century battle of Keressos. Material changes attendant upon this include new building at Kalapodi accompanied by changes in the pattern of dedication and the sanctuary's regional role, and the appearance of political architecture in the form of the Phokikon (Ellinger 1993; Felsch, Kienast and Schuler 1980: 67–85; Felsch et al. 1987: 19–25; McInerney 1997; McInerney 1999: ch. 6; Morgan, *Early States*: 114–20, 131–4). But the wider picture in the southern and central Greek mainland seems much more fluid and less closely definable. Admittedly, the late date of our evidence reflects a focus on written testament (partial as this is, set within a primarily oral context), plus such factors as the issuing authorities of coinage or legal decrees (Morgan, *Early States*: 76–85). But it is also true that, with certain important exceptions (the communities of the Achaean *mesogeia* in relation to the neighbouring Azanes of northern Arkadia, for example), frontiers were rarely strongly marked even in the eighth century (Heine Nielsen and Roy 1998; *Isthmia*: 416–24; Morgan, *Early States*: 176–87). Boundary negotiation was generally a late seventh- or sixth-century phenomenon, of which examples include the rich collection of Elean treaties displayed at Olympia (Minon 1994), and the rural shrine network of Arkadian Asea.¹⁴ This chronology has clear implications for the promotion of ethnic cohesion via structured difference, and raises important questions about the way in which groups opened and closed in earlier times.

A brief glance at the later eighth- and seventh-century record shows considerable complexity in ties of place and region. To take but one example, what social geography underpinned the swift differentiation of epichoric alphabets,¹⁵ to the extent

11 Crone 1986; Morgan, *Early States*: 10–16, emphasizing the scholarly interconnections between Greek kinship and tribalism made in the nineteenth century.

12 Heine Nielsen 2002: 113–228, 272–304, with primary reference to Arkadia but wide comparanda.

13 Phokis: McInerney 1999: ch. 4. Lokris: Heine Nielsen 2000. Achaea: Morgan and Hall 1996, Morgan, *Early States*.

14 For a summary with bibliography, see *Isthmia*: 400–2.

15 Jeffery 1990: 40–2, 427–8; Johnston 1999; see also Johnston 2003 for the wider Mediterranean context.

that the origins of mainland Greek visitors to Kommos can be traced via graffiti on eighth- and seventh-century local and imported pots (Csapo 1991, 1993; Csapo, Johnston and Geagan 2000: 108–25)? A more problematic set of indicia is the manner of presentation of contingents in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 2.484–877). The date of the *Catalogue* in its received form, whilst much debated, is largely irrelevant to the present argument, as long as it is agreed to be post-Bronze Age.¹⁶ More important is the fact that it is the earliest extant social geography of most of the Greek world, an extent of coverage which facilitates comparison between regions, and reveals considerable variation within the basic framework of ‘leader plus followers’ which follows from its purpose as a muster list. In Arkadia, for example, with the exception of the Parrhasians, contingents (which tend to cluster in the east and northeast of the region) are defined by specific settlements – Pheneos, Orchomenos, Tegea, Mantinea and Stymphalos (*Il.* 2.603–14).¹⁷ Yet the nine Thessalian contingents, set out in Table 12.1, show greater variety.¹⁸ The principal differences lie in the construction of place and the role of ethnicities.¹⁹ Thus, the contingent of Prothoos is simply described as ‘the Magnetes’, and located generally ‘about Penieus and Pelion’. That of Goneus is led from a specific site (Kyphos), but consists of two ethnic groups, the Enienes and the Peraiboi, again located generally ‘about wintry Dodona’ and ‘in the plough land about lovely

Table 12.1

Leader	Reference	Toponyms
Achilles	<i>Il.</i> 2.681–94	Halos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia
Protesilas [Podarces]	<i>Il.</i> 2.695–710	Phyake, Pyrasos, Iton, Antron, Pteleos
Eumelos	<i>Il.</i> 2.711–15	Pherai, Boibe, Iolkos, Glaphyrai
Philoctetes [Medon]	<i>Il.</i> 2.716–28	Methone, Thaumakia, Meliboia, Olizon
Podaleirius and Machaon	<i>Il.</i> 2.928–33	Trikka, Ithome, Oichalia
Eurypylos	<i>Il.</i> 2.734–7	Ormenion, ‘Hypereia fountain’, Asterion
Polypoites and Leonteus	<i>Il.</i> 2.738–47	Argissa, Gyrton, Orthe, Elone, Oloosson
Goneus	<i>Il.</i> 2.748–55	Kyphos, Dodone
Prothoos	<i>Il.</i> 2.756–9	Penieus, Pelion

16 For a review of scholarship, see Crielaard 1995. Anderson 1995 makes the attractive suggestion that the *Catalogue* in its extant form is an eighth-century Boiotian composition amalgamating information from different regions and periods.

17 See also Morgan *Isthmia*: 383–84; Heine Nielsen 2002: 91–2, 113–4.

18 See also Visser 1997: 644–740.

19 For a review of the use of geographical terminology from a primarily philological perspective, see Visser 1997: 78–150.

Titaessos'. Finally, that of Achilles combines specific settlement names with the regions Phthia and Hellas, and the ethnics of the groups concerned, Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans. Overall, therefore, the Thessalian section seems to offer a highly abbreviated insight into what was probably a dynamic picture of interlocking tiers of political affiliation and identity – an observation prefigured in antiquity by the terms of Strabo's evaluation (9.5.4–22) of the relationship between Homer's Thessalian geography and the region's more recent settlement history.²⁰ It certainly reveals conceptions of social geography which sit ill with our tendency to focus on individual aspects of the problem.²¹ Trying to ground the *Catalogue* in the archaeological record, while often attempted, has rarely proved helpful.²² Indeed, while acknowledging the complexities and outstanding difficulties, if the *Catalogue* does imply a particular perspective on a complex set of relationships, dissonance with the settlement record is only to be expected.

If discussion so far has seemed somewhat critical, more positive progress can be made in reconstructing archaeologically the different kinds and registers of relationship which helped to shape political identities. Various contributors to this volume have emphasised the differing nature of the Bronze Age-Iron Age transition across Greece. More problematic is the extent to which this can be predicted, especially when comparing regional trajectories, such as those of Lakonia and Messenia, which have no obvious topographical or environmental basis for their differentiation.²³ A related issue is the way in which the demise of the palaces led to the establishment or enhanced importance of relationships and contexts of identity expression which had longer term implications. It is easy to assume that power devolved to those former second-order sites at which activity continued through the SM and PG periods (Nichoria, for example), or to new or previously minor sites on the margins of palatial territory (as has been argued for Lefkandi).²⁴ But the way in which these archaeologically-visible new foci operated in the wider social landscape in the immediate post-Mycenean period is less well understood (and a point to which we will return).²⁵ There are no easy answers to

20 Morgan, *Early States*: 102–5. For examination of Strabo's treatment of the past, and especially Homer, in the *Geography*, see Clarke 1999: ch. 5.

21 See Helly 1995: 72–96 for extensive examination of the likely traditions behind the Thessalian passage in the *Catalogue*, and the territorial implications of the contingents listed.

22 Not least because the exercise has tended to be undertaken with chronology in mind: compare, for example, Corvisier 1991: 139–43 and Helly 1995: 78–80, on Thessaly; for a broader review of scholarship on chronology, see Visser 1997: 10–48. I have argued elsewhere that the Corinthian passage fits poorly with the record of any period: *Isthmia*: 349–50, although the subsequent location of Orneai at modern Dorati (Marchand 2002) improves the Bronze Age fit somewhat (post-LH IIIB pottery being rare among surface finds: the site has yet to be excavated).

23 Cavanagh 1995; Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002: 142–50. Compare Bennet 1995.

24 Foxhall 1995: 246–7; see also the chapters of Lemos and Crielaard in this volume.

25 This is not always for want of fieldwork: the EIA is one of the periods of generally poor visibility in surface remains, leaving significant doubt about whether small sites are genuinely absent, somehow invisible, or otherwise undetected (see note 47 below). For EIA survey data from PRAP, see Davis et al. 1997: 424, 451–3.

these questions, especially where evidence remains slight, but they must nonetheless continue to be posed. This is not an attempt to revive the old and overworked issue of the origins of the polis. A polis in the eighth century cannot be the same as in the twelfth, and the same must be true of other forms of political organisation. But in addition to the problem of the reshaping of power relations during a period of political transformation, the interconnectedness of the Mediterranean, with geographical proximity and common points of social reference capable of transcending what from a Hellenocentric standpoint may seem to be greater ethnic distance (Hall 2002: chs 2, 3), is surely just as relevant to the twelfth century as it is from the eighth century onwards.²⁶ Autochthony is unlikely to have been a particularly useful rhetorical device at either stage. But here lies the central problem: too broad an approach to questions of interaction, mobility and especially eastern influence may obscure the complexity and variety of community ordering which is the focus of interest. Achieving balance in understanding local patterns of development without resorting to wholly particularist arguments demands attention to the nature of each level of identity and its point of closure.

So how, and under what circumstances did different kinds of community constitute and define themselves, and on what level were they salient to their members? Here a useful initial approach is to define and examine the social and economic ties enacted in the principal archaeologically visible contexts – settlement systems, sanctuaries, cemeteries, and territories (in the sense of the varying geographical areas over which certain key subsistence, manufacturing and juridical, activities were performed). The assumption is that they will not necessarily add up to a coherent whole (as sometimes assumed in discussions of the polis), but will reveal more or less overlapping forms of association.

Big settlement sites are a good starting point. The origins of city life, long seen as central to the polis, have often been sought in the eighth century emergence or marked expansion of nucleated settlements such as Eretria, Corinth or Argos, which is seen as a fundamental change from the supposed depopulation and simplification of settlement hierarchies which followed the demise of the palaces.²⁷ It is patently true that, from the eighth century onwards, there is an increase in evidence which is often of kinds new to (or long absent from) many of the regions in which it occurs (purely public architecture, for example, such as the temples at Tegea and Eretria).²⁸ But the notion that there was no community of place, in the sense of an identity articulated by settlement location, before the eighth century is no more true of the mainland than it is of, for example, Crete (as Nicolas Coldstream and Saro Wallace's chapters in this volume show), although with fewer abandoned big sites on the mainland, the evidence can be harder to read (Morgan,

26 The point is well made by reference to Stampolidis 2003 and the range of contributions to Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003.

27 E.g. Snodgrass 1991; for a review with a summary of the now very extensive bibliography, see Morgan, *Early States*: 45–71.

28 Tegea: Østby et al. 1994: 98–107. Eretria: Bérard 1998.

Early States: ch. 2). Setting aside the few regions like Arkadia, where particularly severe problems surround the surface visibility of pre-Archaic pottery and relatively little excavation has been undertaken,²⁹ most of the southern and central mainland has produced archaeological evidence for a relatively stable structure of big settlements which long predates politicised supra-regional consciousness.³⁰ Nor are there obvious distinctions between such sites in poleis or *ethne* as traditionally conceived. Bearing in mind the very different conditions of preservation and excavation, it is revealing to compare the scale and organisation of, for example, Thessalian Pherai or Aigion in Achaea with that of Argos or Athens.³¹ Instances of well explored, usually physically circumscribed, regions with strongly marked identity but no focal settlement, are rare, usually short-lived, and often in very specific kinds of contact or transit zone. The Pharaï valley in the Achaean *mesogeia* is such a case, at least during the eighth century (Morgan, *Early States*: 176–87). But long-lived single sites apart, bridging the Late Bronze/Iron Age divide allows us to consider one further important phenomenon, that of long cycles of movement within relatively small areas.³² This may well help to model the shifting balance of settlement at the principal sites around the head of Pagasitic Gulf (Sesklo, Dimini, Volos Palia and Pefkakia) from the Late Bronze Age to Roman times, highlighted by the transferral of the name of Iolkos.³³ This need not imply unchanged local meaning – although the place of individual sites within any local hierarchy is hard to assess given the slight volume of evidence overall from the end of LH IIIC to the late ninth century. Whether (to follow Bintliff and Snodgrass's distinction) an Early Iron Age settlement centre was a single, compact site (perhaps within a Mycenaean settlement), or something more extensive and dispersed, in assessing its regional context, the sum of survey experience shows that the Early Iron Age was a period of generally poor surface visibility for which a variety of explanations are possible.³⁴

29 Morgan, *Early States*: 173–4: I thank Björn and Jeannette Forsén, Knut Ødergard, and Yanis Pikoulas for sharing observations from their own survey work in Arkadia.

30 Morgan, *Early States*: 47–71, emphasising that the picture is not confined to this area (see also Archibald 2000).

31 Pherai: Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1992; Dougleri-Intzesiloglou 1994. Aigion: Papakosta 1991; Petropoulos 2002: 145–8. Argos: Touchais and Divari-Valakou 1998. Athens: Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998; Papadopoulos 1996; Papadopoulos 2003; see also Morgan, *Early States*: 61–9 for a summary.

32 An idea traceable back to the 'Landeskunde' tradition exemplified by Kirsten 1956: chs. 2 and 3.

33 See Adrimi-Sismani, this volume; Intzesiloglou 1994; Morgan, *Early States*: 95–102 for a summary.

34 Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988. The general scarcity of EIA pottery recognised in surface collections has long been noted: e.g. Rutter 1983 on the LBA/earliest EIA (noting also the comments of Cherry on this paper in the same volume, pp. 399–400). I concur with Bintliff's assessment that at least in part this reflects poor understanding of the undecorated ceramics of many regions, which may therefore be lost among later finds: Bintliff n.d. (I thank John Bintliff for access to this paper and discussion of the broader problem of interpreting the Early Iron Age 'gap'). However, the precise implications of this observation, and the way in which survey methodology takes account of variable visibility by period, varies greatly between projects. I also confine this observation to the EIA, and pass no judgement on Bintliff's hypothesis of LBA under-representation (which has been extensively debated; see most recently Davis 2004).

Nonetheless, in trying to determine what place identities meant, for example in terms of residence identification, links to a ruler or to kin, we can look positively at issues such as the social impact of proximal residence and the management of water and waste. At Corinth, the Early Iron Age settlement is structured around roads and water sources, with graves and sherd scatters clustered round individual wells (Morgan, *Early States*: 55–62). While settlement contracted onto a small core during SM, and matched its Late Bronze Age extent only in the eighth century, the very fact that it expanded physically by replicating similar clusters, rather than intensifying around existing nuclei, highlights the strength of highly localised group closure. Conversely, when it comes to the exercise of political authority, one might reasonably assume that principal settlements were key arenas for decision making – especially in cases like Nichoria or Thermon where there is direct architectural evidence for hierarchy (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 270–6). But we should also be open to the idea that sanctuary activity outside these settlements – i.e. setting aside the issue of cult in rulers' houses (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 207–305) did not merely celebrate and reinforce age, wealth or gender status – as, for example, in the selection of various aspects of social persona for celebration in the SM and PG votive record at Kalapodi – which bears interesting comparison with the burial record of neighbouring cemeteries, such as Elateia (Felsch 1999; Felsch 2001; Morgan, *Early States*: 114–20). It was actively invoked in the construction and exercise of 'secular' authority long before we find epigraphical evidence for the place of religion in enforcing compliance with all manner of decrees (for example, via curses and divine sanction).³⁵ Nor would such choices have been neutral: where choice was possible, the decision to favour one cult over another also reflected on the status of the officers of that cult.

We will return to sanctuaries presently. First, though, we should consider how, if *ethne* developed around a settlement structure, relevant ties were formed. As noted earlier, definition of Early Iron Age political territory in the archaeological record tends to rest on a combination of assessment of landscape features in relation to the physical extent of a given archaeological 'culture'. But in distinguishing as we must between artefact distributions per se (and in both Mycenaean and later times, style, and especially pottery style, is almost always analysed at supra-community regional level), and the geographical extent of the behaviour patterns which produced them and within which they were deployed, we return to the socio-economic underpinnings of the style pools on which individual communities drew (Morgan, *Early States*: 164–71). How did exchange circles operate as interconnections of skills, specialisation in the production of particular kinds of vessel or forms of decoration, access to raw materials and facilities like kilns, mobility of craftsmen, and market location and accessibility to producers and consumers alike? Studies of economic continuity and change into the post-

35 Morgan, *Early States*: 76–80 (noting especially the case of IP Ark 8 from Mantinea: Thür 2001).

palatial period have tended to focus on activities like agriculture and husbandry, where there is the constant referent of landscape and a point of comparison (however hard to interpret) in a Linear B record which reflects the substantial, if much debated, extent to which palace-centred redistributive systems were concerned with certain foodstuffs.³⁶ The long-term development of those other industries (such as pottery production) which barely enter into the Linear B record is more problematic. On one hand, using the archaeological record to assess the skew imposed by palatial demand is a complex exercise. As Todd Whitelaw has shown in the case of Pylos (which he usefully compares with Nichoria), it requires estimates of such factors as the labour represented by the extant assemblage, how this relates to overall production and consumption, and the role of specialist knowledge in the production of individual types.³⁷ But on the other, at least on the southern Greek mainland, Late Bronze and Early Iron Age archaeological research has tended to focus on particular aspects of the production cycle – the nature, location and loading of kilns (in the case of Torone, Whitbread, Jones and Papadopoulos 1997), or the control and transfer of technological knowledge (e.g. clay recipes)³⁸ – rather than on the total system encompassing production, supply and consumption (van der Leeuw 1999; Morgan 1999b). Without an understanding of the organisation and evolution of local systems, and the place of individual and/or more specialised vessel types within them, it is hard to judge how those parts of an assemblage that bear distinctive decoration or shape traits might be interpreted as evidence of other forms of socio-political integration.

Patently, however, certain activities or modes of organisation show marked discontinuities – the end of palace workshops, for example. The prospects for the craftsmen involved surely depended on the nature of their craft and the proportion of their time occupied by palace-based activity.³⁹ The opportunities open to specialists in palace-centred activities such as unguent boiling must have been extremely limited. But in the case of crafts such as bronze working, where (to judge from the only substantial surviving set of records, the Pylos Jn series) employment by the palace was only part-time (Smith 1992–3; Gillis 1997; De Fidio 2001), the general hypothesis that smiths refocused their activities on the other contexts in which they had been employed (secondary centres, more localised communities, sanctuaries etc.) seems plausible. But this is not to imply that downscaling was straightforward: metal would still have to be obtained by trade or recycling where

36 Foxhall 1995. For a review of the issues surrounding palatial intervention in agriculture, see Halstead 2001.

37 Whitelaw 2001; Palaima 1997 discusses the three exceptional cases of a named potter, fuller, and armourer(?) at Pylos, all of whom seem to have been involved in some special form of royal service.

38 Kyriatzi 2002. For a study of the long-term (Late Bronze Age-Archaic) development of workshop centres in Ionia, combining stylistic observations with fabric analysis via Neutron Activation Analysis, see Akurgal et al. 2002.

39 See Shelmerdine in this volume.

there were no local sources (as, for example, in Messenia), there were no longer opportunities to gain prestige (and financial benefits including tax exemptions) by working for the palace, and the exact tasks performed likely changed.⁴⁰ Overall, however, this raises a question posed in various ways by several contributors to this volume, namely how we should understand the changing roles and importance of these different contexts and those who held power within them, once the palatial tier of authority was removed. Cases such as Nichoria, where it is possible to observe long-term trends in production and subsistence before, during and after the community's integration into the Further Province of Pylos, are few indeed and can be difficult to interpret – and in any case they are only part of the wider picture.⁴¹ In general, it is unlikely, given the different patterns of consumption and resources involved, that the refocusing of craft activities and their associated social and economic networks will be the same for each medium and each region, let alone that it will focus on large settlements (i.e. in the first instance former Mycenaean second order sites) as sometimes assumed from a later city-focused perspective. Manufacturing certainly took place from an early date at several Early Iron Age big sites. Pottery production is widely attested notably at Athens (Papadopoulos 2003), and evidence for metalworking includes the PG 'industrial area' at Argos (Courbin 1963: 98–100). But there is also evidence of similar date for metalworking at sanctuaries and, by the eighth century at the latest, at least two instances of the production of practical items including weapons at Kalapodi and Philia.⁴² If one adds to this picture the travelling *damiourgoi* and rural installations attested by the early poets (such as Hesiod's smithy in *Works and Days* 493–4), then the possible combinations of, and relationships between, contexts become numerous and complex. We know enough to appreciate the complexities involved, although in no region do we yet have sufficient evidence for anything like a rounded reconstruction.

As the discussion so far indicates, sanctuaries were important social and economic organisations whose functions and interests overlapped with those of particular place communities and territories – but not least due to their often long and varied histories, they did not always coincide with them. The much-discussed case of Kalapodi offers an important opportunity to trace significant shifts in the geographical and political focus of the sanctuary's constituency from its foundation in LH IIIC to the point at which it was elevated to the status of Phokian national shrine after the battle of Keressos.⁴³ Sacrifice and the common meal, the

40 Davies-Morpurgo 1979 and Killen, this volume, both noting the different treatment of crafts, and degree of specialisation, in Mycenaean and Classical Greece.

41 Compare McDonald, Dickinson and Howell et al. 1992: esp. 768–9 with McDonald and Coulson 1983. Foxhall 1995: 244–5.

42 Kalapodi: Felsch 1983: 123–4. Philia: Kilian 1983; Risberg 1992.

43 On the LH IIIC expansion of Kalapodi in the context of shifts in power within the Euboian gulf region, see Crielaard in this volume. For a convenient summary with bibliography, see Morgan, *Early States*: 114–20, 131–3; key discussions of the earliest evidence are Felsch 1999; Felsch 2001. On the transformation post-Keressos see McNerney 1999: 177–8, 199–200, and note 19 here above.

central aspects of southern and central mainland cult activity,⁴⁴ have often been seen as closing and defining social groups. Yet arguably, the practicalities of sustaining a sanctuary economy are of greater long-term significance. Indeed, given the impact on production scheduling of supplying gatherings (especially in the absence of built storage facilities on site), and the potential gains from the redistribution of secondary products, it is hard to mark off the strictly sacral.⁴⁵ Evidence from the earliest years is still slight, but at least from the late tenth century, control and supply of metals must have been an important issue at a shrine like Olympia, as it had been for the palace at Pylos (Andrews 1994: ch. 5). How far this was a purely sanctuary (or priestly) concern has become a matter of some debate, although evidence like the Nichoria bronze vessels which come from a settlement context (where one would expect little to be preserved)⁴⁶ might imply that it was perhaps more a matter of management (facilitating manufacturing and recycling) than of procurement. This does not, of course, diminish the potential power that could be exercised via control of the necessary organisation.

A further distinctive transformation occurred in the physical form of shrines and the structure of religious symbolism. Here the central and southern mainland is increasingly coming to seem the exception not the rule in the wider Greek context. The lack of purpose built cult structures south of Mende-Poseidi has supported the view that in many areas cult was located within rulers' houses.⁴⁷ Secure evidence is perhaps rarer than sometimes claimed, but there are indeed good cases. Nichoria is well known, but perhaps an even better example is Aetos on Ithaca (and it is interesting that some of our best evidence comes from the west). At Aetos, Nancy Symeonoglou's reappraisal of the 'cairns' area tentatively reconstructs a series of big houses in the heart of the later sanctuary, beginning with the EPG Building C (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 74–80, 381–92; Mazarakis Ainian, this volume. Aetos: Symeonoglou 2002: 42–53). But in general, the relationship between house cults and the new open-air shrines founded from LH IIIC onwards is not consistent. If Olympia did attract participants from across the western Peloponnese, then the elites who practised cult in their residences also joined to celebrate open-air rituals (Eder 2001b, and this volume; Morgan, *Oracles*, ch. 3). In the Corinthia, by contrast, we have as yet only the open-air shrine at Isthmia (*Isthmia*: 302–3, 373–7). There is no evidence for cult at any of the previous Mycenaean big sites, although none has been fully excavated and in the case of Korakou a significant area has been lost to the sea. But as Jim Wright points out in his contribution to this volume, the megaron at the heart of the LH IIIC Building L at Korakou is better seen as a return to the

44 From LH IIIC onwards in many regions see Morgan in *Isthmia*: 369–400.

45 Morgan, *Early States*: 149–55; Dillon 1997 deals also with broader issues of the management of sacral lands.

46 See for the Nichoria finds Catling, Carrington Smith and Hughes-Brock 1983: 279–80.

47 The tenth-century Building St from the extra-urban shrine related to the settlement on the Vigla acropolis: Moschonissioti 1998: 265–7.

pre-palatial models of LHI than in comparison with contemporary Tiryns or Midea (Wright, this volume; Blegen 1921: 89, 97–9). Early Isthmia had no obvious immediate predecessor or contemporary of any form.

When comparing the mainland with, for example, Crete, where significant physical traits of palatial cult can be seen reconfigured in constructions like Kephala Vasilikis Building E (Eliopoulos 1998), it is worth stressing that the short life of the few LH IIIC cult rooms in some parts of the mainland implies subsequent positive rejection of this model. In the Argolid, for example, one thinks of Room 32 in Asine House G, the Midea megaron, and most spectacularly, Tiryns Building T, erected over the Great Megaron to incorporate the base of the throne and altar in situ (although excluding the hearth which had been a key feature of Mycenaean palatial ritual).⁴⁸ By contrast, those new transitional period sanctuaries which were to prove long lived were all open air and, unlike the structures noted above,⁴⁹ physically removed from any single major settlement (let alone a former palace). Such social closure as applied to religious practice at these locations must therefore have been created by the event rather than the setting.

It is tempting to relate this observation to the way in which, in sharp contrast to Crete, after a brief flirtation with divine and ritual imagery (exemplified by the LH IIIC Amyklaion terracotta statue[s]),⁵⁰ mainland post-palatial votives came to favour the interests of the dedicator. Into this equation should be added the use in new ritual contexts of objects previously prominent in elite 'Mycenaean' power imagery. At Pylos, for example, we find the concurrence of elite banqueting in the palace, the use of kylikes and the practice of burnt animal sacrifice akin to later Greek custom.⁵¹ The significance of the exceptionally large kylikes which are among the earliest post-Bronze Age vessels at the Olympia shrine cannot have passed unnoticed (Kyrieleis 2002; Eder 2001a: 206–8). The animal sacrifices made in the palace at Pylos were predominantly cattle (including many bulls), indicating a level of conspicuous consumption so far unmatched in the records of offerings at Pylian rural shrines, and implying a social exclusivity reinforced by the setting of the feast with its military wall paintings (Isaakidou et al. 2002: 90–1; Bendall 2001; Davis and Bennet 1999: 110). Bulls were also a popular subject among the earliest figurines at Early Iron Age shrines, Olympia being a striking

48 Asine: Frödin and Persson 1938: 74–6, 298–300, 308; Hägg 1981; D'Agata 1996. Midea: Walberg 1995. Tiryns: Maran 2000; Maran 2001, emphasising the lack of evidence for later EIA activity and the tenuous relationship of the later bothros to any earlier activity.

49 In the case of Tiryns, see for example Papadimitriou 1998, Papadimitriou 2003, and in this volume.

50 For the Amyklaion see Demakopoulou 1982: pl. 26.

51 Killen 1994. Sacrifice: Isaakidou et al. 2002, reporting also (p. 87) similar conclusions drawn by Albarella at Mycenae and Hamilakis at Ag. Konstantinos, Methana (see now Konsolaki 2002: 28). Five of the six discrete groups of burnt bone discovered at Pylos clearly predate the final destruction of the palace, and are deliberate depositions, not refuse disposal. They are mandibles, humerus and femur fragments, mostly from cattle (including, where identifiable, many adult bulls) with some red-deer, and bear knife marks indicating the stripping of meat before burning: the groups indicate five to twelve animals sacrificed at a time.

example,⁵² but in the few cases, such as Kalapodi, where there is a well-preserved bone record from datable contexts, other, less costly, species are prominent (deer and wild animals perhaps linked with the cult at Kalapodi, with sheep and goat alongside cattle in the less well dated deposits at Isthmia).⁵³ Unfortunately, no region has yet produced the combination of Late Bronze and Early Iron bone and figurine evidence that will allow us to assess whether there was indeed a shift (albeit perhaps temporary) towards 'token' sacrifice of the most costly species, or whether a more complex and variable balance between token and real offerings emerged.⁵⁴

A further important area of association is the construction of territory. This we may pass over relatively quickly, partly because in the Mycenaean heartlands it begs the kind of understanding of regional settlement for which PRAP has been such a pioneer, integrating diachronic settlement archaeology with epigraphical evidence for the shifting construction of toponyms, and personal names incorporating geographical referents, from Linear B onwards (Bennet 1995). But partly also, much follows from the perceived constraints of landscape and constants of exploitation – the collaboration needed to maintain drainage of the Tegea plain or the Nessonis marshlands for example (Morgan, *Early States*: 169–70). The corollaries of pastoralism are a further such case. If we accept that, in a region like Arkadia, transhumance would have been necessary to avoid the expense of overwintering at least larger flocks at high altitudes, then physical geography decreed that although the distances involved might be quite small, one would still have to cross residential boundaries, presumably by agreement, and would thus depend on 'others' on a more or less regular basis (Roy 1999: 349–56). In most cases, we can as yet do little more than formulate models based on the kind of 'home ranges' of different activities, to assess how the various strands might add up to the political territory of a polis or an *ethnos*, and further structure (or be structured by) social links such as intermarriage.

Much attention has been devoted in recent work on political (and especially ethnic) identity to the relative role of insider and outsider perceptions in the attribution of political salience to regional ethnics, with the usual conclusion that outsider categorisations were particularly influential.⁵⁵ But the divisions seem more complex if one considers social territories, and relations within them, as a palimpsest, and political boundary drawing an act of compromise, balancing activities enacted much more locally with others that more or less regularly transcended the resulting 'state' territory. This is easy to see from the late eighth

52 See Heilmeyer 1972, table a; Heilmeyer 1979: 195–7 for an overview, although noting the stylistic basis of the proposed chronology, and the fact that the Olympia Museum storerooms contain numerous unattributable fragments.

53 Kalapodi: Felsch 1999: 166–9; Stanzel 1991: 153–67, tables 48–50. The picture at Isthmia is less clear, although it is rarely straightforward to isolate EIA material: *Isthmia*: 213–21, 316–18.

54 Here it is interesting to note the suggestion of Foxhall 1995: 244–5, that the greater prominence of beef cattle at EIA Nichoria may reflect the end of palatial levies.

55 See e.g. Cohen 1994; Hall 1997: ch. 2; Malkin 2001.

century onwards – when we have details of colonisation and warfare (Morgan, *Early States*: ch. 4), but in much earlier times, it is tempting to speculate about the role of the kind of processes outlined in shaping insider perceptions, not least given the problem of frontiers raised earlier. Take, for example, the north-west Peloponnese in LH IIIC a period when, as Birgitta Eder has shown (forthcoming and this volume), extensive and wealthy chamber-tomb cemeteries were focused around the entrance to the Gulf of Patras, when the Mycenaean emphasis on warfare as a status indicator found continuing expression in weapons burials, and when overseas connections extend through the Ionian islands to the Salento and the Adriatic (Davis and Bennet 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy in this volume). During this period, the location, or even the existence, of a frontier between Achaea and Elis is extremely uncertain: the subsequent depopulation of the land which was later to become Olenos and Dyme marks a very significant change (Morgan and Hall 1996: 186–9; Roy 2000; Morgan 2002b: 96–8, 107–9).

One final issue to consider is the manner in which the past was invoked to reflect and sustain different aspects of identity – the extent to which the dead were allowed to become (in Appadurai's words, 1981) a debatable aspect of the past, and on what level of social integration this operated. It is sometimes held that the lack of secure evidence for tomb cult in most *ethne* reflects differences in political structures, land ownership, or the role of kinship, or the continuity of burial forms which made at least this aspect of the past insufficiently distant.⁵⁶ The recent discovery of evidence from Metropolis in Thessaly casts doubt on this,⁵⁷ and raises the question of the nature of the identities which 'ancestry' might support. Seen from another angle, the old picture of unity of burial practices across wide '*ethnos*' territories is long outdated and key aspects of burial, including tomb types and the construction of mortuary groups clearly were matters of social negotiation (Stamatopoulou 1999: 55–6). To take the case of Thessaly, why else were new tholoi suddenly built in the PG period to contain exceptionally rich and multiple burials within Pherai and clustered nearby at Chloe, if not to make a conscious allusion to the past?⁵⁸ This phenomenon recurs in Thessaly down into the Archaic and Classical periods.⁵⁹ Equally, while only a tiny proportion of the extensive tumulus cemeteries of eastern Thessaly have so far been excavated, we know enough to question the simple assumption that they contained just family tombs. The variation in age and gender balance – in the Ag. Georgios tumuli related to ancient Krannon (Tziaphalias 1994) – the presence or absence of traits such as cult furniture (e.g. offering benches in the very extensive Halos ceme-

56 Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*: 37–40; Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 253–5 (I concur with her scepticism (pp. 66–9, 135–6) about most cases claimed from Thessaly, Achaea and Arkadia).

57 Publication will appear in the proceedings of the 1998 Volos conference: *Πρακτικά 1ης Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης 'Το Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεοτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠΠΟ στη Θεσσαλία και την ευρύτερη περιοχή της από το 1990 έως το 1998'*, Βόλος 14–17 Μαΐου 1998, Volos.

58 For Chloe: Arachoviti 1994; *Ergon*, UPPO 1, 1997: 92; *Ergon*, UPPO 3, 1999: 118.

59 As Stamatopoulou 1999: 39 emphasises.

ies), and the number and distribution of 'focal' graves in tumuli within a single cemetery reveal a maze of distinctions which will only be explored fully as and when a larger sample is available (Morgan, *Early States*: 192–5). But how such a physically and socially monumentalised landscape reflected and helped to shape the perceptions of the living population is clearly an important issue.⁶⁰

This chapter has ranged widely, if somewhat superficially, over many key issues surrounding approaches to the identification and function of early *ethne*, although, inevitably, much has had to be omitted and certain questions have been avoided (not least because they have been widely discussed elsewhere in recent years). Ethnicity, for example, as a discursive process of identity negotiation and ascription (Morgan, *Early States*: 10–1), is likely to have been very important in a period of political transformation. As John Bennet has emphasised, there are interesting parallels to be traced in scholarly approaches to ethnicity and to Mycenaean identity (Bennet n.d). What happened to the rich spectrum of Mycenaean identities constructed around residence, social status, profession, ownership or other 'rights' is a hugely important area of research touched upon by many contributors to this volume. But there is much more to be done in understanding how the networks of relationships involved were reshaped and/or created anew, and how the frameworks of tiered identity described in this chapter were thus formed. Since ethnicity owes everything to our understanding of the political and social systems within which it operates, the first step must be to understand the true complexity of those regions traditionally termed *ethne* – how differently constituted forms of association closed and opened, on different levels and in different contexts (Morgan, *Early States*: ch. 5). The transitional period is important not simply for laying or remaking a foundation of relationships which then had to be responded to (if only in a negative sense), but also because as the salutary case of the Archaic Azanes of Arkadia shows, *ethne* can be transitory phenomena (Heine Nielsen and Roy 1998).

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60 By this I mean not only immediate 'three generation', memory (see Antonaccio in this volume), but the longer 'social memory' discussed by Alcock 2002: 23–32.

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Part III

INTERNATIONAL AND INTER-REGIONAL RELATIONS

GIFT EXCHANGE: MODERN THEORIES AND ANCIENT ATTITUDES

Beate Wagner-Hasel

In a recently published volume, *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, the classical historian Hans van Wees begins his comments on 'The Law of Gratitude' with a citation from Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* 1651: 1.15) which makes clear that no one gives something or anything without expecting to benefit from it (van Wees 1998: 13). In the discourses of political economists and early theorists of gift exchange in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as in actual sociological debates, precisely the opposite is held to be true.

For Helmuth Berking, sociologist and author of *Giving: On the Anthropology of the Gift*, gift exchange offers an 'opposing image to an excessively utilitarian morality', for such exchange represents a 'form of praxis' in which 'the symbolic order and the moral vocabulary of archaic sociability are crucially grounded' (Berking 1996: 11). In his most recent book *L'énigme du don* the French ethnologist Maurice Godelier makes a similar argument. Crises in the fabric of contemporary society motivated his renewed investigation into the practices of gift exchange. For him even the most secularised societies require religious objects such as gifts to guarantee social cohesion (Godelier 1996: 7–16). In an essay published in 1990 in a commemorative volume for Karl Polanyi, the economist Björn Hettne argues very strongly for the revival of the principle of reciprocity since crisis management, both in its neo-liberal and statist forms, has failed to cope with global recession, structural unemployment and crises in political trust (Hettne 1990: 208–20; see also Caillé and Godbout 1991: 11–32; Elwert 1991: 163).

How can we explain these current positive evaluations of gift exchange? Why is the quality of achieving social cohesion ascribed to the exchange of gifts? The answer lies in the history of the making of the modern theory of gift exchange. The French sociologist Marcel Mauss is generally recognised as the main initiator of modern debates on gift exchange in the early twentieth century. But Mauss's conception of the gift and gift exchange developed in his *Essai sur le don* is itself a child of the modern critique of capitalism, or rather the critique of the classical liberal theory of Adam Smith. As such, it was conceived as a counter-image to modern exchange understood as egoistic (Mauss 1923–4). In what follows, I firstly wish to outline the history of these origins, which I have pursued

in greater detail elsewhere (Wagner-Hasel 1998a: 33–64; 2000: 27–76; 2003a: 141–71), and secondly I want to discuss some Greek terms for gift, e.g. *dōtînê*, to demonstrate the deep gulf and the tensions between modern theory and ancient attitudes.

ON THE ROOTS OF THE THEORY OF GIFT EXCHANGE

As with Godelier and Berking, Mauss's reflections on practices of gift exchange in the past were themselves related to contemporary social critique. For Mauss, however, it was not the modern social state with its increasingly threadbare social net in the midst of global crises which was on trial, but rather the triumphal advance of modernity. Thus Mauss ended his *Essai sur le don* with a critique of the principles of modern 'rationalism' and 'mercantilism'. Their victory, he wrote, 'was needed before the notions of profit and the individual were given currency and raised to the level of principle' (Mauss 1990: 76). With this critique of modernity, he stood in a tradition which led back through Emile Durkheim to the Historical School of political economy (*Historische Schule der Nationalökonomie*). In his critique of individual profit Mauss followed his teacher and uncle Emile Durkheim, who had assumed that the nucleus of the development of moral discipline lay in group formation (Lévy-Bruhl 1948–9: 1–4; Hollier 1972: 55–61; Giddens 1976: 725–7). Durkheim himself had studied under the psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) and the political economist Gustav Schmoller (1838–1917) at the end of the nineteenth century in Germany. He had received the essential impulse for his belief in the collective from the Historical School's critique of the neo-classical *homo oeconomicus*.

Within the Historical School, which had developed in the wake of historicism and remained essentially limited to the German-speaking countries, a strictly ethical conception of the economy predominated. The economy was understood in a neo-romantic sense as a social-organic life process subject to continuous becoming and changing. This, in turn, cast doubt upon the universal applicability of modern economic categories (Winkel 1977: 82–7, 138–40). The Historical School's critique was thus directed against the moral implications of a concept of exchange which had become canonical with the emergence of liberal theory, that is, exchange as a self-interested act aimed at attaining economic advantage. This, in turn, led to a questioning of the universality of such an understanding of exchange. The legal concept of making a gift (*Schenkung*) as an altruistic act undertaken for the benefit of another functioned here as a counter-model, a concept of giving associated with a collective economy. Special emphasis was given, however, to the aspect of mutuality or reciprocity, so that in the course of time the concept 'gift exchange' was established as the accepted designation for this alternative form of interaction. This concept was itself influenced by historians of law, whose reflections on the character of pre-modern gifting formed the second root of the theory of gift exchange.

This association between collective economic systems and altruistic forms of human interaction can already be found among representatives of the older Historical School, such as Adolph Wagner (1835–1917) and Gustav Schmoller. But it was Karl Bücher (1847–1930), an economist as well as an ancient historian, who in *Gift, Loan and Boon-Work* (1918: 3–24) distanced himself clearly from the conception that exchange lay at the origins of human society (on Bücher see Wagner-Hasel 2004: 159–83; Schefold 1988: 239–67). This, he wrote, was a ‘rationalistic construction’. Instead Bücher assumed ‘unpaid surrender’ as the earliest form at the beginnings of history, a form ‘in which goods and services passed over from one household to the next’. In addition to loan and boon-work (neighbourly assistance), Bücher also included gift exchange (*Geschenktausch*) among such unpaid forms, from which, he argued, taxes, duty, tribute, and labour dues had developed over time. Although Bücher evaluated these forms of unpaid surrender as altruistic, he emphasised the necessity of service in return, whose value – in contrast to modern exchange – was not supposed to be assessed exactly: ‘In all of these cases, it is not a matter of attaining service in return, but rather of affirming devotion with the purpose of attaining something different, the amount of which, to a certain degree, one was able to determine’ (Bücher 1918: 3–4; 1893/1901). He emphasised the claim to reciprocity above all with loans, referring, as a political economist trained in classical history, to the testimony of the early Greek poet Hesiod (Bücher 1918: 12). But other forms of unpaid surrender, such as the presentation of hospitality and wedding gifts, required, according to Bücher, the reciprocation of those who had accepted the gifts: ‘Their rejection would be a serious insult to the giver. Their acceptance obligates the receiver unconditionally, and giving is only definitively concluded when the gift-giver has declared his satisfaction with the counter-gift. Until this point, the original gift can be revoked’ (Bücher 1918: 6–7). All of these forms of mutual giving served, Bücher argued, one’s own household and belonged to the developmental stages of what he termed ‘the closed domestic economy’. Bücher also ascribed special moral qualities to unpaid forms of exchange. Thus he interpreted the continuation of forms of boon-work (*Bittarbeit*) in the countryside as a sign of the fact that ethics was still a force shaping economic life (Bücher 1918: 24).

There are other scholars who proceeded and followed him in a similar vein. I would like to refer only to the ethnologist Richard C. Thurnwald (1869–1954), whose early-historical research in the Balkans was consciously drawing on Bücher’s work (Wagner-Hasel 2000: 31). He introduced the term ‘reciprocity’ (*Gegenseitigkeit*) into the debate – later taken up by Karl Polanyi (Köcke 1979: 119–67). In Thurnwald’s work, the use of this concept was placed within a theory of sociation or *Gesellung* (Thurnwald 1911: 422; 1936: 275–97; see also Tönnies 1991: 10, 24, 35). He held exchange to be universal and ancient, but argued – and here he followed the Historical School of political economy – that exchange was not invariably directed towards attaining economic advantage and thus was not always self-interested. For Thurnwald reciprocity creates an ‘effective chain . . .

which for us seems to be only economic, but in reality triggers the psychic emotions of sociation [*Vergesellschaftung*]’ (Thurnwald 1936: 282–9).

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), another hero figure of the early theory of gift exchange and a pupil of Bücher, can also be placed within the tradition of the Historical School of political economists (Firth 1970: 209–22; Köcke 1969: 152–4). It was Malinowski’s investigations on the ring exchange or *kula* of the Trobriands in the South Sea Islands which provided Mauss with much of the material for his theory of the gift. Malinowski did adopt a neo-classical position in assuming the universality of exchange. At the same time, however, he relativised profit-orientation as a general principle. It was precisely this revision which his mentor James G. Frazer (1854–1915) credited him with. In his preface to *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Frazer wrote that Malinowski had provided proof that individual striving for profit and cost-benefit-analysis had not always determined the traffic of goods everywhere. Instead Malinowski demonstrated according to Frazer that the ‘the curious circulation of valuables, which takes place between the inhabitants of the Trobriand and other islands, while it was accompanied by ordinary trade, is by no means itself a purely commercial transaction; he shows that is not based on a simple calculation of utility, of profit and loss, but that it satisfies emotional and aesthetic needs of a higher order than the mere gratification of animal wants’ (Frazer, in Malinowski 1922: xx).

An alternative to egoistical exchange was not, however, first discovered among the inhabitants of archaic societies, as actual research on gift exchange often suggests. Rather, it was legal historians concerned with a revision of the modern concept of giving who came up with a counter-conception and introduced the concept of ‘exchange of gifts’ or ‘gift exchange’ into the debate. Their reflections can be understood as a response to the revision and the standardisation of the juridical concept of making a gift (*Schenkung*) which had come to a close in the 1890s in imperial Germany. Paragraph 516 of the Civil Code, which had been passed in the German *Reichstag* in 1896 and went into effect on 1 January 1900 (Wesel 1988: 94–7), defined the act of making a gift as based on the condition that both participants agree that it is unpaid and that it is ‘an allocation through which one person enriches another with his property.’ According to this legal definition, any service rendered with the intention of acquiring something of equal value was not considered a gift. In modern law, making a gift has come to be understood as a one-sided allocation of property assets. Through this allocation, the giver obligates himself; the transfer of assets is not, however, aimed at placing the receiver of the gift under obligation.

One-sidedness both in economic and moral terms distinguishes the modern concept of making a gift from earlier conceptions. Pre-modern law recognised neither a standardised concept of making a gift nor the exclusion of moral criteria. The Prussian *Allgemeines Landrecht* of 1794 (ed. Hattenhauer 1996) required 140 paragraphs to regulate gift giving (§§1037–1177, as well as §§893–900). According to this legal code, making a gift could be one-sided, but could equally

be of a mutual and paid nature, thus allowing for moral elements in gift giving as well. Paragraph 1037 defined gift making as ‘contracts through which one person is obligated to surrender to another person the property of an object without requital.’ Mutual gifting required two contracts (§105). The following was written about ‘rewarded giving’ in paragraph 1169: ‘If a laudable act or an important service completed is repaid, then this is called a rewarded gift.’ Paragraph 1041 guaranteed the legal claim to services which arose from the obligation to charity: ‘Where a special personal obligation exists, even if it is not fundamentally binding, then it is assumed that this has been given without any reservations in the intention of giving.’ Relatives, siblings, married couples, poor people, charities for the poor and foundations are all named here as examples (§§1042–1045). Precisely these moral and social implications of gift giving played an important role in the legal debates about the revision of the concept of making a gift in the German Civil Code (Gierke 1917: 430–2, n. 73). It was discussed whether a gift presumed a generous attitude – implying voluntariness and self-sacrifice – on the part of the giver. The question whether legal regulation was necessary in ‘interactions of social life’ such as marriage and birthday gifts also played a role. Ultimately, the only kind of gift giving that was recognised as relevant was that which had an influence on property relations. The increasing emphasis on the property dimension was an expression of the desire to separate morality clearly from legality (Burckhard 1899: 130–1).

This process of standardising the concept of gift giving and reducing it to the economic dimension of the unpaid transfer of assets – which also occurred in a similar way in other countries (Siebert 1938: 144–59) – made manifest the distance from past European practices as well as from forms of interaction observed in the colonies. It created an awareness that it was necessary to rethink those forms of human interaction which could neither be classified as market exchange nor as gift giving in the sense of the German Civil Code. It is thus no accident that the concept of ‘gift exchange’ appeared for the first time in legal-historical literature of the 1880s and 1890s, although descriptions of the phenomenon are clearly older (Pallas 1776/1980: 105; Ferguson 1767). With this new concept, a third category was created in addition to paid surrender (barter, purchase) and the unpaid surrender (‘pure’ gifting), a category which combined the elements of both – mutuality and morality.

It was by historians of Germanic law working on pre-modern forms of gift giving that the concept of ‘gift exchange’ was introduced for the first time (*Gabentausch*, *Geschenkausch*). Jacob Grimm’s (1785–1863) etymologically oriented study *On Presenting and Giving* of 1848 stands at the beginning of this research (Grimm 1865). Among the subsequent studies, Karl von Amira’s (1848–1930) two-volume study *The North Germanic Law of Obligations*, published between 1882 and 1885, was of enormous importance (Hattenhauer 1992: 13–15). Amira distinguished conceptually between gifts in the Old-Swedish and West-Nordic Middle Ages and modern gifts. In the former, there was no transfer

of assets. Pre-modern giving represented, for Amira, 'marks of favour', which invited gratitude and thus were rewarded with counter-gifts (Amira 1882: I 506). 'Favour for favour! The receiver must pay for the gift . . . A gift demands a counter-gift . . . [This is] a legal tenet which has been definitively confirmed . . . One gives either because one expects a gift in return, or because the gift itself is supposed to demonstrate the giver's gratitude for favours received or promised' (Amira 1882: I 507–9).

The work of the constitutional lawyer Lothar von Dargun (1853–93) assumed a mediating function between the debates of legal historians and those of political economists. In his *Egoism and Altruism in the Economy* (1885) Dargun drew upon the position of the Historical Legal School represented by Rudolf von Jhering (1818–92), whose study *Law as a Means to an End* (1877–83/1929) he considered to be essential for the 'doctrine of mutualism.' He distinguished self-interested actions in the realm of the free traffic of goods from altruistic actions embedded within the framework of 'collective economies', within corporations and the family, and above all, moreover, in the state. Dargun defined the state tax system as an 'enormous system of gift giving – of gifts by the individual to the community and of gifts by the community to the individual as well as to smaller communities', a system in which the opposition of egoism and altruism was transcended by a third form – mutualism (Dargun 1885: 71). In order to explain this, von Dargun drew upon the concept of 'partnership' or 'association' (*Societät*) which Rudolf von Jhering had developed in reference to Roman law. Partnership or association, Jhering claimed, embodied a synthesis of self-interested actions such as exchange, and gift giving based upon altruism and self-denial. 'In the contract of exchange,' Jhering wrote in his study *Law as a Means to an End*, 'the will desires its own interest at the expense of the other person (egoism); in gift the will desires the other's interest at the expense of its own (self-denial); in association it desires its own interest *in* the other's by furthering its own interest in the other's and the other's in its own: Partnership balances the opposition between its own interest and the other's.' Jhering also argued that despite their unpaid nature, gift giving among the Romans was based on 'the familiar principle of egoism,' as they were directed towards a reward – albeit often not an economic one. However, Jhering saw this egoism as subordinated to a higher social interest, for in Rome 'unpaid services [fulfilled] essential needs of society and the state' (Jhering 1877–83/1929: 162, 209–10, 83–4).

These debates show how far the conceptualisation of gift giving had already advanced when Mauss produced his own theory of gifts in the 1920s (see also Geary 2003). When Moses I. Finley published his well-known study *The World of Odysseus* in 1954, he followed the observations of Malinowski's field research. Quoting Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1953: 40), Finley writes in the second impression of *The World of Odysseus*: 'An exchange mechanism was then the only alternative, and the basic one was gift exchange. This was no Greek invention. On the contrary, it is the basic organized

mechanism among many primitive peoples, as in the Trobriand Islands, where “most if not all economic acts are found to belong to some chain of reciprocal gifts and counter-gifts” (Finley, *World of Odysseus*: 19–20). It was only in the revised edition of 1977 that Finley quoted the work of Mauss (see also Finley 1974: 13–31), who in the meantime had become a kind of founding father of the theory of gift exchange. Mauss defined the gift as a contract which consisted of three elements: giving, receiving and giving in return. With this, Mauss placed himself within the framework of a legal concept of making gifts, according to which making a gift required the acceptance of the receiver and – in pre-modern law – its reciprocation in order to be legally binding (Mauss 1990: 33–43, 47–9). More strongly than his predecessors, however, Mauss constructed pre-modern gift giving as an acceptable counter-model to modern practices by enriching primitive gift giving with the moral qualities which had been lost in the course of its standardisation within modern law, and by grounding gift giving in a counterpart to modern contractual law, one which political economists had already called upon in their critique of *homo oeconomicus*: the collective.

Recent anthropological and historical studies have demonstrated how much the orientation towards a legal concept of gift giving actually contributed to misinterpretations by dividing complex exchange processes into a linear sequence of giving, receiving and returning. The British social historian Edward P. Thompson, who coined the concept ‘moral economy’, has noted correctly that there can be no ‘constant “act of giving” with constant features, which may be isolated from particular social contexts’, since the structure of gift giving always emerges within the historical peculiarity of the ensemble of social relations ‘and not in a particular ritual or form isolated from these’ (Thompson 1977: 258). In the 1970s, Annette B. Weiner examined the classical sites of gift exchange in the Southern Pacific, the Trobriand Islands and Samoa, and re-analysed the material prepared by Malinowski (Weiner 1976). She suggested that we should avoid using the concept of ‘reciprocity’ in interpreting archaic forms of exchange, and instead investigate the paths of circulation which gifts follow within cycles of social reproduction. I have tried to make productive use of this concept elsewhere (Wagner-Hasel; 2000: 52–9). My aim here is to investigate the economic context of gift giving, returning to the path which political economy left in the nineteenth century by questioning the universality of exchange and focusing instead on the social needs of the parties involved.

ANCIENT TERMS AND ATTITUDES

In Greek vocabulary, one can find a whole range of terms used to designate different types of gifts (Benveniste 1969; Scheid-Tissinier 1994; Wagner-Hasel 1998b). Among the most prominent of these is *charis*, which can be translated as ‘gift of thanks’, ‘favour’, ‘mark of favour’, ‘service’, as well as ‘grace’ (MacLachlan 1993). In the Homeric epics the term designates, above all, military

service, that is, the benefits of military victory as well as the gratitude offered for the achievement of such a service or benefit. But *charis* also meant the thanks of a wife for the bridewealth given by her husband in the form of sheep and cattle. In addition to this, the term had an immaterial, or rather a visual significance, in so far as *charis* designated the effect which was supposed to radiate from woven pictures on clothes, engraved images on jewels or the mental images evoked by the poet's words (Wagner-Hasel 2002: 17–32). This material and immaterial meaning is also a feature of other terms of gift such as *dōtînê*, which I would like to explore now.

In the epics, the term *dōtînê* occurs three times within a political context, once in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey* (*Il.* 9. 149–56; *Od.* 9.267–8, 11.344–6). The gifts are called *dōtînai*, which Achilles would receive from rich owners of cattle if he accepted the offer of Agamemnon to marry one of his daughters. In the *Odyssey*, the Cyclops Polyphemus refuses to honour Odysseus as guest and presents to him neither a *xénion* nor the *dōtînê* which Odysseus asks for, whereas the Phaeacians, praised for their hospitable mind, do not hesitate to honour the stranger: they offer *xénia*, *dōra* and the *dōtînê*.

What is the special meaning of *dōtînê* within the vocabulary of gifts in the epics? Following Mauss, Benveniste has defined *dōtînê* as ‘un don en tant que prestation contractuelle, imposée par les obligations d’un pacte, d’une alliance, d’une amitié, d’une hospitalité: obligation du *xéinos* (de l’hôte), des sujets envers le roi ou le dieu, ou encore prestation impliquée par une alliance’ (Benveniste 1969: I 69; Scheid-Tissinier 1994 : 225). In other words, the *dōtînai* are perceived as gifts of contractual value. This is exactly the meaning Mauss attributed to gifts in archaic societies.

I wish to present another more historical and economic interpretation which leads me to a new conception of Homeric kingship altogether. I do not deny that there is a common meaning of *dōtînê* in the different situations. But this meaning is an abstract as well as a concrete one. My proposition is that *dōtînê* means ‘escort’ or ‘attendance’ (in German: ‘Geleit’) and countergift for conduct or attendance. The ancient term is *pompê*, which is used by the poet exchangeable with *dōtînê* in the *Odyssey*.

When Polyphemus returns to his cave, Odysseus asks him for a *xeinêion* and for *dōtînê*: ‘. . . that thou wilt give us entertainment [*xeinêion*], or in other wise make some present [*dōtînê*], as it is the due of strangers’ (*Od.* 9.267–8: εἰ τι πόροις ξεινήιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως δούης/ δωτήνην, ἣ τε ξείνων θέμις ἐστίν.) The meaning of *xenêion* is quite clear: it is the meal which Polyphemus not only refuses to present but which he also reverses by eating his guests instead of feeding them (Wagner-Hasel 2000: 82–91; see also Calame 1976: 311–28; O’Sullivan 1990: 7–17). But what about *dōtînê*? Is it just another word for *xeinêion*? Or is it an additional gift, as the English translation by A. T. Murray suggests? The end of the episode gives us an answer. After being blinded by Odysseus Polyphemus promises to put the *xénia* on the table and to ask his father Poseidon to present not the *dōtînê* but

pompê, which means ‘conduct’: ‘Yet come hither, Odysseus, that I may set before thee gifts of entertainment (*xeínia*), and may speed thy sending (*pompê*) hence, that the glorious Earth-shaker may grant it thee’ (*Od.* 9.517–18: ἀλλ’ ἄγε δεῦρ’, Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θεῖω, / πομπήν τ’ ὀτρύνω δόμεναι κλυτὸν ἐννοσίγαιον). Both the *xeinêion* and the *pompê* are the main benefits a stranger needs during a journey. Therefore I would suggest that *dôtinê* is the abstraction of the concrete action, the *pompê*.

Both types of ‘gifts’ also occur in the narrative of the Phaeacians. Odysseus not only receive the gifts of hospitality, the meals, mostly called *xeínia* in the epics, but also *keimêlia* such as coloured cloth, golden cups and bronze tripods. The term for this type of gift which the poet usually chooses is *dôron*. The term *dôtinê* occurs only once in this context. After ending his narrative about his visit in the underworld, Arêtê proposes to honour the guest Odysseus with gifts: *dôra*: ‘Wherefore be not in haste to send him away, nor stint your gifts [*dôra*] to one in such need’ (*Od.* 11.339–40, trans. A. T. Murray 1966). The basilêes agree with her (*Od.* 11.344–6) and Alcinous promises to grant the *dôtinê*. Whereas Arêtê refers to her gifts with the term *dôron*, Alcinous uses the term *dôtinê*. How are we to explain this difference? As in the passage quoted above, the abstract term *dôtinê* is followed or exchanged by a term denoting a concrete act: *pompê*: ‘But let our guest, for all his great longing to return, nevertheless endure to remain until tomorrow, till I shall make all our gift [*dôtinê*] complete. His sending [*pompê*] shall rest with the men, with all, but most of all with me; for mine is the control in the land’ (*Od.* 11.350–3: ξείνος δὲ τλήτω, μάλα περ νόστοιο χατίζων, / ἔμπης σὺν ἐπιμεῖναι ἐς αὔριον, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν δωτίνην τελέσω. / πομπή δ’ ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ’ ἐνὶ δῆμῳ). One may argue that Alcinous speaks of two different things, firstly of fulfilling the proposal of Arêtê to offer gifts, which she calls *dôra*, whereas he uses the term *dôtinê*, and secondly of preparing the homeward journey by collecting the crew. But I would like to offer another interpretation with regard to gender (Wagner-Hasel 2000: 191–6). The poet qualifies the *pompê* as the task of the men. Therefore we may argue that the other gifts, called *dôra*, represent a type of goods normally given by women: that is cloth, bread and wine. Then the poet has chosen two different terms, *dôron* and *dôtinê*, which evoke the different tasks between the ruling couple. But why does he not only use the term *pompê* instead of *dôtinê*? My proposition is: with *dôtinê* the poet uses a term which denotes several aspects, firstly, the concrete content of this special gift, the *pompê*, secondly, the counter-gift for being conducted, and thirdly, the right to demand gifts for conduct from the people.

To develop this argument further, let us consider the third passage more closely. Agamemnon’s offer to Achilles to marry one of his daughters includes the gift of several cities: ‘And seven well-peopled cities will I give him’, Agamemnon says, ‘All are near the sea, on the uttermost borders of sandy Pylos, and in them dwell men rich in flocks and rich in cattle, men who will honour him with gifts [*dôtinaî*] as though he were a god, and beneath his sceptre will bring his ordinances to

prosperous fulfilment [*thémistes*]' (*Il.* 9.149–56 = 9. 291–8: ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ δώσω ἐν ναϊόμενα πολίεθρα . . . πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἄλός, νέεται Πύλου ημαθόεντος· ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται, / οἳ κέ ἐ δωτίνῃσι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσι, / καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας). Many scholars have argued that the gift of seven cities is untypical for Homeric kings and therefore must have a fictional character or refer to Mycenaean times (for discussion see Wagner-Hasel 2000: 177–81). Whereas authors who follow the gift exchange theory interpret the offer as an indication of the increasing asymmetry of gift giving, that is, the exploiting character of gifts (Qviller 1981: 118; Morris 1986: 4), Pierre Carlier suggests that the offer implies an invitation for removal (Carlier, *Royauté*: 179ff.). Indeed, Agamemnon does not give real cities; he speaks only of two types of revenues which can be received from the inhabitants: *dôtínai* and *thémistes*. In Homeric vocabulary *thémistes* normally designate 'les règles de la société' or 'political decisions', as Carlier has argued convincingly (Carlier, *Royauté*: 193ff.). Rudolf Hirzel translated *thémistes* as 'Ratschlüsse', never as 'sacral laws', as modern translations often suggest (Hirzel 1907: 21). The *thémistes*, quoted in this passage, are normally defined as counter-gifts for jurisdiction, based on knowledge of 'les règles de la société'. But what about the *dôtínai*? Some scholars have interpreted them as tributes or taxes. But the existence of a tax system has been criticised particularly by Finley in his famous *World of Odysseus* of 1954, whose critique of institutional rulership in the epics has been very influential (see Donlan 1982, 1989; Qviller 1981; Ulf 1990). However, if we consider the meaning of *dôtínê* in the above quoted passages of the *Odyssey*, we can avoid these contradictions. The Phaeacians, who care for the *dôtínê*, are able to travel over the sea, because they are ship-owners. Although the inhabitants of the seven cities live near the sea, they are not qualified as ship-owners, but as *ándres polyboútai* and *polyrrhênes*, as owners of cattle and herds. This means that they also must be able to organise transport or escort – here over land. Therefore we can interpret the plural of *dôtínê* as revenues coming from transport or escort, in which the *basilêes* take a share. We know such examples from outside the ancient world. Until the last century the king of Nepal participated in the revenues of cities which were involved in the salt trade. To the Thakali in Tukche he sold the privilege to buy and sell goods from outside for a fixed price (Graafen and Seeber 1993; Wagner-Hasel 2003b). Alternatively we can explain the *dôtínai* as 'Ehrengelait'; that means, as a way to honour the *basilêes* by ceremoniously escorting them through the cities as was usual in medieval times (Holenstein 1991).

The meaning of *dôtínê* in classical sources does support this connection of *dôtínê* with the idea of transport. According to Herodotus (6.89) in Corinth the *dôtínai* meant the lending fee for ships. I propose to understand this kind of revenue as one of the continuous features of leadership from Mycenaean times down to Homeric and archaic times, from *wánax* to *basileús*, which I would like to define as 'Geleitherrschaft' (Wagner-Hasel 2000: 196).

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BASILEIS AT SEA: ELITES AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS IN THE EUBOEAN GULF REGION FROM THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE

Jan Paul Crielaard

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with elites and elite behaviour during the transition from the LBA to the EIA. The focus is on whether external communications played a role in the process of elite self-fashioning and self-representation. An important question that needs to be answered in this connection is to what extent we can speak of continuity in the preservation of power and authority and the maintenance of overseas contacts during the transition from Bronze to Iron. This question is directly related to the validity of what may be called the ‘*wanax* to *basileus* model’. This model presupposes the preservation of certain social structures. It is based on the hypothesis that at the end of the Mycenaean period a shift took place from the *wanax*’ centralised power to the local authority of the *qa-si-re-u*. The *qa-si-re-u* managed to survive during the ‘Dark Ages’ as a local official or chief, to re-emerge at the beginning of the historical period in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod as one of several *basileis* who rule over local communities.¹

The terms ‘model’ and ‘hypothesis’ are used here deliberately, since it needs to be emphasised that the etymological or semantic relationship between Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* and Homeric *basileus* in itself does not provide sufficient evidence to postulate the continuity of offices or social-political institutions. In theory it is not impossible that the term survived while the offices and authority disappeared. For a modern example of something similar we may turn to the United States of America. Although the United States are a nation founded upon a constitution

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1 *Qa-si-re-u*: Carlier 1995; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998–1999. *Basileis*: van Wees, *Status Warriors*: 31–6. Model: e.g. Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*: 360–1, 375; Morris 1999: 60–5; Antonaccio 2002: 15. For authors questioning this model, see Tandy 1997: 91, with refs.

based on the principles of the French Revolution, in the American music business alone we find a complete peer system of individuals who bear such titles as ‘the king’ of rock ‘n’ roll (a.k.a. *The King*), ‘the queen’ of soul, pop or R&B – not to mention the self-styled ‘Duke’ Ellington, ‘Count’ Basey and (the artist formerly known as) ‘Prince’. The question clearly is: what’s in a name? We cannot even rule out that the term *basileus* was adopted as a hereditary title by elites emerging in the course of the EIA, who in this manner wished to invest themselves with hereditary authority or to create a false sense of continuity. In this connection we may refer to the German Kaiser (or to the Russian czars and the Persian shahs, for that matter) who adopted that title to substantiate the notion that they were successors to the Roman Caesars. For a possible parallel case from the ancient world, we may think of the title of *lawagetas wanax* attributed to a certain Midas in a sixth-century BC inscription from Yazilikaya in central Anatolia (Lejeune 1969).

In sum, the *wanax* to *basileus* hypothesis is both plausible and useful, but it is no more than that. We still need evidence to corroborate that there was some sort of continuity in power structures. We even need to substantiate that some form of social inequality and inheritable authority existed during the transition from Bronze to Iron.

The evidence from Homer’s epics – which are our earliest written sources from the post-Mycenaean period – is not very helpful in this respect. Not only is there discussion about the period to which the poems relate, but there are also diverging opinions about the nature of power and authority in Homeric society (see Crielaard 1995: 201–9). Bjørn Qviller, for example, tries to show that in the epics an unstable, ‘big man’ society prevails. In his view, Homeric *basileis* do not hold inherited or institutionalised positions, but compete for achieved, informal authority on the basis of personal power and prestige.² Hans van Wees, on the other hand, argues that in the epics we find an established aristocracy. He points out that the intense social competition that flares up regularly is confined to the closed ranks of this aristocracy and originates in an aristocratic ideology dictating that a man must be always ready to defend his status.³ Given the problematic nature of the literary evidence, it is necessary to see what archaeology can offer.

2. A REGIONAL APPROACH

The period of the outgoing Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age is characterised by pronounced regional differences,⁴ which makes it difficult to formu-

2 Qviller 1981: 109–17; followed by e.g. Ulf 1990: 213ff., 223ff.; Whitley 1991: 348ff.; Bintliff 1994: 219–23; Tandy 1997: 90–3; Antonaccio 2002: 14, 24; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 217–19. Also Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 358, 361–2, 375, 381–2; 2001: 145–7: hereditary monarchs plus ‘big men’ in LH IIIC and Dark Ages, ‘chieftains’ in EIA and Homer.

3 Van Wees, *Status Warriors*: esp. 153–7; see also Blum 2001 (critique on Ulf 1990).

4 Rutter 1992: 66–70 (LH IIIC); Morris 1997 (EIA); also Whitley 1991: 364 (regional social diversity).

late general statements that apply to the Aegean as a whole. It is preferable, therefore, to select one region as the focus of this paper. The coastal lands surrounding the Euboean Gulf constitute a regional entity that may appear to be particularly relevant to the present topic. First of all, this region comprises important settlements of both the LBA and EIA. Secondly, the region is defined by its proximity to the sea. The Euboean Gulf constitutes a comparatively sheltered waterway that facilitated communications not only between the two sides of this channel⁵ but also between more distant regions. Already during the Early Bronze Age and perhaps the Neolithic period the Euboean Gulf provided a relatively safe and easy passage connecting the south-central Aegean (notably Kea and the Cyclades) with eastern central Greece (the Volos region) and even the northern Aegean.⁶

Traditionally, archaeologists prefer to look at our region as a series of separate entities (mainly Attica, Boiotia, eastern Lokris, Phthiotis, and the island of Euboea). However, the coastal areas of these regions may be considered collectively in view of their landscape and natural environment. This environment is characterised by, firstly, the presence of fertile coastal plains on both sides of the Euboean Gulf, and secondly, the access these areas have to the sea. Such access is easy, since the shores of the Euboean Gulf generally consist of sandy or shingle beaches, alternated with gently sloping to sometimes rocky cliffs (cf. Marouklian et al. 1997). The accessibility of the Euboean Gulf's littoral stands in stark contrast to, for example, the rocky Aegean coast of Euboea. The Gulf region's particular landscape also influenced settlement and subsistence patterns. For instance, a string of coastal mounds and prominent hills – quite often flanked by small, sheltered bays or beaches – were preferred as locations for settlements on both sides of the Gulf. Moreover, the coastal plains provided good farming and pasture land, while the maritime environment was exploited to provide additional, non-agricultural resources to supplement the diet.⁷

Another important reason to consider the coastal areas bordering the Euboean Gulf collectively is their long history of political and cultural interrelationships. As we will see shortly, in the era of the Mycenaean palaces, the island of Euboea was within the sphere of influence of mainland Thebes. During the eighth to early fifth centuries BC, Eretria seems to have exerted control over the Oropia on the opposite coast.⁸ Interrelationships – both peaceful and warlike – between central Euboea on the one hand and Boiotia and northeast Attica on the other hand

5 See e.g. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 650–9, with Crielaard 2002: 256–9.

6 Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991; Karantzali 1996: 182, 187–8, 199–200, 252; Coleman 1999: 128; Cosmopoulos 2001: 72. Referring to such finds as the copper ingots found outside Kyme harbour, Sapouna-Sakellarakis (1996: 109) suggests that in Minoan-Mycenaean times another important sea route followed the north coast of Euboea.

7 See various excavation reports for Perati, Lefkandi, Oropos and Eretria; further Athen. IV.132, VII.284, 330, etc.

8 Mazarakis Ainian 1998: 214 with n. 176; 2001: 157; also *AR*, 47, 2001: 16.

existed down to at least the end of the Archaic period.⁹ There were linguistic commonalities shared between Eretria and Oropos, and, more generally, there existed cultic and mythological relationships between the two sides of the Gulf.¹⁰ As a last point we may note various ceramic interconnections during most of the period under consideration.¹¹ In sum, the two sides of the Euboean Gulf were part of the same maritime cultural landscape.¹²

Our interest in aspects of continuity and change requires us to adopt a long-term chronological perspective that spans some four to five centuries. As part of our regional approach, we will also survey our region's settlement history. In particular we will look at the degree of settlement nucleation in different periods and of occupation continuity from one period to another. The underlying idea is that an environment with dispersed habitation and low occupation densities is less likely to foster either some form of central authority or stable, hierarchical social structures. Only against this background can we start to discuss evidence of social inequality and inherited authority, and to consider various aspects of regional or supra-regional contacts. We will start from the pre-palatial and the palatial periods (LH I–IIIB), but will focus on the post-palatial era (LH IIIC, SM) and the EIA (PG and G) (cf. Figure 14.1a–d).¹³

3. THE LATE BRONZE AGE

A clear indication of increased social inequality in our region can be found in the construction of labour-intensive tombs of monumental proportions that can be associated with high-ranking individuals, such as stone-built chamber tombs and tumuli, and – most notably – tholoi.¹⁴ Tholos tombs of a relatively early date are found at Marathon and Thorikos in eastern Attica (LH I–II). They can be linked to petty kings or to local aristocratic families of the pre-palatial period.¹⁵ Tholoi datable to the palatial era are found at Pteleon on the north side of the Strait of Oreoi and in the lowland region between Aliveri and Kyme

9 Forrester 1982: 249, 253, with refs.; also Roller 1989: 47–8.

10 Language: Bartoněk 1979: 121–2. Cult and myth: e.g. Knoepfler 1998: esp. 106–7; Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: 207 n. 126; also Morel 1998: 40–1.

11 LH II–IIIA2 Chalkis and Thebes: Hankey 1952: 54. LH IIIC Middle Livanates, Lefkandi, Amarynthos, Perati, Thorikos, Kea, and even Kalapodi and Volos: see below. LPG/SPG, LG/EA Oropos and central Euboea: Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: 187–8, 208.

12 For the use of the term see Knapp 1997: esp. 154.

13 Figure 14.1 is based on information from topographical and archaeological surveys, esp. Sackett et al. 1966; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979; Keller 1985, Fossey 1988, 1990; Cosmopoulos 2001; also Dakoronia 1993a, 1999; D'Onofrio 1995: esp. 83–6, with 60 fig. 2 – supplemented with reports from more recent excavations, see refs. in footnotes; AD from 1972 onwards. Most sites are settlements, sometimes including cemeteries; a small minority represent isolated cult and burial sites. Note that the periods represented by Figure 14.1a–d are not equally long.

14 See Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*; Papadimitriou 2001: 91–114, 187–8, 204.

15 Marathon: LH IIB–IIIA1. Thorikos, tholos A: LH I–II; B: LH II, probably reused in LH IIIB. See Pelon 1976: 223–31, with Deger-Jalkotzy 1995: 371–2.

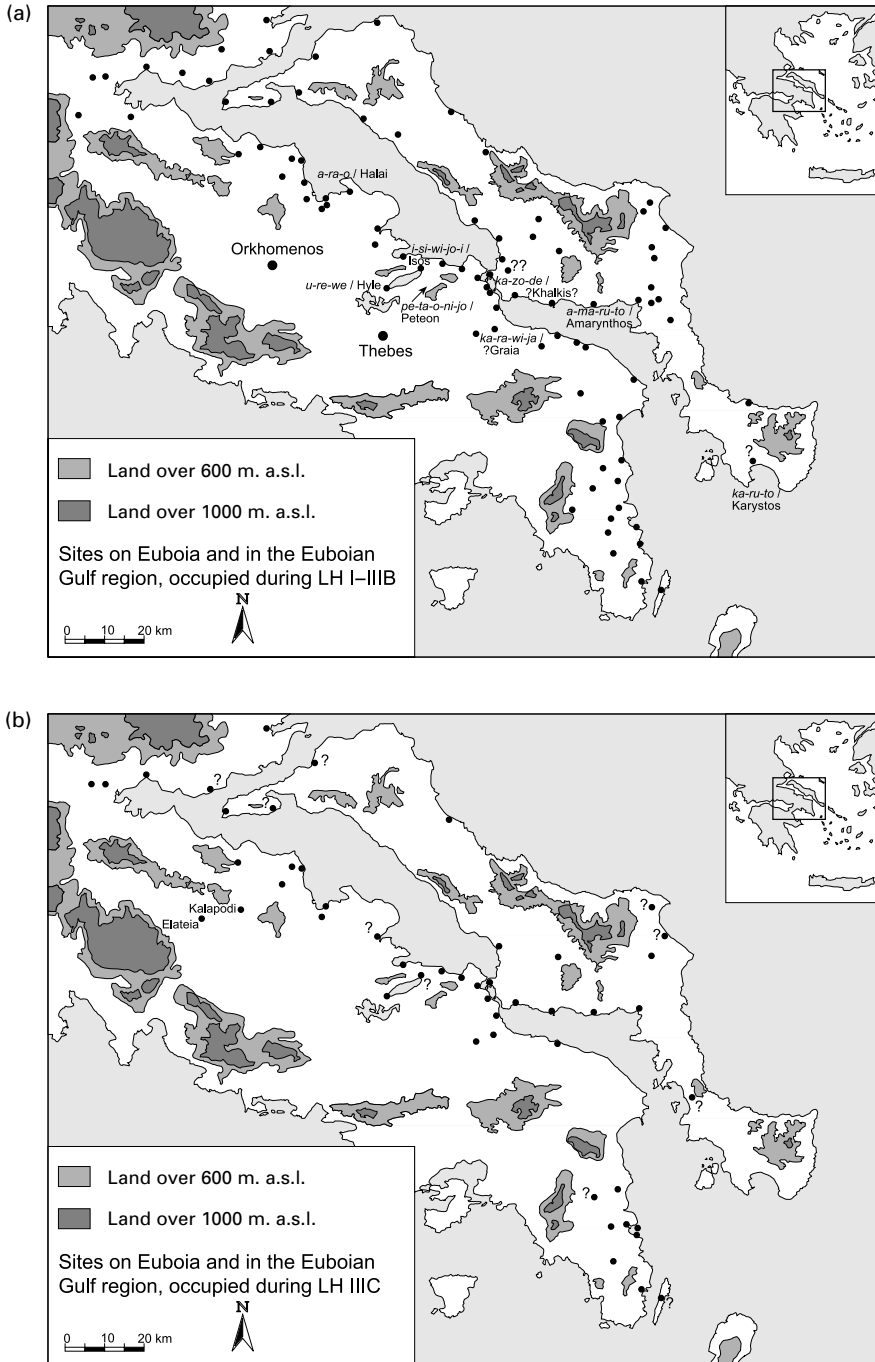


Figure 14.1 Sites in the Euboian Gulf region

(a) Occupation during LH I-III B

(b) Occupation during LH III C

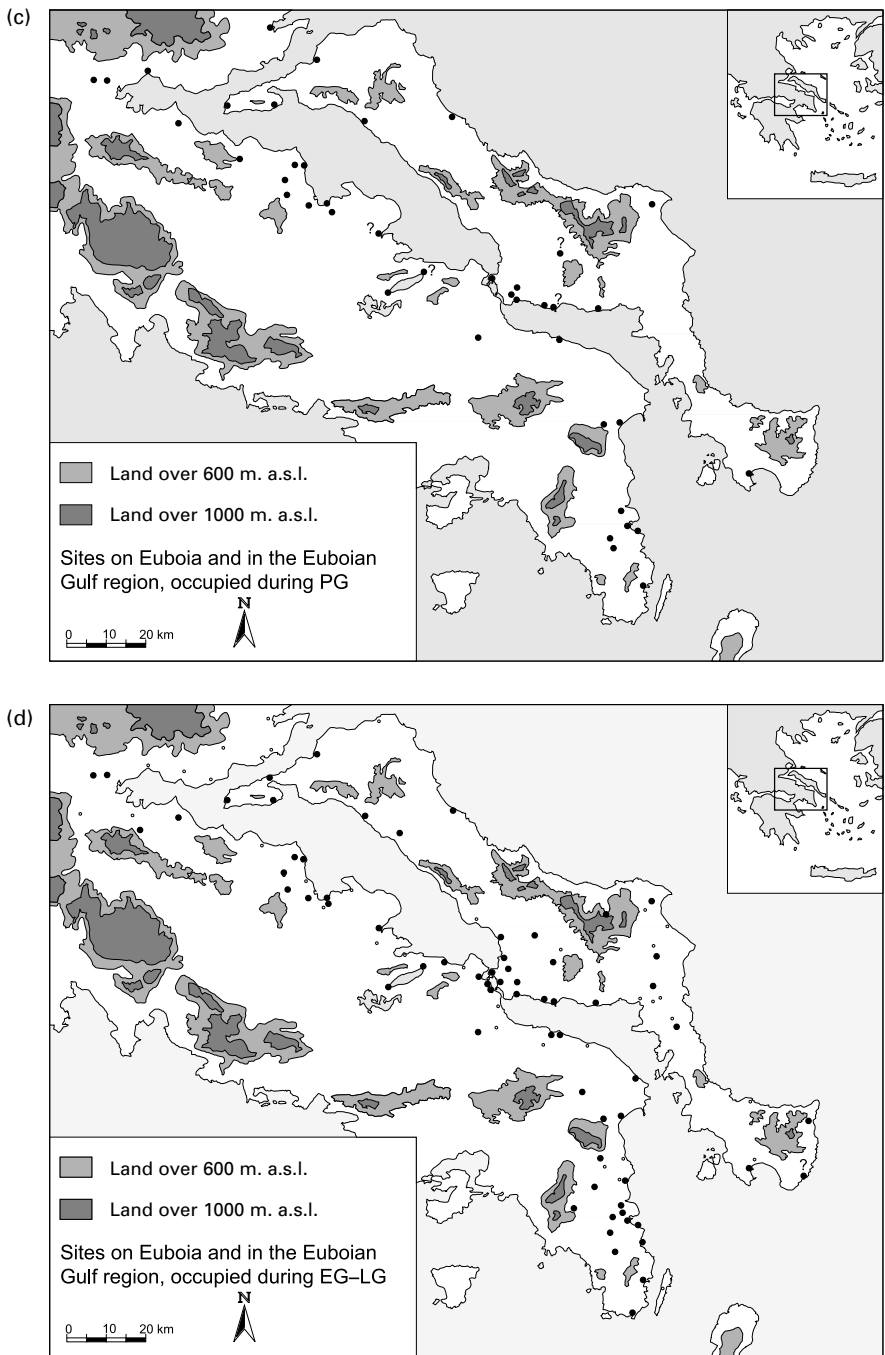


Figure 14.1 Sites in the Euboean Gulf region

(c) Occupation during PG

(d) Occupation during G

in east central Euboea.¹⁶ In better documented parts of the Mycenaean world, such as Messenia and the Argolid, we observe that especially during the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB periods tholoi became increasingly restricted to palatial centres and palatial elites (Davis et al. 1997: 420–1; Voutsaki 1999: 112–13). It is uncertain whether the same applies to the tholoi just mentioned. Nevertheless, Thebes must have been the most powerful palatial centre close to our region. Thebes' influence – if not control – extended as far as central and perhaps even southern Euboea. Linear B documents from Thebes mention consignments of wool being sent to Amarynthos, and of livestock coming in from Karystos on the southern tip of Euboea¹⁷ (for these and other locations in the Gulf region possibly referred to in Theban Linear B documents,¹⁸ see Figure 14.1a). Also, for inland Thebes access to harbour sites on the Euboean Gulf, such as Larymna, Anthedon (Loukisia) and Aulis, must have been of vital importance for the maintenance of overseas communications (Piteros et al. 1990: 153–4, with n. 176). The northern parts of the Gulf region may have been within the sphere of influence of Mycenaean centres at Orchomenos or Dimini (presumably Iolkos).¹⁹

The end of the palatial period was a turning point in the history of the Euboean Gulf region, as it was in most parts of the Mycenaean world. Regional surveys carried out in various parts of the Greek mainland and on some of the islands suggest that the destruction of the palatial centres at the end of the LH IIIB2 period was accompanied by a very sharp reduction in the number of occupied sites. Some of the larger settlements, including the former palatial centres, remained inhabited, but on the whole there seems to have been a dramatic decline in the level of occupation.²⁰ Large areas became virtually abandoned, either during the LH IIIC period (e.g. the northeast Peloponnese and eastern Phokis)²¹ or during the PG period (other parts of the Peloponnese and the central

16 Pteleon, tholos A: LH IIIA2–IIIC1; E: LH IIIA1; other tholoi: B: LH IIIC1; C: LH IIIB(?)–C; D: probably LH IIIC, but also containing weapons of iron. Aliveri-Kyme region: Velousia: LH III(?); Katakolou: LH III(A2?); Oxyliothos/Enoria: LH IIIA–B, LH (IIB–)IIIA. See Pelon 1976: 240–3, 248–51, 466; further Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 693, 820.

17 Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975: 87, 91, 94–5, 104; Piteros et al. 1990: 120–1, 153–4; Killen 1994: 71–2 (TH Of 25.2: *a-ma-ru-to-de*; TH Wu 58. γ: *a-ma-ru-to*; TH Wu: 55. β *ka-ru-to*).

18 See Aravantinos et al. 2001: 355–7, with Fossey 1988: 66, 233–43, 257–61. For Chalkis as the destination of a delegation of men, see review of Aravantinos et al. 2001 by M. del Frio in *RivFil*, 129, 2001, 85 (TH Av 104.1: *ka-za-de, lkhaltson-del < *khalko-jo-*).

19 The BA/EIA site of Mitrou possibly served as port city for Orchomenos, see <http://www.mitrou.org/>. Dimini: Adrimi-Sismani, this volume.

20 Argolid: Eder, *Argolis*: 25ff., esp. 29–32, 55–6; various contributions in Pariente and Touchais 1998. Messenia (Pylos): *AJA*, 104: 329–37 (abstracts). Kea, Agia Irini sanctuary: Cherry et al. 1991: 219–21, 227, 245–7, 332–3.

21 Nemea region: Wright et al. 1990: 609, 641, 647. Methana peninsula: Mee and Forbes 1997: 52–7. Berbati-Limnes area: Wells and Runnels 1996: 177, 457. For Eastern Phokis: Fossey 1986: 94–5.

mainland).²² In most of these regions we have to wait until the eighth century before we witness signs of reoccupation of the landscape on some scale.

However, the picture of the Euboean Gulf region is very different. On the one hand, we see that a number of sites were destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB. This is at least suggested by excavations at Livanates (ancient Kynos)²³ on the Lokrian shore of the northern Euboean Gulf, at Dhrosia-Lithosoros²⁴ and Glypha²⁵ – two fortified settlements in the Euripus area – and at Amarynthos-Palaiokhora, south of Eretria.²⁶ On the other hand, if we compare Figure 14.1a. with Figure 14.1b, we observe that a considerable number of especially *coastal* localities continued to be occupied into the ensuing LH IIIC period, including those that had been destroyed by fire²⁷ (to which it should be added that virtually no new sites became occupied during LH IIIC).

A shift in balance from inland to coastal or island sites is also observed in other regions bordering the Aegean, notably the Cyclades, some parts of the Greek mainland, and Crete. Those in Crete were generally refuge sites founded in defensive or fortified places as protection – as is commonly assumed – against sea raids.²⁸ In contrast to these sites, the LH IIIC settlements bordering the secluded waters of the Euboean Gulf were relatively exposed. It is possible that the coastal localities on the Euboean Gulf possessed other defensive means, such as ships, as is indicated by the iconographic evidence. Representations of oared galleys

22 Southern Argolid: Runnels and van Andel 1987: 315–17; Jameson et al. 1994: 252–3, 368–75, 547–8, with 229 fig. 4.4, 236–8 figs. 4.16–20. Laconia: Eder, *Argolis*: 89ff., esp. 92–4, 106–13; cf. Cavanagh et al. 1996: 31–2, with 267–8 ill. 23.2–3; *Laconia Survey*: 143–4, 150. Messenia: Davis et al. 1997: 424, 451–3; cf. 422 fig. 10 with 455 fig. 17; also Eder, *Argolis*: 141ff., esp. 144–7. SW Boiotia: Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 137–9, with 157 table 6. Further Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982: 41–5, 142–3 for Melos. But cf. Lemos, *Protoegeometric Aegean*: 196 n. 57.

23 In fact, a series of destructive events in LH IIIA1, IIIB2 and IIIC (earthquake and fire destruction in LH IIIC Middle, and again LH IIIC Late); *AD*, 40: 173–4; 41: 68–9; 43: 224; 44: 171; 46: 194–5; 47: 209–10; also Dakoronia 1993a: 124–5; 2003: 38, 47. Occupation lasted until the SM period: *AD*, 43: 224; 44: 177–8; Dakoronia 2003: 38, 41, 43 (LH IIIC–SM floors, intramural baby burials, urn cremation).

24 A.k.a. Tymvos tou Salganea. Second destruction and desertion at end of IIIC; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1988: 89; also *AD*, 43: 203.

25 Possibly Mycenaean Aulis. After catastrophe in LH IIIB1 part of site unoccupied; second destruction still in the Mycenaean period. Scanty evidence of occupation during final IIIC and Geometric period: Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987: esp. 209–10; *AD*, 43: 203; Demakopoulou 1988; also Sampson 1999 (IIIB destructions at Dhrosia-Lithosoros and Glypha caused by earthquakes).

26 Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1988–1989; also 1986. Destroyed once again in IIIC; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1988–1989: 98, 100.

27 See preceding footnotes. Of interest is the settlement pattern in the neighbouring *inland* region of eastern Phokis, where we see an abrupt reduction of sites to an absolute minimum from LH IIIB to IIIC; see Fossey 1986: 94–5. Sackett et al. 1966: 99–102 already suggested that LH IIIC Euboea witnessed population growth.

28 Rutter 1992: 68–9; Jameson et al. 1994: 547–8; Vlachopoulos 1999: 82; Wallace, this volume – all with further refs. Vlachopoulos 1999: 81, 83, 85 argues that in the Cyclades LH IIIC was nevertheless a peaceful period. According to Rutter (1992: 68–70), continuous occupation of coastal sites is typical of the Aegean islands, but as I hope to demonstrate in this paper, this applies even more to the region of the Euboean Gulf.

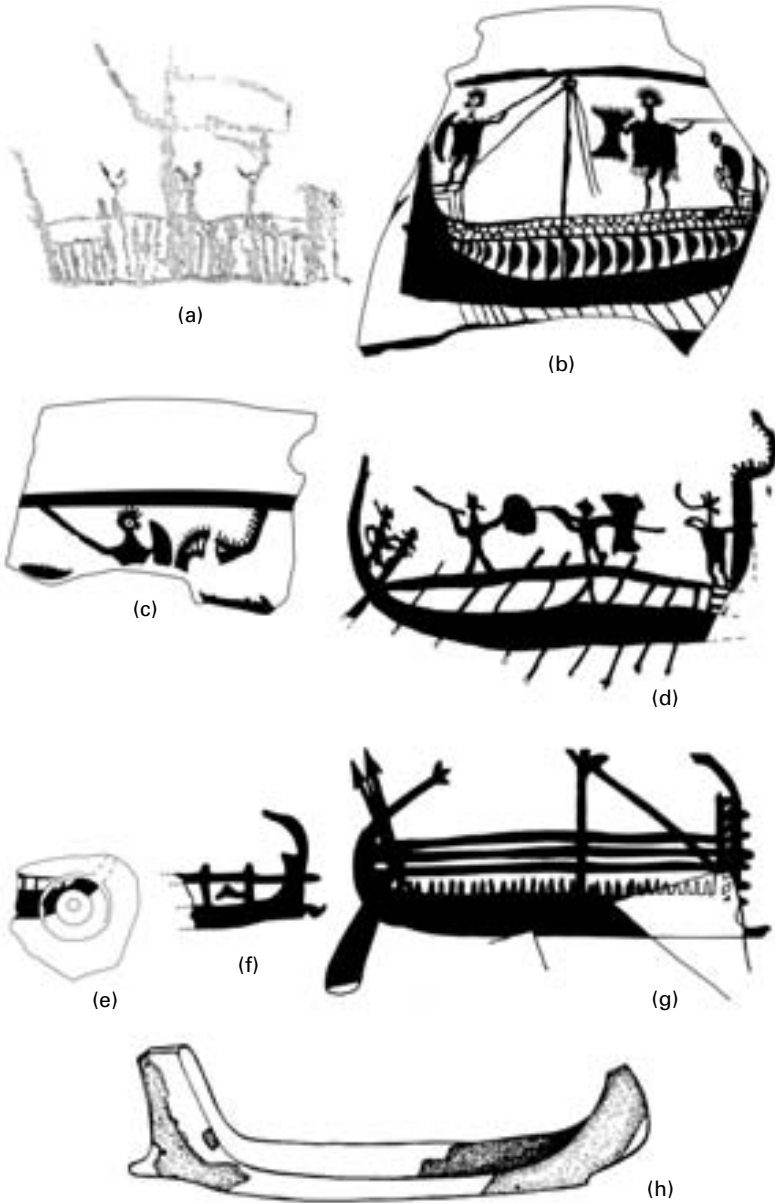


Figure 14.2 Ship representations (not to scale)

- (a) Dramessi: graffiti, c. 1200 BC(?) (after Basch 1987: 145 Fig. 302B)
 (b–d) Livanates: krater frs., LH IIIC (after Wachsman 1998: 131–5 Figs. 7.8A, 7.15–6)
 (e) Kalapodi: krater fr., LH IIIC (after Felsch 1996: pl. 36: 233)
 (f–g) Lefkandi, krater fr. and pyxis, c. 850–825 BC (after *Lefkandi III*, pl. 107; *Lefkandi I*, pl. 284 no. 11)
 (h) Amphiareion/Oropos area: terracotta model, Geometric (or LBA?) (after *AD 29*: pl. 57)

indicate that during LH IIIC several important innovations were made in ship design and construction.²⁹ This new type of ship was probably employed for speedy seaborne attacks on coastal settlements and for naval engagements at sea. Ship representations from Dramessi,³⁰ Livanates and Kalapodi (Figure 14.2a–e) indicate that our region was in the forefront of these developments. The examples from Lefkandi and the Amphiareion (Figure 14.2f–h) bridge the gap with Geometric pottery and fibulae from Euboea, Boiotia and Attica showing oared galleys, suggesting that in our region a continuous tradition existed in type of warship and ship construction (Calligas 1990; Crielaard 1996: Appendix).

During the LH IIIC period conditions were favourable enough to allow the existence of a string of coastal settlements on both sides of the Euboean Gulf (Figure 14.1b). During LH IIIC Middle, the Xeropolis mound at Lefkandi



Figure 14.3 Three phases of habitation during LH IIIC Middle at Lefkandi-Xeropolis (after Popham and Sackett 1968: 11–12 figs 12, 14)

²⁹ Crielaard 2000: 59, with further refs.

³⁰ Graffiti on stone blocks found in or near built chamber tomb (MH/LH I), showing ships that seem to be, however, of late Mycenaean type, see Basch 1987: 143–4.

accommodated one or more regular and carefully planned building complexes (Figure 14.3). At Livanates, one or more building complexes came to light that contained pithoi and other storage facilities as well as two pottery kilns and an oven, possibly for metal smelting. Presumably this was a small but independent redistributive centre and the seat of a local or regional ruler of some importance.³¹ It is perhaps in places like Livanates that we may locate individuals of the rank of *qa-si-re-u*, who at some point during the post-palatial period took over part of the power formerly held by the Mycenaean *wanax*. The use of tholoi at LH IIIC Pteleon suggests that some individuals wished to present themselves as the heirs or peers of the *wanaktes* by reactivating palatial period status symbols.³²

All in all, in our region the LH IIIC period seems to represent a period of relative prosperity during which communications with the outside world flourished.³³ The extensive chamber tomb necropolis of Perati on the southeast coast of Attica constitutes a particularly eloquent example of this. The deceased were buried along with imports from the Cyclades and luxury goods from Cyprus, the Levant and even Egypt; other rare artefacts include iron, silver and lead objects.³⁴ Some of the deceased were buried according to the new rite of cremation, which probably had been adopted from Asia Minor (Melas 1984; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 186). It is possible that the community on nearby Nisos Raptis that used this cemetery owed its prosperity to its access to the silver, lead and possibly copper resources from Thorikos and the Lavrion.³⁵ But another main attraction³⁶ must have been its location on the crossroads of a main maritime route that ran via the Cyclades³⁷ to the Dodecanese (where there were thriving settlements during this period) (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 109–11; Vlachopoulos 1999: esp. 81–3) and thence further east, and one leading up to the Euboean Gulf with its flourishing coastal sites of the LH IIIC period.

Goods that travelled via these sea lanes also reached inland sites. A possible overland route lead from Livanates on the coast via Megaplatanos (LH IIIC–G)

31 Storage facilities: *AD*, 40: 173–4; 41: 68–9; 42: 234; 47: 209; Dakoronia 2003: 38–9, 45–7. Other finds: *AD*, 32: 98–100; 34: 186–7; 35: 244–5; 48: 218–19 (kiln and oven). For LH IIIB–C chamber tombs at Rema Pharmaki, 1 kilometre southwest of Livanates, see *AD*, 47: 203–4.

32 See above, n. 16, with Deger-Jalkotzy 1995: 376; also Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 175 (PG vases).

33 See e.g. Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*: 16 table 6, 22 table 16 (LH IIIC): in total 65 oriental objects known from mainland Greece and the islands, 48 from our region.

34 Iakovides 1980: 81ff. (imports), 99ff. (metals). As Deger-Jalkotzy (2002: 61, 66, 68) notes, many oriental goods are antiques.

35 Spitaels 1982, with Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 489; further Stos-Gale and Macdonald 1991: 267, 280. Lead was used in its own right (e.g. at Perati), but was also used in bronze casting (at least in EIA Lefkandi, see Kayafa, this volume), and circulated in interregional exchange networks (Crielaard 1998: 195).

36 The settlers at Perati are often thought of as ‘refugees’ (see e.g. Rutter 1992: 69–70). However, instead of postulating that negative circumstances forced these settlers to flee their previous domicile, it is worthwhile contemplating whether *positive* aspects of this coastal location formed an important attraction to settle here.

37 Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 59 n. 79 (steatite necklace in LH IIIC Naxos, from Elateia?).

and Atalanti and the pass near Kalapodi with its Artemis sanctuary (LH IIIC and later)³⁸ to Elateia. From Elateia another overland route possibly ran via Amphikleia (LH IIIC Middle-SM)³⁹ and Amphissa to the Corinthian Gulf and continued, apparently overseas, to western Greece and beyond.⁴⁰ The Elateia chamber tomb cemetery shows that LH IIIC Middle in particular was a phase of prosperity during which imports from the eastern and perhaps even the central Mediterranean reached this locality.⁴¹ The rise of Kalapodi and Elateia is part of a more general development that comprised a growing importance of central Greece during LH IIIC. It has been suggested that peripheral regions like central Greece and Euboea were affected to a lesser extent by the collapse of the palace system, because already in the palatial period they had enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy or had never been much affected by the socio-political organisation of the palaces (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 14, 19; 1995, 375; Foxhall 1995; Snodgrass 2002: esp. 6–7).

Evidence for intercommunications at a regional level is also provided by the similarities in pictorial pottery of the LH IIIC Middle phase found at Lefkandi, Amarynthos, Thorikos, Livanates, Kalapodi and Volos (Figures 14.2b–e and 14.4).⁴² Some similarities are very close indeed, but scientific analysis of the clay suggests that the vases had been produced locally.⁴³ This small *koine* centring on the Euboean Gulf and adjacent regions is of interest for yet another reason. Especially on kraters – which Professor Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy aptly characterises as ‘*Prunkvasen*’ – we see human figures engaged in such activities as feasting, hunting, chariotry, seafaring, and warfare on land and sea. Supposing that these scenes have some connection with real life, they give us an impression of the lifestyle of the LH IIIC elite in this period. It was seemingly based on certain masculine or heroic ideals,⁴⁴ which were shared by members of elites in different localities in this region. It is not clear whether we should label these as new, emergent

38 Felsch 1996; also Morgan 1997: 175–84; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 204, 215, 224, for Kalapodi’s wider regional context.

39 See *AD*, 50: 397–8.

40 Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 62ff., with 59 n. 82 (amber); Eder 1999: (type G II swords from Perati, Khalkis-Palioura, Elateia, Delphi, Ithaca and Elis).

41 Elateia: reports in *AD* from 1985 onwards; see further Deger-Jalkotzy 1990; also 1998: 109; Dakoronia 1993b. Tombs span LH IIIA1 to G periods. Note that, as at Perati, some LH IIIC tombs contained urn cremations.

42 See also Iakovidis 1980: 38ff. (Perati); Hankey 1952: 63 fig. 2 no. 15 (Chalkis-Vromousa).

43 R. Jones in: Felsch 1996: 120; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 639; Mommsen and Maran 2000–2001. The chemical composition of so-called White Ware from Lefkandi (mainly phase 3) is closer to clays from Perati, but is still believed to originate in the Lelantine Plain, see Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 694. Neck-handled amphorae and White Ware kraters found in the Temple at Agia Irini on Kea have parallels in pottery from Perati and Lefkandi (phases 2b and 3) and may have been brought there, possibly as dedications by travellers from these localities; see Popham and Milburn 1971: 348; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 639.

44 Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: esp. 16, 20–2; 2002: 58–9. Note that Perati pottery does not bear war-related iconography (cf. Iakovidis, *Perati*: 127ff., 138ff., 171); also, few tombs contain weapons (*Perati*: 357–63).

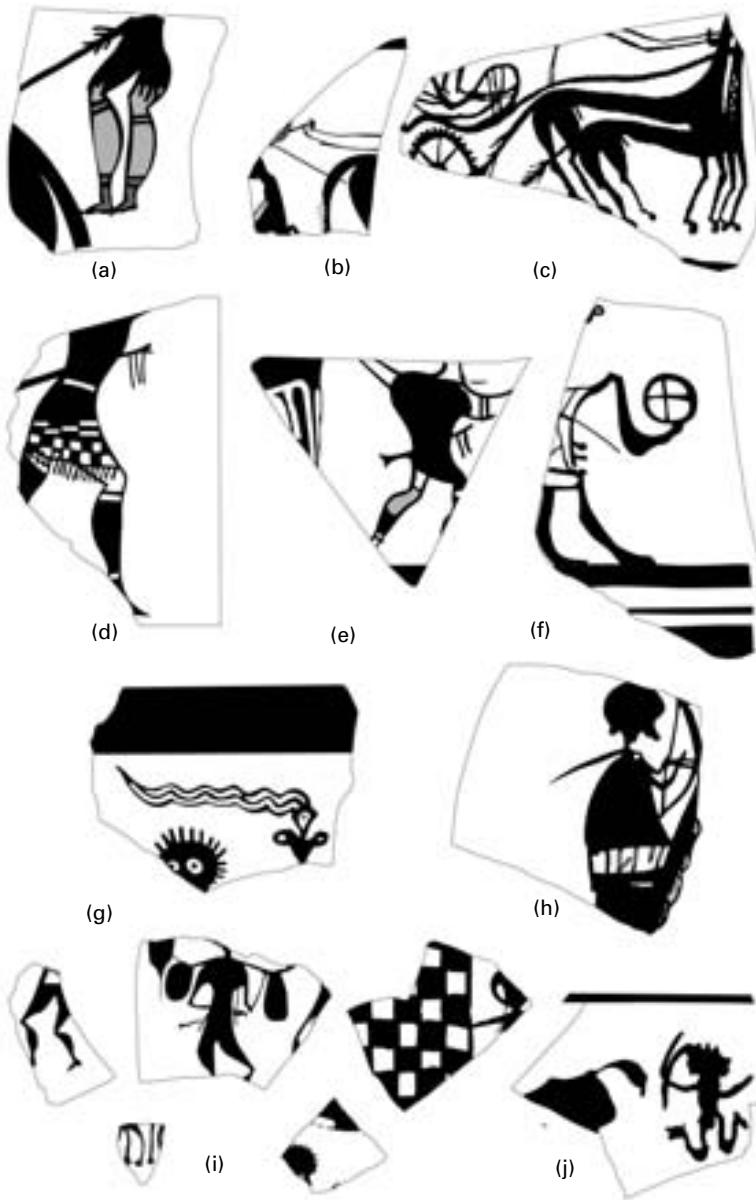


Figure 14.4 Pictorial pottery, LH IIIC Middle (not to scale)
 (a–b), (d–e). Lefkandi (after Popham and Sackett 1968: 19 Figs. 39–41; Sackett *et al.* 1966: 103 Fig. 28: 65)
 (c, f) Livanates (after Dakoronia 2003: 48 Fig. 24; *AD* 42: pl. 135d)
 (g) Amarynthos (after Sackett *et al.* 1966: 103 Fig. 28: 66)
 (h) Volos (after Immerwahr, *AE* 124: 92 Fig. 3)
 (i) Kalapodi (after Felsch 1996: pl. 36: 231)
 (j) Thorikos (after Spitaels 1982: pl. 4.1)

elites, because many of the activities represented were also typical elite activities during the preceding palatial period (Rutter 1992: 68).

It is of significance for the issue of continuity/discontinuity whether the transition from LH IIIC to PG should be regarded as a breaking point in the settlement history of the Euboean Gulf region, as it appears to be in other parts of the Aegean.⁴⁵ On the one hand, there is evidence of destructions during a late stage of LH IIIC.⁴⁶ A comparison of Figure 14.1b with Figure 14.1c indicates that after the LH IIIC period occupation was interrupted at a considerable number of sites (between 17 and 22). On the other hand, the same figures show that in these two periods the number of occupied sites is almost the same (37 plus). In fact, a substantial number of sites (between 19 and 26) have yielded both LH IIIC and PG material.⁴⁷ This means that in terms of numbers of occupied sites and site density there initially was a sharp decline in occupation from LH IIIB to LH IIIC, followed, however, by a substantial measure of continuity during the transition from LH IIIC to PG.

It may be noted that the lion's share of these sites (between 16 and 22) include those that have produced traces of occupation in all four periods. However, often the evidence is insufficient to determine whether individual sites were really occupied continuously or whether they were deserted for short periods of time (this applies even to sites that have been subject to more systematic excavations, such as Skala Oropou). Moreover, even in those cases where continuous occupation seems likely, we cannot be sure that these sites were inhabited by the same people (see e.g. Lefkandi).⁴⁸ An influx of newcomers is a serious possibility, since this period is seen as one of considerable mobility on both a regional and an interregional level.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the evidence allows us to draw a more positive conclusion: although the archaeological evidence is often not detailed enough for us to be certain about continuous occupation at individual sites, in all three periods a substantial number of sites existed, which allows us to assume a measure of continuity for the region as a whole. As pointed out previously, this constitutes an important difference from other regions in Greece where surface surveys found indications of depopulation in this particular period.

To sum up our conclusions thus far, we have found evidence of both continuity and change during the transition from the palatial to the post-palatial period. There is some degree of continuity in the region's occupation and population,

45 See above, nn 21–2; further Rutter 1992: 70; Bintliff 1994: 212–13.

46 See above, nn 23–4 and 26 and below, n. 50 for LH IIIC Lefkandi. In general, destructions during LH IIIC are frequent, but not necessarily synchronous, see Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 48–9 figs 1–2.

47 Cf. Boiotia where only a few sites were occupied during the EIA period; see Bintliff 1994: 212–15.

48 On this issue, see Popham and Sackett 1968: 5, 23–4, 35; Popham and Milburn 1971: 348–9; *Lefkandi I*: 7, 355–6; also Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 639 (links between SM pottery from Lefkandi and central Greece).

49 Archaeological evidence: Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 16–17. Later literary traditions: Fossey 1988: 428–30; Calligas 1988–1989; 1992; Mazarakis Ainian 2001: 149 – all with refs.

continuity in the preservation of reasonably complex social aggregates, and continuity in the maintenance of regional and interregional communications and even of long-distance contacts with other parts of the Mediterranean. Somewhat paradoxically, the sum of all this embodies a significant alteration in the region's importance: its position changed from being part of the periphery of the palatial world to being one of the most thriving regions of the Aegean. This shift in importance took place mainly from the LH IIIB to LH IIIC periods. In order to see in more detail what happened during the crucial, transitional phase from LH IIIC to Sub-Mycenaean and Early Protogeometric, we will turn to Lefkandi in central Euboea.

4. THE EARLY IRON AGE AT LEFKANDI

As mentioned, it is difficult to decide whether the transition from LH IIIC to SM and EPG is characterised by continuity or change – even at Lefkandi, which is one of the best explored sites in our region. Here, the LH IIIC Middle buildings on the Xeropolis mound show signs of slow deterioration and at least partial abandonment towards LH IIIC Late,⁵⁰ perhaps connected with a break in the occupation of the site. A similar conclusion could be drawn from changes in type of deposition and house plan (contracted inhumations in pit graves under house floors in LH IIIC phase 2b (Musgrave and Popham 1991) versus cist tombs in formal cemeteries during the SM period; carefully planned building complexes of agglutinative, rectilinear rooms in LH IIIC Middle-Late versus freestanding, curvilinear buildings from at least MPG onwards).

On the other hand, these changes are part of a more general development observed even in places that presumably saw continuity of population, such as Athens. This suggests that alterations in material culture during SM (or even LH IIIC Late) are connected not necessarily with a change in ethnic composition but with ideational or ideological change.⁵¹ Curvilinear buildings and perhaps cist tombs, too, seem to represent the introduction or revival of traditions that had been preserved in the periphery of the palatial world.⁵² A comparison of LH IIIC with SM pottery could perhaps provide an indication of either the continuity or the discontinuity of the population at Lefkandi; unfortunately, LH IIIC pottery

50 Popham and Sackett 1968: 11–14; Popham and Milburn 1971: 334, with Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 694.

51 Morris, *Archaeology*: 198–207, 228; also Snodgrass 2002 (conscious ‘Helladic revival’ of MH practices).

52 Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 98, 261; 2001: 140, 148–9; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 149–50, 214; Snodgrass 2002: 3, 6. In the Euboean Gulf region we find LH curvilinear buildings (e.g. at Aulis; also at Volos, see Mazarakis-Ainian 1989: 276–7) and LH cist tombs (e.g. southwest littoral Lake Paralimni: MH, LH and PG cists within same enclosure, see Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 170; also 185 n. 389). Note the correspondences in plan between the Tomba building at Lefkandi and one of the MH houses at Magoula Dimitrias Agias (Larisa), see *AR*, 49: 55 fig. 91.

is known only from settlement contexts, and SM only from cemeteries – a distinction that may be important in this period. A shred of evidence may be provided by the identification of an LH IIIC Late lekythos in White Ware from a robbed tomb in the Khaliotis plot, southeast of the Skoubris cemetery (SM and later) that could fill part of the gap between the end of the LH IIIC inhabitation at Xeropolis and the inauguration of the area northwest of Xeropolis as the main burial area that was in use during the EIA.⁵³

On the whole, however, the settlement and cemetery evidence of Lefkandi provides us with an invaluable source of information that can shed light on the development of social structures and overseas contacts in the course of the EIA.⁵⁴ The tombs of the SM and EPG periods are – with a few exceptions – cist tombs, found in the Skoubris plot just mentioned.⁵⁵ A relatively large number of these can be attributed to children and sub-adults. Although they are generally not very rich, a small number of tombs are conspicuous because they contained relatively much pottery and a larger than average number of metal objects. In addition, some are exceptional because of the effort that must have been expended on them, considering their dimensions and/or construction. To judge from such grave goods as dress pins, some of these tombs can be attributed to females, while an iron dagger may be indicative of a male; the small size of some of the cists suggests that our group of conspicuous burials included children. We may take all this to indicate that burial ritual was used to express status differences.⁵⁶ The fact that women and, especially, non-adults shared this form of differentiated burial behaviour suggests that status differences were inheritable. A small number of imports are known from this period, including fragments of ivory, a necklace in blue faience, a bronze fibula from Crete as well as one from Cyprus, an iron dagger of possibly Cypriot origin and, in the same EPG tomb, a Syro-Palestinian dipper juglet.⁵⁷ Except for the Cypriot fibula, all imports were found in the above tombs that display signs of elevated status. Also the occurrence of gold jewellery is confined to these tombs, while objects of iron – in the eleventh century still a rare and exotic metal – were also concentrated here.⁵⁸ The combination of elevated status and

53 Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 697; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 161. The excavators of Lefkandi seem to favour the idea of the arrival of new settlers; see Popham and Milburn 1971: 347–9; *Lefkandi I*: 7, 355–6. For what it is worth, some of the chamber tombs at Chalkis-Vromousa (mainly LH IIA–IIIA2/B) show signs of sporadic reuse during LH IIIC Early and SM; see Hankey 1952; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 692, 697; cf. Morris, *Archaeology*: 206 for examples of similar burial behaviour elsewhere in central Greece.

54 This section is based on a more detailed study presented in Crielaard 1996 (Crielaard 1993 for summary).

55 Presumably no more than 25% of the necropolis has been excavated. Some 33 tombs and 2 pyres are of SM–EPG date. Of the 17 graves without goods, some may belong to this phase, too; see *Lefkandi I*: 103, 109–39.

56 Skoubris tombs 10 (♀), 15B, 16 (♀), 19, 22, 34, 38 (♀), 40, and 46 (♂). Esp. 10, 19, 22 and 40 have small cists.

57 Faience beads: S 16; ivory frs: S 38; Cretan fibula: S 40; Cypriot fibula: S 43; iron dagger, dipper juglet: S 46.

58 Gold earrings: Skoubris tombs 10, 22, 38. Two or three iron dress pins: tombs 10, 16, 38; iron

imported goods is something that will appear to be a significant trend for the next 200 years at Lefkandi, although in the SM and EPG period this tendency is present only in an embryonic form.

A quantum leap was taken in the MPG period. The leap begins with the construction of a monumental, apsidal building at Toumba, the lavish burial of a warrior, his female companion and four horses, and the building's subsequent demolition and burial under a large tumulus (*Lefkandi II.2*). The warrior's cremated remains had been stored in a large, amphoroid krater of bronze. Secondary cremation is a form of burial ritual that required a considerable amount of effort and lent itself to extensive funerary ceremonial and ostentatious display. Apart from being valuable, the objects in the tomb were interconnected with the male's social personae. Offensive weapons – such as the iron sword and spearhead found together with a whetstone to keep them keen – and the four horses make it clear that the man belonged to the dominant warrior group and underline the owner's capacity for using violence. The large krater must be attributed to the sphere of commensality and communal life. Perhaps we may even say that in death the krater stood for the same thing the building had stood for in life: both the large vessel and the building's spacious feasting hall and storeroom in the apse were core elements of the deceased's capacity to host banquets and distribute food and drink. In short, while the weapons symbolise the man's capacity for violence and aggression connected to a distinct warrior ideology, the drinking equipment represents the socialised, political side of his activity that presumably included ritualised leadership, sacrifice, inter- and intra-group negotiation, etc.

The warrior's plain bronze bowl and antique amphoroid krater, as well as his female consort's faience necklace, iron knife with ivory pommel, and Old Babylonian gold pendant, were imported from Cyprus and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean. The occurrence of eastern imports in a MPG tomb is significant, since archaeological data from other parts of Greece suggest that this period saw a decline in contacts with the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁹ Even more important is that these objects were not simply exotic gadgets, but mostly artefacts that were closely related to the deceased's high status and his or her particular social identity and personality. As we will see shortly, it is from this point in time onwards that imports began to play an increasingly important role in elite self-representation at Lefkandi.⁶⁰

dirk (see previous note) and fibula: 46; fr.: 15B. The two other SM-EPG tombs containing iron artefacts (fibulae) are tombs 20 and 32. For use of iron and iron production technology, see Crielaard 1998: 191, with further refs.; symbolic dimensions: Morris, *Archaeology*: 208–31.

59 See, recently, Morris, *Archaeology*: 218.

60 The tombs under the Toumba building can be compared to certain elite tombs at Knossos, Tiryns and a handful of Cypriot sites, which are generally somewhat earlier in date (mid-eleventh to earlier tenth century BC), but testify to similar manifestations of high-status burial behaviour. Since these tombs are found without exception in fresh burial locations, they can be attributed to new or newly redefined local elites. Members of these elites seem to have exchanged goods and ideas connected to a particular elite way of life; see Crielaard 1998.

Some scholars regard the short-lived existence of the Toumba building as an indication that Lefkandi in this period should be characterised as an 'unstable', wandering settlement, ruled by a 'big man', whose power and authority were of a transient nature (Whitley 1991: 346–50; Mazarakis-Ainian 2001: 147; Antonaccio 2002: 29–31; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 218–19; see also Thomas and Conant 1999: 106–7). It should be stressed, however, that the edifice was not simply deserted upon the death of the occupants, but was demolished and then buried under a huge tumulus. What actually happened was that Lefkandiots killed the male's horses and perhaps his female consort, and then buried them, their valuable personal belongings and their unusual house, presumably as an act of deference. The erection of a tumulus can be seen as the culmination of a collective ceremony that gave permanence to the memory of the defunct occupants and their home. The fact that the female shared in this expenditure of wealth and energy and was buried in this privileged location together with the male is a clear indication that personal achievement and individual status were not criteria for privileged burial ritual, but that emphasis was put on membership of a particular social group that included both males and females and was based on shared, ascribed authority. To put it simply, elevated status was not restricted to the individual but belonged to the domain of the family. The burial of antiques with both the male and the female allows us to conclude that the couple and those who buried them wished to underline the family's special relation to the past.

The special status of Toumba was emphasised by the installation of a cemetery on either side of a road following the edge of the mound that was heaped over the Toumba building (*Lefkandi I*; *Lefkandi III*). During the preceding SM and EPG phases only one or two cemeteries seem to have been in use. From the MPG period onwards, however, perhaps as many as five or six separate burial grounds were utilised. Toumba was by far the most prestigious burial ground. Metal vessels and dining equipment are found only in this cemetery,⁶¹ and more than half of the weapon burials are situated here. The Toumba cemetery also yielded almost all the examples of figurative imagery, which is even more noteworthy if we take into consideration that the EIA is a virtually aniconic era.⁶² Some burials clearly emulated the tombs under the Toumba building.⁶³ Finally, child tombs – which are always a good indication of ranking – were sometimes

61 Occurring even in tombs attributable to women (T 70, also T 47?) and children (T 22, T 31, T 33).

62 Lemos 2000. At Toumba, I count some 36 examples of figurative imagery from 24 burials (including engraved metalwork, plastic figurines in terracotta or faience, seals and jewellery in stone and faience, as well as painted pottery), against seven such objects from the other cemeteries.

63 With one exception (S 5), all secondary cremations are found in Toumba (T 14.1 and 2, T 18, T 50, T 55, T 58, T 79, containing metal urn). See further T 49: deep shaft lined with mud bricks and timber; T 55: possible suttee burial; T 68: burial of two horses. For the occurrence of antiques, see T 12B: two LBA glass paste seals; T 39: set of bronze wheels; T 79: North Syrian cylinder seal; T pyre 13: bronze dirk.

conspicuously large and generally rich, most of these containing gold objects.⁶⁴ It seems likely that the men, women and children who were buried around the tumulus claimed a special status through kinship relationships with the heroised couple. If so, the consequence would be that the other cemeteries, too, can be considered to represent kinship groups or – as time passed by – descent groups. In these other cemeteries we also find tombs attributable to individuals of substance and authority. These tombs may be ascribed to members of higher ranking families within descent groups that as a whole were of lower ranking than the Toumba lineage.

The separate cemeteries that came into use from the MPG period onwards may indicate that this was a time of segmentation of the population and increasing social differentiation. This process of social fissioning seems to have led to an increase in social competition. From LPG onwards, we witness a greater variety of tomb types, grave goods and burial forms, as well as greater differences in levels of funerary display. Since this variety was especially large in the Toumba cemetery, we may assume that competition was particularly fierce between the members of the highest ranking descent group.

Imported goods seem to have played a crucial role in these processes. The lion's share of the imports is found in tombs that can be attributed to high ranking individuals. Not surprisingly, the burials in the Toumba cemetery contained most of the foreign grave goods. What is especially interesting, though, is the temporal dimension of this development. Let us first take a brief look at the external distribution of pottery from central Euboea and the development of regional pottery styles, as this will give us an impression of the gradual expansion of overseas communications in the periods under discussion.

As a first phase, we witness the intensification of intercommunications within the Aegean during an advanced stage of MPG. This is indicated by the crystallisation of a *koine*-style pottery in Euboea, Skyros, some Cycladic islands, the northwest Aegean and central Greece, as well as by Attic imports at Lefkandi and Attic influences on local ceramics.⁶⁵ During the LPG and following phases, the Aegean interconnections are expanded and intensified: the regional *koine* embraced parts of the west coast of Anatolia as well as parts of Macedonia; Euboean LPG pottery exports reached the island of Skyros and the northern Aegean, and there is evidence of more or less permanent Euboean presence in the north.⁶⁶ Also during LPG (or even MPG), we find the first Euboean pottery outside the Aegean, namely at Amathus in Cyprus, at Ras el Bassit, Tyre and Tel Dor on the Levantine coast,

64 *Lefkandi I*: 205. Large child graves: especially T 22, T 31, T 33.

65 Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 16, 18, 170, 203–5, 215–18; also Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2002 (Skyros).

66 West Anatolia: LPG (or MPG): Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 23, 211–12. Skyros: Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 216, with n. 118. North Aegean: Snodgrass 1994; but links with Poseidi (Mende) already in SM–EPG, see Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 214–15, 221–2. Further Desborough, in *Lefkandi I*: 291–3; Coldstream, in *Lefkandi I*: 353–4.

and at Tell Hadar and Tel Rehov in inland Palestine. During the ensuing Sub-Protogeometric I and II phases especially Amathus and Tyre continued to receive Euboean pottery (Coldstream and Mazar 2003, with refs.).

If we now look at the provenance of the imports found at Lefkandi we can detect a similar pattern in the expansion of overseas contacts. Although the first Attic imports date to MPG, they increase in quantity during LPG, when the first objects from the northern Aegean and the Balkans also reached Lefkandi. Contacts with Cyprus and the Near East had existed from the SM phase onwards, but these also show an increase during LPG. During SPG I, contacts were probably established with the Tyrrhenian basin, initially seemingly in an indirect manner, most likely through Cypriot networks.⁶⁷ During the SPG II and III phases we observe a resumption of or increase in imports and influences from the north: the bulk of northern imports (mostly personal ornaments) as well as personal ornaments influenced by northern prototypes are from these phases. At the same time, contacts with Attica were resumed or reinforced, and inter-Aegean communications were intensified.⁶⁸

I wish to suggest that the two phenomena – namely increasing social differentiation together with social competition from MPG onwards, and an increase in and intensification of external communications from about the same point in time – were interrelated. Or, to put it differently, that from late MPG onwards it became a matter of prestige to participate in networks that included a growing variety of increasingly distant regions. This development culminated in the SPG II and III periods, when the average number of eastern goods per grave is higher than in the preceding periods, and when we notice imports from a relatively wide range of regions being represented in the cemeteries. Also, especially in this later period we see a tendency to bury ‘collections’ of goods from a variety of regions. To give one example, Toumba grave 33 (SPG III) contained objects from Cyprus (two diadems of gold), the Levant (glass beads), probably Egypt (two bronze vessels), an unspecified location somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean (rock crystal pendant and beads), Attica (four terracotta vases) and the Baltic region (amber beads and pendant, which presumably reached Lefkandi via northern Greece).⁶⁹

Apart from using imports in status competition within the local community, exotic goods were presumably also brought into circulation in regional networks.

67 See T pyre 1 (LPG?): bronze dress pin, which has a ninth-century parallel at Bologna; T 22 (SPG I): bronze carinated cup, showing links with Italian metalwork. In the SPG I period the symmetric arched fibula was reintroduced at Lefkandi, probably under the influence of Italian fibula types; see H. W. Catling, in *Lefkandi I*: 239–40, 249. Cypriot networks: Crielaard 1998. The earliest Greek pottery in Italy is generally later.

68 Northern influences: see Higgins, in *Lefkandi I*: 219–22. Attic imports and influences: interrupted during SPG I, but resumed during SPG II–III (EG II–MG I), see Coldstream, in *Lefkandi I*: 353–4; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 18.

69 For references see *Lefkandi I*: 188–9, 219, 222–3, 249–50, 351.

This could explain why we find related objects on nearby Skyros and at sites in the Euboean Gulf region, such as Atalanti.⁷⁰

Now that we have established for EIA Lefkandi an interconnection between, on the one hand, external communications and the acquisition of foreign goods, and, on the other hand, elite self-fashioning and intra-elite competition, we can put this into a broader, cultural context. Historical and anthropological sources provide ample evidence of elites in pre-modern societies using exotic goods and intangible, 'esoteric' knowledge of distant realms and regions as an external source to legitimate or increase ideological authority and prestige (Helms 1988). It is possible to interpret evidence from the Homeric epics in a similar way. Sailing the open seas supposes courage (*Od.* 3.317–22), but this is only one reason why 'ships and warfare are dear' to the Homeric aristocrat (*Od.* 14.211–34, esp. 224–7). Travelling overseas and hosting guests from abroad are marks of distinction of the Homeric upper class and of civilised people in general. The Phaiakians are the ultimate example of this. Like the Euboeans, they are referred to as 'ship-famed' (*Od.* 7.39; 8.191, 369; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 31, 219). Indeed, ships and seafaring are important aspects of their civilised nature (*Od.* 6.264–72; 7.43–5, 108–9, 180–1, 186ff.; 11.336–41). It is significant that precisely these things are lacking with the barbarous Kyklopes, who are the Phaiakians' opposites in almost every respect (cf. *Od.* 9.112–15, 125–30, 269–75; also 23.269–72). Travelling is an invaluable source of knowledge about cities, men and the customs of men (*Od.* 1.3; 4.220–32, 267–9), an inexhaustible source of 'stories and sayings' (4.594–8), and, of course, the most secure way to acquire exotic goods (e.g. *Od.* 3.301–2; 5.38–40). A wide network of *xenos* partners accords prestige (*Od.* 19.237–43), as do the *xenos* gifts accumulated in a hero's storerooms (e.g. *Il.* 4.143–5; *Od.* 4.79–85, 127; 14.321–6). Some of these objects are redistributed, which makes 'the house grow greater' and makes the owner feared and respected (*Od.* 14.232–4). Goods have the ability to accumulate stories about previous owners, which not only determines the value of these objects but also dictates the policy of keeping them or giving them away (Crielaard 2002: 280–2; 2003).

5. CONCLUSION

I hope to have shown that during the final stages of the Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age there existed in the region of the Euboian Gulf – in contrast to most other parts of Greece – a certain measure of continuity in settlement and occupation history, the maintenance of external contacts, and the preservation of social inequality and hierarchical structures. There are two distinct moments at which we witness the manifestation of local elites. The first is during LH IIIC Middle. Perhaps this period's new rulers included individuals we

70 Skyros: Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2002; Atalanti: Dakoronia, this volume. Further Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 171–2, 204–5, 214, 226–7.

could label as *qa-si-re-u*. The rise of these local elites was a regional phenomenon. They resided mainly in coastal settlements, which gained new importance in this period. This may indicate that access to the sea, and presumably the possession of ships and involvement in overseas transactions, was a prerequisite to becoming a successful local ruler in LH IIIC Middle. The second moment is at Lefkandi during the MPG period. As far as we can see, this was rather a local phenomenon, basically confined to Lefkandi and, if one wishes, Skyros.⁷¹ After the cultural break embodied by the SM and EPG periods the Lefkandiot elite reinvented itself. Imported goods played a key role in elite self-fashioning and in infra-elite and intra-descent group competition. Taken together, the evidence leads to the conclusion that social inequality was probably never totally absent, but that there were disruptions in the way local elites were manifest. Seen in this context, the transition from *qa-si-re-u* to *basileus* was foremost a survival of terminology.

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ASPECTS OF THE 'ITALIAN CONNECTION'

David Ridgway

In his now classic article [Blakeway 1935a], Alan Blakeway developed the theory that trade precedes and invites colonisation. . . . In the present monograph [Taylour 1958] Lord William Taylour has collected the evidence for a much earlier phase of Greek commercial expansion, that of the Mycenaean period. The recent decipherment of the Linear B script has proved that the Mycenaeans were Greeks. Ought we therefore to view these two phases of Greek commerce with the West as completely separate phenomena? The combined evidence collected by Taylour and Blakeway shows that this trade began during the seventeenth century BC, quickened during the period of greatest Mycenaean commercial expansion (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries), slackened in the troubled centuries following the raids of the Sea Peoples, but was being slowly resumed in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, increasing in momentum immediately preceding the foundation of the historic Greek colonies of the late eighth and seventh centuries. To the reviewer these are the full implications of Taylour's monograph, although the author only hints at such a continuity. (Immerwahr 1959: 295)

1. INTRODUCTION

My subject is the Italian side of the relationship between the Aegean and the central Mediterranean (usually regarded by Hellenists as 'the West', a term that

I am most grateful to Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene Lemos for inviting me to speak at the distinguished (and exceptionally pleasant) conference on which this book is based. Space, time and human frailty (mine) did not permit full treatment of the 'Italian connection', itself the subject of major conferences in the past – among them Taranto 1982 (Vagnetti 1982; Peroni 1985); Palermo 1984 (Marazzi, Tusa and Vagnetti 1986); Naples 1996 (*Euboica*) – and more recently of an excellent general treatment of south Italy and the Mycenaean world (Bettelli 2002). I accordingly concentrated on those aspects that are currently emerging more clearly from the work of Italian scholars; and I do so again here, with the addition (more selectively than may perhaps appear at first sight) of appropriate bibliography. I hope that it will be as apparent to readers as it is to me that my debt to Fulvia Lo Schiavo and Lucia Vagnetti now defies computation: but they should not be blamed for the shortcomings in this result of their generosity over many years.

I prefer to apply to the Iberian peninsula). My period begins with the Mycenaeans already present in Italy and its adjacent islands; it ends with the arrival of the earliest incomers so far detected in the vast (still largely unpublished, and indeed largely unexplored) Euboean *emporion* of Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples (Ridgway 1992, 2000, 2003). In terms of absolute chronology, and taking no account of the dendrochronological turbulence that currently afflicts it,¹ this range covers the centuries between the late fourteenth and the middle of the eighth BC, which corresponds – symptomatically enough, as we shall see – to the temporal limits within which Claudio Giardino (1995) has reviewed the mining and metallurgical spheres over a rather wider geographical area than mine. More generally, it enables me to reflect on the degree of continuity proposed in the opening paragraph of Sara Immerwahr's perceptive review of Taylour 1958 (see above), and also to review her assumptions ('trade', 'commercial expansion') concerning the nature of the relationship involved.

Under the latter heading, I think it right to state at the outset that at no stage in the chronological range reviewed in this paper are we looking at processes that can reasonably be called 'colonisation' in the sense that caused south Italy to be thought of as 'Megale Hellas' and 'Magna Graecia' in historical times. It now seems most likely that Mycenaean expansion westwards to the central Mediterranean was effected by small groups of Aegean settlers who took up residence in native centres, whence they were able to contact smaller and more remote indigenous groups.² Later on, I believe that a similar model can serve as a useful basis for appraising the operations that culminated in the establishment of Pithekoussai, certainly by the mid-eighth century (and probably, as I have argued elsewhere, a generation or two earlier: Ridgway 2002: 356, n. 9). Rightly in my view, the definition of those operations as amounting to 'pre-' or 'proto-colonisation' is now widely regarded as 'improperly teleological':³ in this respect, we need only recall that the distribution of 'pre-colonial' Greek Geometric pottery in fact extends to parts of the central Mediterranean, among them Sardinia, Latium vetus and early Carthage,⁴ that were subsequently either colonised by Phoenicians rather than Greeks, or else – like Etruria – were never colonised at all.

1 Delpino 2003 (16: 'un problema inattuale'). I have avoided using absolute dates in this paper whenever possible; those that do appear are 'traditional'.

2 Most recently Bettelli 2002: 13–14, reviewing a number of important discussions by Lucia Vagnetti published between 1970 and 1999 (list: 13, n. 17). See too Peroni 1985; Bietti Sestieri 1988; Kilian 1990.

3 Malkin 1998: 10, 13. See too, from various points of view, Purcell 1997; Rathje 1997: 202; Leighton 1999: 223–5; Oggiano 2000: 235, n. 1.

4 Sardinia: Bafico et al. 1997; Oggiano 2000 (Sant'Imbenia); Bernardini 1997 (Sulcis). Latium vetus: Brandt, Jarva and Fischer-Hansen 1997 (Ficana). Carthage: Docter and Niemeyer 1994; Vegas 1997; Kourou 2002: 92–6.

I do not believe in the deliberate Hellenisation of the (so-called) barbarians,⁵ either: during the centuries with which I am concerned here, interaction between sets of complex societies strikes me as a much more realistic model. And we are no longer dealing (as Taylour and Blakeway were) almost exclusively with the export to Italy of diagnostic pottery, first Mycenaean and then Geometric. Pottery of both periods certainly travelled from the Aegean to Italy,⁶ but it is unlikely that it was exported primarily for its own sake; in any case, it has become increasingly clear in recent years that Aegean ceramic types were manufactured on Italian sites throughout the period under review – perhaps by potters who had themselves been exported for that very purpose. In addition, we now know that metalwork is involved to a far greater extent than was previously recognised: the material record of the central Mediterranean owes much to 'individual metalworkers who moved from one region to another, exploiting the existing commercial networks, their aim being to exchange not so much finished objects, but their own technological knowledge, whether in the field of metallurgy or in the field of mineral exploitation' (Giardino 1995: 340–1).

2. SARDINIA

This being the case, it is not surprising that Sardinia has come to play a consistently much bigger role than anyone dreamt even as recently as twenty years ago – to the point that it is appropriate to begin by citing a handsome Mycenaean alabastron, for which clay analysis indicates a source in the north-eastern Peloponnese (Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993). It is, I understand, still the earliest Mycenaean vase found in Sardinia (LH IIIA 2), as well as the furthest from the coast – a thought-provoking combination. Most of it was found in the foundation level (accordingly dated to the thirteenth century BC) of the central courtyard of the biggest (3,000 sq.m.) nuragic complex on the island, the Nuraghe Arrubiu. The vase does not seem to be part of a Mycenaean 'package' at the site; and the physical disposition of some of the component fragments shows that it was broken *in situ* before building was complete. Was it some kind of Aegean foundation-gift or tribute to the individual or group who ruled the surrounding territory? At all events, it is not difficult to imagine the thinking that prompted the extension to Sardinia of the already busy southern Tyrrhenian circuit of Mycenaean contact – an extension that coincided both with the peak of palace civilisation on the Greek mainland and with its maximum expansion everywhere else. Arrubiu has good access to abundant lead mines; and more than half of the dozen or so other findspots of Mycenaean material in Sardinia (Re 1998) stand in some kind of significant topographical

5 Cf. the sub-title of Blakeway 1935b. There is no word in any sort of Greek for 'Hellenisation': Bowersock 1990: 7.

6 Mycenaean: e.g. Vagnetti 1993; 1999; 2001a; Jones, Levi and Vagnetti 2002. Geometric: e.g. the items cited here in notes 4, 14 and 16.

relationship with the mineral-rich Iglesiente district in south-west Sardinia, a valuable ancient source of copper and iron ores, and of the argentiferous lead that in later times may have caused a well-informed scholiast on Plato's *Timaeus* (*ad* 25b) to refer to Sardinia as the *argyróphleps nesos*.

The rescue-excavation of one of these other sites, the Nuraghe Antigori at Sarrok (Re 1998: 288, no. 11), which overlooks the most obvious landfall in this crucial area for anyone coming from Italy (or further east), has produced a large quantity of LH IIIB and LH IIIC wares: some are clearly made locally, others are imports from Crete and Cyprus as well as the Peloponnese, while the presence of locally-made Mycenaean types of coarse ware accords well with other evidence for peaceful co-habitation. This intriguing site (still, alas, unpublished) has also produced the earliest piece of worked iron from anywhere in the central Mediterranean; it was found in the same undisturbed layer as a 'wishbone' handle of what has recently been re-classified as 'de-surfaced' Late Cypriot White Slip II ware (Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: 227; Vagnetti 2001b: 78).

Between them, Arrubiu and Antigori have much to tell us about the circumstances in which Sardinian impasto vessels reached the metalworking areas of Kommos on the coast of southern Crete during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries; the idea that they could have contained Sardinian scrap metal is wholly plausible (Watrous, Day and Jones 1998: 339–40). We can surely see the point of departure for a rather similar operation, although seemingly involving new metal rather than scrap, at the end of the Sardinian story reviewed here. The nuragic village of Sant'Imbenia (Bafico et al. 1997; Oggiano 2000) overlooks the magnificent natural harbour of Porto Conte, and is therefore well-situated to act as the clearing-house for exports from the surrounding Algherese in north-west Sardinia (another area of the Island that is rich in copper, lead and iron: cf. Lo Schiavo 1976). One of the huts in the Sant'Imbenia village seems to have been some kind of workshop; it contained two amphoras of Phoenician type, packed with small copper ingots, and also produced a Euboean pendent semicircle skyphos: the first direct association in the central Mediterranean between (so-called 'pre-colonial') Euboean Geometric pottery and metallurgical activity,⁷ although it is clear on present evidence that the quest for metals in this case was Phoenician rather than Greek.

Long before we get to that point, however, we encounter the well-known oxhide copper ingots⁸ of the kind first encountered – anywhere – at Serra Ilixi in Sardinia. We can, I think, all agree that a lot of trouble would have been saved if Giovanni Spano, the learned excavator of the Serra Ilixi pieces, had retained his original definition of them as 'Roman grave markers'. Rather more significant than the

7 Note that many of the 'pre-colonial' skyphos fragments found at the non-funerary site of Ficana (Latium vetus) came from the area that also yielded the highest concentration of evidence for metallurgical operations: Brandt, Jarva and Fischer-Hansen 1997: 219; 225.

8 Lo Schiavo et al. 1990; Ridgway 1991; more recently Lo Schiavo 1999; Stos-Gale 2000; Kassianidou 2001.

old and new controversies arising out of his eventual second thoughts, that they were somehow connected with much earlier organised metalworking, is the distribution map of subsequently-discovered examples (Niemeyer 1984: 10, Abb. 5, 2): it should remind us not only of the ten tons (*sic*) of copper ingots on the Late Bronze Age Uluburun ship (Pulak 2001: 18–22), but also of the metallurgical links between Cyprus and Sardinia.

There can be little doubt, in fact, that we are looking at a 'special relationship' that brought Cypriot metalworkers to Sardinia on a permanent or regular seasonal basis.⁹ After this, it is only a matter of time before Cyprus and Sardinia take their place on the distribution map of the 'Bronze final atlantique' type of articulated bronze spit (*obelos*) required to roast meat in aristocratic kitchens. Cyprus is represented by grave 523 in the Western Necropolis at Amathus, with associations seemingly dated before the middle of the tenth century; Sardinia provides a piece from the Monte Sa Idda hoard, to which there is no good reason to suppose that anything was added after the ninth (or even, and more probably, the tenth) century.¹⁰ Items like this are surely more than oddments ('the occasional exotic, but not necessarily valuable, object found far away': Boardman 2001: 35); and even if in some cases their far-flung distribution is the result of casual trade, they are nevertheless also part of a picture of the increased mobility of raw materials, skilled craftsmen and sophisticated artefacts that is characteristic of the wider world during what used to be called the Greek Dark Age. One result of this is the amazing range of Sardinian metallurgy from the twelfth century onwards: the quantity, quality and sheer variety of its manifestations reflect the production of the in-house metalworking facilities discovered at an increasing number of nuragic complexes in recent years.¹¹ The contrast with adjacent areas is striking: in Sardinia, and in the central Mediterranean *only* in Sardinia, high-class metallurgy simply continues undeterred by the decline of the Mycenaean demand for raw materials, and it continues at a technological level that will not be seen in the Italian peninsula until the Orientalising or even the Archaic period.

3. THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

Meanwhile, from the twelfth century onwards, the distribution of the Sardinian items that have been recognised in mainland contexts displays a steadily growing

9 This phenomenon, first explored in depth by Lo Schiavo, Macnamara and Vagnetti 1985 (see too Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989) was discussed in 2000 at the international symposium subsequently published as *Italy and Cyprus*: see in particular Kassianidou 2001; Lo Schiavo 2001; Matthäus 2001.

10 Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989; most recently Karageorghis 2002: 136–7, figs 294–5; Macnamara 2002: 156–7, fig. 6.

11 E.g. in the village (twelfth to eighth centuries) surrounding the Nuraghe Santa Barbara at Bauladu in West Central Sardinia: Gallin and Tykot 1993.

preference for the metal-rich areas of north-west Etruria.¹² There, the map of the mineral resources bears a striking resemblance to that of the Sardinian imports, which have been discussed realistically in terms of marriage gifts and other socially significant transactions.¹³ On this basis, I suggested some time ago (and I am still inclined to believe) that ‘the earliest external and mutually beneficial assessment of the metallurgical potential of Villanovan Etruria was not planned in the Aegean or the East, *but in the West itself* and no further away than Sardinia’ (Ridgway 1988: 496) – and that it was news of this development that brought the Euboean skyphos-bearers to other areas of the central Mediterranean: first to the Italian mainland (possibly via Sant’Imbenia, as we can now surmise); and then to the Bay of Naples, where Pithekoussai had an extensive suburban industrial complex in which bronze, iron and probably precious metals were worked between at least the mid-eighth and the early seventh centuries (Ridgway 1992: 91–6).

This feature of Pithekoussan life clearly reflects a long-standing priority in the Euboean motherland, where the identification of foundry refuse at Lefkandi *c.*900 radically revised notions regarding the dearth of bronze (and of the ability to work it) in Dark Age Greece (Catling and Catling 1980a): ‘by SPG Lefkandi existed in its own right as a designer and manufacturer of base metal objects, and its enjoyment of imported products . . . was simply a bonus’ (Catling and Catling 1980b: 264). There is evidence, too, for iron smithing, bronze/copper casting and lead working in the Early Iron Age on the nearby Boeotian mainland at Oropos, which is now regarded as home to some of the first western Graikoi (Mazarakis Ainian 1998: 202–3, 212–13). On this showing, a conclusion reached long ago needs little more than fine tuning: ‘The search for metals will explain why Kyme was the first colony founded in the West, and also why Etruria was reached by Greek trade earlier than nearer parts of Italy’ (Dunbabin 1948: 8).

As we have seen, Sant’Imbenia in north-west Sardinia can now be added to the distribution map of pendent semicircle skyphoi; this is also true of the chevron- and one-bird varieties. In other words, Sardinia possesses the three main types of Greek Geometric drinking cup that have long been familiar in eighth-century native graves in mainland Campania and southern Etruria¹⁴ and in non-funerary contexts at Al Mina in north Syria.¹⁵ In Italy (as distinct, I believe, from Sardinia),

12 Lo Schiavo 1981; Lo Schiavo and Ridgway 1987. Relations between Etruria and Sardinia were discussed in 1998 at the conference later published as *Etruria e Sardegna* (Paoletti and Tamagno Perna 2002); on the early metallurgical aspects of the relationship see in particular Lo Schiavo 2002; Macnamara 2002; Zifferero 2002.

13 Note that the bronze items concerned are usually found in nuragic sanctuaries at home, whereas outside Sardinia they are more often than not encountered in funerary contexts, for example at Populonia in north-west Etruria (Bartoloni 1989) and at Pontecagnano in southern Campania (Lo Schiavo 1994).

14 Peserico 1995. Bailo Modesti and Gastaldi 1999, usefully reviewed by Kourou 2001 (and also by Ridgway 2002: 357–60), is an excellent catalogue of the earliest imported and locally-made Greek ceramic items retrieved from the vast native Iron Age cemeteries of Villanovan type at Pontecagnano: 106 vases from 60 graves, including eight pendent semi-circle skyphoi.

15 Boardman 1990, 1999, 2002; Kearsley 1995, 1999.

not all the cups were imports. At Villanovan Veii, the instructive combination of stylistic and physical analysis has produced a convincing and clearly far from unique example of an Eretrian potter working in the locally-available clay exactly as he would have done at home.¹⁶ Not long afterwards, in the second half of the eighth century, we have good evidence from the acropolis of Pithekoussai for other imported Euboean potters and craft-practices: Mössbauer analysis has shown that locally-made Euboeanising, locally-made Corinthianising and other local wares all share the imported Euboean firing temperature, which is consistently higher by 50°C than that of the imported Corinthian samples analysed. 'This similarity in firing techniques could be explained in human terms by the presence of Euboean potters at Pithekoussai' (Deriu, Buchner and Ridgway 1986: 113); and, as at Veii, it is hard to imagine that they would be unwilling to share 'tricks of the trade' with their native colleagues. Indeed, given the sheer scale of ceramic production at eighth-century Pithekoussai, it could be that specific technical procedures were actually imposed on local employees in expatriate Euboean workshops there.

There is nothing new in this kind of relationship. Far to the south, a now well-established tradition of archaeometric investigation of the ceramic record¹⁷ has revealed a much earlier, and on present evidence much more extensive, system of technological transmission and exchange; it is seen to particularly good effect in Apulia, Basilicata and most notably of all in Calabria (there are no fewer than seventy-five Middle and Late Bronze Age sites with Aegean connections in these southern Adriatic and Ionian regions alone: Bettelli 2002: 19–32). At Torre Mordillo (Trucco and Vagnetti 2001), an inland site that clearly had the status of a 'central place' in the Sibaritide (the Plain of Sybaris: i.e., the territory of the future Achaean colony), there are good compositional reasons to attribute the majority of the decorated Aegean-type pottery (present in the LH I–II to IIIC range) to local or regional workshops (Vagnetti 2001c; Jones 2001). This fits the picture that has emerged elsewhere in the Sibaritide at the extraordinarily well-published¹⁸ centre of Broglio di Trebisacce, nearer the Ionian coast. It was shown some time ago that, of around 350 painted LH IIIA to LH IIIC 'Mycenaean' pieces there, no more than ten could safely be regarded as genuine imports; the rest (97 per cent) were made of local clay, and could thus be dubbed 'Italo-Mycenaean' (Vagnetti and Panichelli 1994). This new term has since been used to describe material from many other south Italian (and Sardinian) sites, too; while the composition of some 'Mycenaean' sherds from Latium vetus (Jones

16 Ridgway 1988: 498, list 2 (and 501, table A), nos. DK 6* (Veii, Quattro Fontanili grave EE 14–15) and DK 7* (grave FF 14–15). Stylistic analysis: both Eretrian, and '[a]llmost certainly by the same potter' (Descœudres and Kearsley 1983: 31, no. 6; 32, no. 7). Physical (Mössbauer) analysis: both made at Veii (Deriu, Boitani and Ridgway 1985: 147; 149).

17 Pioneered by Vagnetti and Jones 1988; Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 1992.

18 The valuable discussion papers in Peroni and Trucco 1994 and Peroni and Vanzetti 1998 were preceded by four substantial volumes of excavation reports.

and Vagnetti 1991: 134–5 with 1992: 234–5) and north Italy (Jones, Vagnetti et al. 2002) has been linked by analysis to the local productions respectively of the Sibaritide and Apulia, with all that this implies for the internal Italian circulation of commodities, individuals, skills and ideas.

Further elegant analytical work in the Sibaritide (Levi et al. 1998; Levi 1999) has led to fascinating conclusions regarding the extensive exchange of models and ceramic technology between the native Oenotrian potters and their incoming Aegean counterparts from the thirteenth century onwards. It has emerged that by then, specific tempers could be shared by Aegean-type pithoi (or dolia) and local impasto forms, in a context of specialised production centres and wide intra-regional exchange that was clearly not limited to the goods contained in the vessels concerned.

Truly, we have come a long way since Arne Furumark (apud Säflund 1939: 472) tentatively suggested that the early LH IIIC 1 ware from Punta (i.e., Scoglio) del Tonno in Apulia ‘was manufactured in some peripheral part of the Mycenaean world’.

4. CONTINUITY

In the passage with which I chose to introduce these remarks, Sara Immerwahr alluded to the possibility of continuity between the phases of the ‘Italian connection’ defined by the work respectively of Lord William Taylour and Alan Blakeway. Forty-five years later, it seems to me that continuity has emerged as a stronger – or at least as a more obvious – feature of the Italian than of the Aegean side of the relationship that I undertook to examine here. The main reason for this is not far to seek: the ‘Aegean’ side, as we have seen at Sant’Imbenia, must now be defined as ‘Aegeo-Levantine’ in view of the variety of ethnic and cultural identities represented by the groups who had the natural resources of Sardinia and the Tyrrhenian seaboard of Italy in their sights. In the later phase, the conceptual substitution (illustrated above) of an exclusively Greek ‘pre-colonisation’ by a more general East-West expansion has the merit of clearing the ground for a better appreciation of the probability that the first ‘real’ colonial Greek enterprises in the central Mediterranean were rooted in a series of phenomena that were themselves not wholly Greek in origin. In this respect, the Euboeo–Phoenician partnership postulated (Docter and Niemeyer 1994) in connection with the eighth-century operations at Pithekoussai is a particularly valuable addition to our thinking, and one that in no sense detracts from the significance of the specifically Greek activities that affected Tyrrhenia throughout its gradual and essentially autonomous proto-urban development (‘from village to city’: Pacciarelli 2000).

It is not clear to what extent indigenous family memory might have been consciously active across the centuries briefly reviewed here. Nevertheless, it is precisely this possibility that, with all due caution, has recently been invoked in

connection with the identification of a Mycenaean (LH II) mirror in a Villanovan grave at Tarquinia.¹⁹ Not far away in either space or time, the contents of the two richest Villanovan graves of the third quarter of the eighth century in the Quattro Fontanili cemetery at Veii have likewise been seen as an expression of the need 'to keep an ideal link with the cultural models and usages of the past', and hence of continuity 'between the aristocratic *gentes* [represented by the two graves in question] and the leading social groups of the first Villanovan phase' (Guidi 1993: 120). In much the same way, a little later, the incorporation of certain time-honoured native architectural features into the Orientalising building complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) is said to denote continuity in domestic tradition, and hence the existence of an unbroken family dynasty and of its power in the community (Flusche 2001). In Latium vetus, too, the distinction between the aristocratic *gentes* and their less elevated *clientes* in the Roman future has been traced back to the typologically defined units of the mid-eighth century in the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 211, 241).

These and other examples of social evolution along the Tyrrhenian seaboard are purely indigenous. But although their course (as distinct, in some cases, from their material expression) owes nothing to external stimuli, their very existence speaks volumes for the independently sophisticated nature of the central Mediterranean communities with which the Greeks (and their Levantine partners) were finding it convenient to establish contacts from time to time, and with increasing frequency, during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

5. ENVOI

My main conclusion is simply that the activities characteristic of what John Boardman (1990: 179) once called the 'first really busy period' of East-West traffic (the story of Al Mina and Pithekoussai) in fact started earlier and went deeper than we used to think. How far back, and down, will they go? This we cannot yet say: it has after all been difficult until recently to gain credence for the idea that anything could happen anywhere (or that anyone could interact with anyone else) during the Greek Dark Age, even though this term did not in itself imply a power-cut that extended beyond Greece. That difficulty, which was increasingly more apparent than real (cf. Catling and Catling 1980a, 1980b), has now at last been 'dismissed' (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 225) by the demonstration that the Greek Dark Age was in fact neither so Dark nor such an Age

19 Delpino 2001: 49; Macnamara 2002: 161, 164. Regrettably, the (repaired) mirror in question did not survive the 1966 Florence flood. It may be noted at this point that the hitherto better-known, and supposedly Mycenaean, 'sceptre du prince' from a late eighth-century grave at the West Gate of Eretria has now been convincingly re-defined in terms of central European (and north Italian) typologies that are chronologically compatible with the context of its last resting-place: Bettelli 2001.

as we were all brought up to believe. The consequences are going to be considerable, widespread – and fascinating.

Meanwhile, as a refugee from a later period, I cannot refrain from pointing out that the developments outlined above did not come to an end with the Italian Early Iron Age. The figure of the *émigré* craftsman using his skills (in whatever medium) abroad, and passing them on so that they could serve the purposes and priorities of a foreign cultural context – this, surely, is the story of Demaratus of Corinth and his *fictores* (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.43.152), the literary representatives of the seventh-century incomers who were responsible for much of the outward appearance of what we call Orientalising in Etruria. That is another story, and I have tried to tell it elsewhere (Ridgway forthcoming). So too has Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, with particular reference to Oriental(ising) motifs in Etruscan art. *Mutatis mutandis*, one of her incidental observations (Serra Ridgway 2002: 117) echoes in detail the technological situation that we have seen on the Plain of Sybaris in the Bronze Age:

... the question of the specific birthplace of individual artists becomes largely irrelevant: whether they came from Greece or anywhere else, the work they did in Etruria for Etruscan customers and Etruscan audiences can only be called Etruscan art, and the definition of Greek or Etruscan ‘hands’ is as meaningless as it is invariably elusive and subjective.

As for Demaratus, suffice it to say at this point that I believe his plausibility within an essentially Roman tradition resides in a long-standing familiarity in Italy generally with foreign entrepreneurs and craftsmen, and with mutually beneficial collaboration between them and their indigenous counterparts.²⁰

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20 This paper was submitted to the editors in October 2003. I was thus unable to take account of the many relevant statements made in April 2004 at the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens and now published in two handsome volumes: *EMPORIA: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Italian School of Archaeology, Athens, 14–18 April 2004*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco (2005).

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FROM THE MYCENAEAN *QA-SI-RE-U* TO THE CYPRIOTE *PA-SI-LE-WO-SE*: THE *BASILEUS* IN THE KINGDOMS OF CYPRUS

Maria Iacovou

INTRODUCTION

Granted that nowhere else in the ancient world had a Greek word of Mycenaean pedigree been as consistently and persistently used to refer exclusively to the head of a territorial state, the preservation – to the very end of the fourth century BC – of *basileus* as supreme ruler in an island that to the end of the Mycenaean palace world (c. 1200) – thus almost to the end of the second millennium BC – was not inhabited by Greek-speaking people, is a phenomenon that requires interpretation.

ALEXANDER, PTOLEMY I AND THE LAST OF THE CYPRIOTE *BASILEIS*

In the *Anabasis*, Arrian describes how on the eve of the naval battle of Tyre (332 BC), Alexander was joined in the waters of Sidon by a fleet of 120 warships led by the kings of Cyprus (*Anabasis* 2.20.3). Writing in the second century AD, Arrian uses the term *basileis* to refer to the kings of Cyprus collectively; he also addresses Pnytagoras, the penultimate ruler of the kingdom of Salamis, as *basileus* (*Anabasis* 2.22.2). Following the death of Alexander in 323 BC and the inception of the conflict amongst the Diadochoi, the kingdoms of Cyprus, which had determined the better part of the island's Iron Age history, entered the final dramatic phase of their institutional existence. Whether by 306 BC – Collombier would maintain that 'l'année 306 est bien un *terminus ante quem* pour la disparition des royaumes chypriotes' (Collombier 1993: 127) – or a decade later 'no kings survived Ptolemy's recapture of the island in 294' (Stylianou 1989: 490). Thus, in the third century BC, Cyprus became a province of the Ptolemaic kingdom of Alexandria (see Mehl 1998) and was for the first time administered as a unitary, though not autonomous, state.

The events that led to the abolition of the Cypriote kingship are fairly well known (cf. Stylianou 1989: 486–90; Collombier 1993: 137–40). This is the only episode in the long history of the institution which is covered extensively, though not with precision, by one surviving historiographical source: the *Library* of

Diodorus Siculus, which was compiled in the first century BC (cf. Iacovou 2000: 84; Iacovou 2002a: 75–7).

CONSISTENCY AND LONGEVITY: THE CYPRIOTE *BASILEUS*

In the course of the last quarter of the fourth century BC, when the archaising institution of the city-kingdom fought a losing battle against the new order of the day – the establishment of the Hellenistic mega-states – all but one of the eponymous rulers who were the last to hold the office of *basileus* bore Greek names. Knowledge of the names is claimed on the evidence provided by contemporary epigraphical and/or literary sources (of considerably later date), which do not invariably confirm each other. Let it be noted, however, that the unresolved controversy over the number of the kingdoms whose autonomy had neither been curtailed nor discontinued in the Cypro-Classical period – or, the fate of each one following the failure of the Ionian Revolt and until the arrival of Alexander in the eastern Mediterranean – is fortunately inconsequential to the theme of the present chapter (cf. Stylianou 1989: 486; Collombier 1991: 28; Zournatzi 1996: 154; *contra* Iacovou 2002a: 77).

In the two pre-eminent kingdoms, which occupied the western and the eastern part of the island respectively, the last to bear the title *basileus* were Nicocles (son of king Timarchos) of Paphos (Diod. 20.21.1–3; Masson 1983: nos 1, 6–7) and Nicocreon (son of king Pnytagoras) of Salamis (Diod. 19.79.5; *IG* IV, 583; Marmor Parium, *IG* XII: 5, 444). The last *basileis* of Marion and Lapithos were named Stasioikos (Diod. 19.62.6) and Praxippos (Diod. 19.79.4), respectively. At Soloi, it would appear that Stasicrates (son of king Stasias) may have been the penultimate king (cf. Masson 1983: 218 no. 212; Perlman 2000: 277), the last one being an Eunostos who was said to have married Eirene, a daughter of Ptolemy I (cf. Stylianou 1989: 513; Perlman 2000: 277). The case of Kourion is particularly complex. On the one hand, there is the Pasicrates of the Nemean *theorodokoi* inscription (Miller 1988; Perlman 2000: 112, 116, 236), presumably the same Pasicrates recorded by Arrian (*Anabasis* 2.22.2), who may have been king of Kourion in the days of Alexander – but note the well-founded reservations of Perlman 2000: 271; on the other hand, neither a king nor a kingdom of Kourion is accounted for by Diodorus, or by any other source for that matter (see Collombier 1993: 136), ‘during the tumultuous years of 321–312 BC’ (Perlman 2000: 272) that led to the abolition of the kingdoms.

Even the last king of (the so-called) ‘Eteocypriot’ Amathous, the Greek-named Androcles, who also supported Alexander in the battle of Tyre (*Anabasis* 2.22.2), and Pumayaton – Pygmalion to Diodorus (Diod. 19. 79.4) – last king of the Cypro-Phoenician dynasty of Kition, who had never abandoned their Semitic names, identified their office with the Greek term *basileus*. Inscribed only in syllabic Greek to the end of the fifth century, and also in alphabetic Greek during the fourth century, the ruler’s official title was invariably *basileus*. This term alone

was recognised as the equivalent of the Phoenician *mlk* – as in the celebrated bilingual and digraphic (Phoenician alphabet-Greek syllabary) inscription of Idalion (Masson 1983: 246, no. 220) – and of the unidentified ‘Eteocypriot’ word for *basileus* – confirmed by Androcles’ bilingual and digraphic (‘Eteocypriot’ syllabary-Greek alphabet) inscription (Hermay and Masson 1982: 239). Until the last day of the institution, not a single exception weakens the consistency with which only this one Greek term defined the office of the rulers in the Iron Age states of Cyprus.

Contrary to the consistency of the epigraphic evidence, Greek literary sources (of which the fifth-century *Histories* of Herodotus would be the earliest citing references to Cypriote kings) are known to make indiscriminate use of other terms, such as *turannos* (tyrant) used by Herodotus (5.113) in conjunction with the name of Stesenor, king of Kourion, or *dunastes* (dynast) used by Diodorus (19.62.6) in reference to the Amathousian king, who in 316 had to be Androcles. These terms had no correspondence and no face value in the political institution of Iron Age Cyprus; they are not encountered in any of the royal inscriptions. I would therefore caution against the adoption of views which maintain that ‘les rois de Chypre et de Macédoine . . . sont qualifiés tantôt de “rois”, tantôt de “tyrants”’ (Carlier, *Royauté*: 237). This pertains exclusively to external historiographical sources; it does not qualify kingship in Cyprus but rather reflects the ancient author’s own political perceptions (see Lévy 1993, on Herodotus).

KINGSHIP IN ARCHAIC CYPRUS

Having established that the epigraphical evidence, which consists of inscriptions issued by, and within the territories of, the Cypriote kingdoms, confirms that only one Greek term identified the Cypriote rulers, let us proceed to define the origin of the *basileus* institution in Cyprus. How early did *basileus* actually begin to signify the head of a Cypriote state? How do we explain the introduction of the term and its elevated meaning in the island’s Iron Age political landscape?

We are informed by no less an authoritative body of material than the Neo-Assyrian royal archives that the island of Cyprus – shortly before the end of the eighth century – far from being a unitary state, was divided into seven polities. Granted that this sacred number is used to claim the voluntary submission of the ‘seven kings of Ia, a district of Iatnana, whose distant abodes are situated a seven days’ journey in the sea of the setting sun’ (cf. Stylianou 1989: 382; Reyes 1994: 51), its credibility is questionable. Nonetheless, each Cypriote polity was represented by a ruler whom the Assyrian king Sargon II (722–705) defines as *sharru*, the Akkadian term for king also used for the Assyrian monarchs (see Zournatzi 1996: 164).

The appellation occurs on an all-famous stele that Sargon himself had ordered to be set up in the land of Ia (one of the variants by which Cyprus was known to the Assyrians) to mark the westernmost Mediterranean frontier of his empire

(Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995), and on another seven cuneiform inscriptions from his new palace at the northern fortress of Khorsabad (Saporetti 1976: 83–8 for the Assyrian texts that refer to Cyprus). These Sargonic inscriptions, which date from the last years of his reign, infer that the Cypriote rulers had travelled of their own accord to Babylon to offer their submission probably in 708/7 BC (see Stylianou 1989: 384). Otherwise, no Assyrian military campaign was ever directed against the island (Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995: 173–5); nor were the Cypriote kingdoms subsequently incorporated into the empire's strict system of vassal city-states (Stylianou 1989: 386; Fourrier 2002: 135). Such a development is not sustained by the evidence – and not only because Sargon's stele is the only Neo-Assyrian document ever found in Cyprus (Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995: 161). This can be convincingly illustrated by comparison to the (material) culture change observed in Philistine centres, such as Ekron, after they had been occupied and made into provinces of the Assyrian empire (cf. Gitin 1995; Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997). The Cypriote polities retained instead the status of client kingdoms and operated as the westernmost entrepôts within the empire's market economy, which brought them as much wealth as they were meant to pass on to the Assyrians (cf. Stylianou 1989: 390; Reyes 1994: 54).

Sargon's inscriptions that relate to Cyprus are of singular significance. First, they indicate that the Cypriote rulers had been recognised (more than likely for the first time) as heads of states by the oldest of the first-millennium BC Near Eastern empires. Secondly, they show that the island was already operating under a network of territorial polities. Cyprus was evidently represented by a group of leaders who were able to negotiate a treaty with the head of the empire 'which in the seventh century stimulated the first "world market" in history' (Gitin 2003: 59.5). Moreover, the liaison with the Assyrians provided the external impetus that forced these territorial entities to consolidate. Their voluntary submission at the end of the eighth century is, therefore, a *terminus ante* regarding the foundation of the Cypriote polities – and not a *terminus post quem*, as has often been maintained (cf. Rupp 1987, 1998; Childs 1997: 40). It marks not the horizon of their establishment but the inception of the second stage in their development: their consolidation into the Archaic Cypriote monarchies (Iacovou 2002a: 80–4).

Three decades after Sargon's death in the battlefield, Esarhaddon (680–669), Sargon's successor but one reconfirmed the status of the polities of Cyprus in an amazingly detailed and securely dated inscription of 673/2 BC, which relates to the rebuilding of the palace at Nineveh (Borger 1956: 59–61). In this instance, the Neo-Assyrian royal scribes went into great trouble to record the island's ten kingdoms and the head of state of each by name (see Stylianou 1989: 388; Reyes 1994: 58, 160). The names of some of the most prominent kingdoms of Cyprus can be identified in this list, and half the eponymous Cypriote rulers, if not more than half, depending on how one evaluates their transliteration (Lipinski 2004; Masson 1992: 27–9), appear to have been of Greek origin: Akestor of Edil (Idalion); Phylagoras of Kitrusi (Chytroi); Kisu of Sillua (Soloι or Salamis); Eteandros of

Pappa (Paphos); Eresu (Aratos?) of Silli (Salamis or Soloi); Damasos of (Kuri) Kourion; Admesu (Admitos?) of Tamesi (Tamassos); Damusi of Qardihadasti – ‘the new city’, referring either to Kition or Amathous (Yon 1987: 366–7; Hermary 1987: 379–81); Onasagoras of Lidir (Ledra); Bususu of Nuria – probably another name for Amathous, according to Baurain’s (1981) ingenious interpretation or Marion, according to Lipinski’s (2004: 75) latest reconstruction.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN *PA-SI-LE-WO-SE*

‘*Sharru*’ (kings) they were, as far as the Assyrians were concerned, and surprisingly – in view of the island’s Bronze Age linguistic identity, which was definitely not Greek – quite a few of them must have been of Greek descent. Our basic concern, however, is whether these seventh-century Greek-named rulers were being addressed in their respective polities at home as *basileis*. The answer is affirmative. As the evidence stands today, the earliest inscriptions where the Greek term *basileus* is recorded in the island’s Iron Age Cypriote syllabary (as *pa-si-le-wo-se*), date from the seventh century. They are inscribed on a silver bowl (dated 725–675, see Marcoe 1985: 177–9; V. Karageorghis 2000: 182, no. 299) and on a (long-lost) pair of solid gold bracelets (see Mitford 1971: 7–11), respectively. The plate is claimed as property of Akestor, *basileus* of Paphos (Mitford 1971: 373–6; Masson 1983: 412 no. 180a). The bracelets belonged to Etewandros, also *basileus* of Paphos (Masson 1983: 192 no. 176; 1984: 75–6, n. 23).

Although the chronological relation of these inscribed items to the 673/2 BC prism of Esarhaddon cannot be defined, both royal names are also attested on Esarhaddon’s king-list (Masson 1992: 27–8), where Akestor is king at Idalion and Etewandros is once again acknowledged as king of Paphos. Assuming that we may be dealing not with the same Etewandros but with two different members of the royal house of Paphos in the Archaic period, this may count as the earliest evidence pointing towards the hereditary nature of Cypriote kingship.

PALAIAPAPHOS AND THE SECOND LIFE OF A LATE CYPRIOTE SYLLABARY

It should not go unnoticed that the earliest royal inscriptions of Cyprus refer to two kings bearing Greek names whose capital seat was Paphos. The geographical locus of Paphos, home to the sanctuary and the prehistoric cult of the *Dea Cypria*, began to be referred to as Palaia/Palaiopaphos/Palaepaphos after the fourth century BC, when Nicocles is believed to have relocated his administrative capital further west by the sea, thus founding Nea Paphos (see Mitford 1960: 198).

Palaipaphos claims the earliest known attempt to put the syllabic script of Cyprus to the service of the Greek language. I am referring to the much-discussed (cf. Masson 1994: 33–6), and deservedly so, inscription of a single proper name: Opheltas. Recovered from a chamber tomb in the Palaipaphos-*Skales* necropolis,

one of a number of rich Early Iron Age extramural cemeteries which are spaced out in an almost complete circle around Palaipaphos (see Iacovou 1994: 158; Raptou 2002: 131, fig 1), the name is inscribed in five syllabic signs (*o-pe-le-ta-u*) on a bronze obelos (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 61, T.49: 16 pl. LXXXVIII: no. 16). The rich assemblage of the grave belongs typologically to Cypro-Geometric I (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 76), which in absolute terms translates into 1050–950 (Gjerstad 1948: 427).

The inscription of Opheltas continues to represent the first known attempt of the Cypriote syllabary to record not the Greek language in general but precisely the Arcado-Cypriot dialect (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 12; Bazemore 2002: 158). This, however, is only half the story as regards the singular significance of the Opheltas inscription. The other half has to do with the Late Bronze Age Cypro-Minoan script which, having served its purpose in the late-second millennium urban polities of Cyprus, ought to have shared the destiny of many other contemporary scribal systems: like Linear A (of the Minoan palaces) and Linear B (of the Mycenaean palaces), it ought to have dropped completely out of use. The indecipherable Cypro-Minoan acquired instead a second life when it was transformed into what is known as the Iron Age Cypriote syllabary.

‘The sign forms on this obelos, are widely interpreted as representing a transitory phase between Cypro-Minoan and the distinctive sign repertoire used by Paphos in the Archaic period’, writes Bonny Bazemore (2002: 159) in her contribution to the recently published *Script and Seal Use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Bazemore is echoing the original assessment of the Opheltas inscription (Masson and Masson 1983: 412, 414), which has since been accepted by other authorities who ascribe to the continuity of script use in Cyprus from the Bronze to the Iron Age (cf. Palaima 1991: 451–4; Woodard 1997: 5; 2000: 35). The transformation of the Cypro-Minoan script meant that Cyprus, in contrast to Greece, did not have to *regain* literacy in the Iron Age. ‘In all of the Greek world, literacy was preserved only in Cyprus; elsewhere the Greeks had forgotten how to read and write’ (Woodard 1997: 224). Cyprus used this modified syllabic script of Late Bronze Age origin as ‘a vehicle for writing Greek’ (Palaima 1991: 452) from as early as the critical transition to the first millennium and throughout the Iron Age. Even after the abolition of the kingdoms, when the Cypriote syllabary was no longer employed by state authorities, it was intermittently used by the ordinary Cypriotes – who ‘were highly literate in their own syllabic script’ (Bazemore 1998: 81) – almost to the end of the first millennium BC (cf. Mitford 1960: 199, n. 1; Bazemore 1998: 86, 89).

Evident as it may be, on account of the transformation of the Cypro-Minoan script, that in Cyprus literacy was not lost, the Opheltas syllabic inscription remains *an unicum* for the Early Iron Age: syllabic inscriptions are missing almost entirely from the pre-seventh-century material record of the island. This negative evidence is aggravated, I would argue, by the lack of settlement visibility, which is the bane of Early Iron Age archaeology in Cyprus (Iacovou 1999a: 144–5). In fact, Cypriote Protohistory (Iacovou 2001, on the definition of the term) has been victimised by the sheer success and longevity of its major settlements, which after

having served as kingdom capitals remained the urban centres of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus (Catling 1994: 136; Iacovou 2002a: 73–4). Consequently, it would be premature to reach definitive conclusions regarding either the extent or the role of literacy during the Cypro-Geometric period. The chronological gap, which now stands between Opheltas and the next Greek syllabic inscription (see Palaima 1991: 452), is not bound to remain as wide for ever.

A HISTORICAL PARADOX

We have concluded above that the first two royal syllabic inscriptions, those of Akestor and Etewandros, constitute a seventh-century *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the institution of kingship in Cyprus and for its identification with the term *basileus*. Nowhere else in the Greek-speaking world do we have as early as the seventh century BC material (epigraphical) evidence by which to identify an eponymous (non-legendary) head of state who is furthermore addressed as *basileus*. Why in Cyprus? The island's proximity to the Near Eastern cultures would have rendered it more natural if the state ruler was addressed as *sharru* (Akkadian) or *mlk* (Phoenician). In fact, state formation in Iron Age Cyprus has been repeatedly interpreted as a by-product of the Assyrian domination, and also as emulating the Phoenician city-state institution (cf. Rupp 1985: 129; 1987: 153). This, however, hardly tallies with the considerably early introduction and persistent preservation of the term *basileus* to designate the head of a Cypriote state.

It is common knowledge that the island of Cyprus did not host a typical Archaic colonisation which had been organised and dispatched by one of the young Greek city-states at any time during or after the eighth century (Iacovou forthcoming). The essential character of Greek colonisation rests on its being 'a product of the world of the *polis*, of independent city-states' (Graham 1983: 1). All to the contrary, Cyprus' political affiliations from the late eighth century onwards claim it, first, as a tribute-paying island territory of the Neo-Assyrian empire; second, of the Egyptian Amasis (Herodotus 2.182.2) – for an insignificant length of time (see Stylianou 1989: 396–7; Reyes 1994: 70–1); third, as of the last quarter of the sixth century, of Achaemenid Persia (cf. Stylianou 1989: 397–8, 413; Reyes 1994: 85). Moreover, the Phoenician coastal state of Tyre had established in Kition, probably in the late ninth century, its first maritime colony. Although the date is highly controversial, and Baurain would convincingly argue that 'les véritables "colons" ne débarquant sans doute qu'au cours du chypro-archaïque' (Baurain 1997: 250), this 'Tyrian' colonisation movement was accompanied, or was more than likely preceded, by the introduction of the Phoenician's fully developed alphabetic script. The earliest known Phoenician inscription from Cyprus comes from Salamis and is dated to the ninth century on account of its having been found on a Cypro-Geometric II bowl (see Sznycer 1980; Yon 1999: 19, fig. 6b). There is also a funerary inscription in the Phoenician alphabet (on a stele of unknown provenance), assigned by Masson and Sznycer (1972: 13) to the early ninth century.

In an island, which from the late eighth century was politically claimed by the Near East and whose people were exposed, since the ninth century, to the superior alphabetic writing of the Phoenicians, the establishment of a particularly early Greek dialect which was inscribed in an indigenous syllabary of Bronze Age origin verges on the schizophrenic. Until its gradual suppression by the classical Greek *koine* in the Ptolemaic period, the Arcado-Cypriot was the only Greek dialect spoken/written in Cyprus 'with a freedom of contamination which is remarkable' (Mitford 1980: 264). Thus, the royal title *basileus* had a long and consistent life in a script that lasted longer than the institution of Cypriote kingship: from the seventh century to the end of the fourth century BC, *basileus* was inscribed in the Cypriote syllabary; additionally, from the latter half of the sixth century, a syllabic, often shorthand [BA], *basileus* inscription began to appear on the early coins issued by the kingdoms of Salamis, Paphos and Idalion (see Hill 1904; Destrooper-Georgiades 1993: 88–9, n. 7). Eventually, in the fourth century, and following Evagoras I's official introduction of the Greek alphabet to Cyprus (Masson 1983: 79), the term began to be also inscribed alphabetically (see Hellmann and Hermay 1980: 262; Masson, 1983: 218, no. 212).

It is hardly coincidental that the Arcado-Cypriot served (since the Cypro-Archaic period) as state language in kingdoms which laid claim to their having been established by Greek colonists (Herodotus 5. 113 on Kourion) or Greek-named *oikists* – Paphos by Agapenor, Salamis by Teucer, Idalion by Chalcantor, Soloi by the Athenians Phalimos and Akamas (see Vanschoonwinkel 1994: 121–4). Unsurprisingly, no myth ever claimed Kition or Amathous as Greek foundations. On currently available evidence, the establishment of the two non-Greek royal dynasties of Cyprus dates from after the inception of the fifth century. The status of Kition as a (linguistically) Phoenician kingdom and the status of Amathous as a (linguistically) 'Eteocypriote' kingdom is indicated for the first time by their respective fifth-century coin legends (see Amandry 1984; Collombier 1991: 34; Yon 1992: 249–50; Aupert 1996: 45). This leaves a two-and-a-half-centuries long unaccounted gap since the rule of Damusi of Qardihadasti (Kition or Amathous?) and Bususu of Nuria (Amathous?), who are recorded on Esarhaddon's prism of 673/2.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF AN ILLITERATE GREEK COLONISATION

The phenomenal endurance of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect in Cyprus during the first millennium BC is interpreted as the result of two conditions: first, the permanent establishment of significant numbers of human agents of the same linguistic origin in the island; second, the subsequent isolation of this particular dialectal group from other Greek speakers to explain how the dialect became fossilised. Its preservation in the inland enclave formed by the Arcadian mountains in the Peloponnese – where we find it written in the Greek alphabet during the Classical period – is explained in terms of absence of contact with the historic Greek dialects.

The sister dialects spoken in these distant-from-each-other regions have been recognised to have a common descent from the main dialect of the Linear B tablets (cf. Palaima 1995: 123; Baurain 1997: 129; Woodard 1997: 224). I remain in awe of Anna Morpurgo-Davies' daring proposition that from the Arcadian and the Cypriote dialect 'we should be able to reconstruct the main features of a language spoken in the Peloponnese just before the *departure* of the future Cyprians' (Morpurgo-Davies 1992: 422, my emphasis). Specialists in the field may have reason to doubt the viability of the proposition but that would hardly negate the reality of the event or alter its chronology. The chronological horizon of the *departure* is narrowed down by a basic constraint: it had to take place *before* the development of the historical Greek dialects in the first millennium BC (Chadwick 1975: 811; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 12).

Whether we try to define the event from the point of view of post-palatial Mycenaean Greece or from that of Early Iron Age Cyprus, in the end, we are left with no other option than to concede to what the late John Chadwick described as 'the very high antiquity of the Greek colonisation of Cyprus' (Chadwick 1996: 188). Many scholars would justifiably claim that the term colonisation is inappropriate and they would substitute for it other terms such as migration of, or penetration by, Greek-speaking peoples (cf. Vanschoonwinkel 1994: 124; Baurain 1997: 142). The nuance of terms, however, is hardly relevant before the undeniable initiation of a process as fundamental as the one that transformed the island's Bronze Age linguistic identity. With the exception of an unidentified and indecipherable minority language, which survived within the boundaries of the Amathousian kingdom – and may stand a chance to be recognised one day (if the missing links were to be found) as the descendant of a Bronze Age Cypriote language – this migration event eliminated (though not overnight) the island's own second-millennium language(s) and had it/them replaced with an early Greek dialect (see Iacovou 2005).

Had they arrived on the island later rather than sooner, the illiterate Greek speakers would have had the choice of a superior and fully developed scribal system: the Phoenician alphabet, which is first observed in Cyprus in the ninth century (Sznycer 1980). The Arcado-Cypriot speakers, however, had solved their illiteracy problem much earlier, through the adoption and adaptation of the Cypro-Minoan script into the Cypriote syllabary, under circumstances that, though poorly understood, are not irrelevant to the relative confinement of the Phoenician alphabet (see Bazemore 2002: 156) and the 'Eteocypriot' syllabary (see Masson 1983: 84–7) within particular polities.

The above reconstruction of events presupposes another temporal and spatial condition: inscriptions in the Cypro-Minoan are not attested after LC (Late Cypriote) IIIA. As Nicolle Hirschfeld observes, 'traces of writing continue to be found in later (LC IIIB) contexts . . . many of these perhaps misplaced holdovers from the previous period', but 'the evidence of writing in LC IIIB is very meager' (Hirschfeld 2002: 99). It is highly improbable that the Greek speakers could have

gained first-hand experience of the functional use of the Late Cypriote writing system at any time after LCIIIA unless they were in close contact with the literate Cypriotes.

Let it be noted that – as shown by Hirschfeld's exemplary study of pot-marking practices – during the floruit of formal Cypro-Minoan literacy (LC IIC–LC IIIA), the Cypriotes had introduced potmarks, some of which may be identified with Cypro-Minoan signs, in the course of their transactions and trade relations with the Mycenaean palatial economy (Hirschfeld 2002: 54, 73, 99). Moreover, the island's archaeological record strongly suggests that the newcomers did not seek to live apart: neither at the end of the Late Bronze Age (in the twelfth century), nor at the beginning of the Early Iron Age (eleventh–tenth centuries) can we distinguish separate enclaves specifically founded by migrant people. Even the new and short-lived establishments of Pyla-Kokkinokremmos and Maa-Palaeokastro have been described by their excavator as joint venture sites (V. Karageorghis 1990: 10, 26).

The invisibility of the Mycenaean migration, that is, the fact that it could not be defended through new and distinctly different settlements, has compromised Cypriote archaeology for a long time (Iacovou 2005). The introduction of a new language was not accompanied by a clearly visible Mycenaean-Greek migrant package. In fact, were it not for the Greek language, the material record left on its own could not defend the migration of Greek speakers to Cyprus at the end of the second millennium BC (Iacovou 1999b: 1–2).

THE ENIGMA OF EARLY GREEK LITERACY IN CYPRUS

The most compelling enigma is: why did the Greek speakers feel such a pressing need for a writing system? Their Aegean homeland felt neither the loss of, nor the need for a scribal system in the centuries that followed the 'dethronement' of the Mycenaean *wanax*. There is no satisfactory answer to this puzzle, especially since we fail to see them put their syllabic literacy to much use for a while. The explanation ought to be sought in the circumstances the colonists must have encountered in the Late Cypriote settlements. These particular circumstances – deemed favourable by comparison to those associated with the destruction of the Mycenaean palace system and its twelfth-century aftermath – had induced the migration to Cyprus, which has so vividly been described by Sherratt as a move 'from the periphery to the core, from the Provinces to Versailles' (Sherratt 1992: 325). How well, then, did the Greek speakers know where they were heading, and with what intentions?

It is my contention that the character of this population movement will be better understood when we provide an answer to why *qa-si-re-u* – a word that is first encountered in the Late Bronze Age Greek vocabulary, and was recorded in Linear B on the tablets of Knossos, Pylos and Thebes (Carlier, *Royauté*: 115) to signify 'the chief of any group' (Chadwick 1976: 70), or 'a local official of some kind'

(Hooker 1980: 115, no. 220) in the context of the Mycenaean state hierarchy – acquired an exalted status in Cyprus after the end of the Mycenaean palace era.

Any attempt at providing an interpretative model to account for the character of this Late Bronze Age migration should not underestimate the difficulty of trying to negotiate our way as diligently as possible between the Mycenaean palace culture and the Late Cypriote. Despite commercial exchanges and non-reciprocal, one-way Aegean influences such as the adoption of Minoan cult symbols (for instance, horns of consecration) by the newly formed Late Cypriote élites (Webb 1999: 281), the two cultures remained highly distinct to the end. A Mycenaean *wanax* or his equivalent had never been installed in Cyprus. Unlike Minoan Crete, the Late Cypriote environment has not disclosed any evidence relating to the establishment of a palatial Mycenaean authority in Cyprus: no tholos tombs, no megara with wall-paintings and, in particular, no Linear B (cf. Baurain 1997: 142). The exclusive use of the Cypro-Minoan script denies that the language of the Mycenaeans had made inroads in Cyprus before the end of the palace period. We should therefore resist the temptation to apply to Cyprus notions that derive from the social and political transformations that the ‘fall’ of the *wanax* generated in different parts of the Aegean.

Even if we believe, as we now do with less hesitation than before – due to the encouraging assessment of Ken Kitchen in his vital contribution to *Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity* (forthcoming) – that with Alashiya the Egyptians were referring to part or the whole of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, this does not enlighten us as to the Cypriote rulers who were the contemporaries of the Mycenaean *wanaktes* in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, archaeology allows us to infer that neither Enkomi nor any other Late Cypriote urban centre had managed to establish island-wide control (on alternative models see Goren et al. 2003: 251).

THE LATE BRONZE AGE CRISIS

Following the Mediterranean-wide crisis in the second half of the thirteenth century, which in Cyprus amounted to a major economic set-back, expressed in the definitive closure of many thriving LC IIC centres (for instance, Kalavassos-Ayios Demetrios, Maroni, Alassa), Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Palaipaphos were left as the island’s prime LC IIIA urban settlements (see V. Karageorghis 1990; V. Karageorghis 1992). It is in these twelfth-century centres that the infiltration of Greek speakers must have taken place (Ridgway, this volume, alludes to a similar and largely contemporary Mycenaean infiltration in the native centres of Italy).

Dikaïos (1971: 485) and Åström (1985a: 9; 1986: 11) think that Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke respectively may have suffered destruction during the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA. Despite the evident diversification of certain aspects of LC IIIA material culture (Iacovou 2005: 130) – as in the variability of

intra muros tomb types (V. Karageorghis 2000) – cultural continuities remain prevalent after the LC IIC to LC IIIA transition (Sherratt 1998: 294; Webb 1999: 6, 288). Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that the LC IIIA levels of the once great urban centre of Enkomi suggest a deteriorating process. Eventually, Enkomi was peacefully and gradually abandoned towards the end of the twelfth century in the name of a successful resettlement by the new port of Salamis. In the course of the same twelfth-century horizon, Hala Sultan Tekke began to suffer the consequences of the silting of its harbour facilities – the formation of the salt lake seems to date from this period (Gifford 1980; Åström 1985b: 175). Its closure meant urban expansion for nearby Kition where ‘the first phase of the sacred quarter coincided with the foundation of the town and its expansion in LC IIC/IIIA utilised additional space’ (Webb 1999: 289).

It is truly amazing that in the course of this tumultuous and critical, for the entire Mediterranean, transition to the twelfth century, Kition as well as Palaipaphos possessed the human and material resources to erect ashlar-built temene of unprecedented monumentality (Webb 1999: 288). In fact, as observed by Webb, monumentality in the ritual architecture of Cyprus ‘appears only in LC IIC/IIIA and is accompanied by elements apparently exclusively associated with cult, namely stepped capitals, high platforms and horns of consecration’ (Webb 1999: 289). The grandeur of this politico-religious architecture remained unsurpassed to the end of the age of the kingdoms almost a millennium later. Moreover, since Kition and Palaipaphos were not abandoned in the course of the transition to the Early Iron Age (see V. Karageorghis 1990: 15, 19), eventually the same two sanctuaries functioned once again as urban cult centres, this time of their respective Iron Age monarchies. Irrespective of the fact that Palaipaphos had in the meantime acquired a Greek *basileus* and Kition a Phoenician *mlk*, it was the indigenous Late Cypriote religious model which was retained throughout (Snodgrass 1994).

Not only did the above urban centres survive the disruptions at the end of the thirteenth century, they furthermore provide evidence for the existence of a strong central authority (Webb 1999: 292), and also for an economic and industrial intensification (Sherratt 1992), which led to the island’s primacy in the production of functional iron (Snodgrass 1982: 345; Sherratt 2000: 82). As regards the end of the twelfth century, there is little room for a desolate inter-phase (LC IIIA–LC IIIB) between the gradual abandonment of Enkomi or Hala Sultan Tekke and the rise, already in the eleventh century (LC IIIB–CG I), of new Early Iron Age settlements, which by the first quarter of the seventh century were being designated in the Neo-Assyrian records as territorial monarchies (Salamis: Yon 1999; Amathous: Iacovou 2002b).

Cyprus did not suffer the impact of a protracted urban breakdown. The transition to the Early Iron Age did not sever the island violently, or completely, or for long from its Late Cypriote traditions and institutions. Moreover, Cyprus’ quick recovery from a crisis that was not easily overcome by either the Late

Bronze Age empires or the palatial states is attributed to the continuing exploitation and exchange of its metallic resources (Sherratt 1994). Thus, we are unable to associate the end of the Late Cypriote economy and its associated settlement pattern with extensive and violent catastrophes and to blame them on invisible Greek-speaking newcomers who could have further undermined the remaining Late Cypriote urban centres and could have paralysed the island's economy. Instead, we need to acknowledge their positive contribution, first in upholding the industry during the twelfth century; secondly, in participating and, to judge from the outcome and the literary tradition, in taking the lead in the re-organisation of the island's Early Iron Age settlement pattern. This new settlement geography, which begins to take shape in the course of the eleventh century BC (Iacovou 1994), prefigures that of the historical kingdoms whose capitals were to undertake the role of primary urban centres in the Iron Age settlement hierarchy.

Cyprus' phenomenal affluence in the eleventh and tenth centuries BC (a period of duress and severe economic setback in the Aegean) was evidently variously endowed by this migration episode. Is it by some mere chance that the episode, which was to bring a host of Greek-named *basileis* to power, appears to run in parallel with the continuation of the island's copper industry during the twelfth and eleventh centuries, as well as with the successful application of metallurgical expertise (see Pickles and Peltenburg 1998) for the exploitation of a new metallic product, namely iron?

THE *QA-SI-RE-U* OF THE LINEAR B TABLETS: A REGIONAL INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONARY

In the vigorous debate carried out by Linear B scholars over the status of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u*, certain aspects stand out. Weingarten has concluded that Pylian officials with the title of *qa-si-re-u* were dealing with bronze as a raw material, and that in general *qa-si-re-we* were responsible, internally and externally, for the palaces' metal stores (Weingarten 1997: 531). Palaima accepts that named individuals with the title *qa-si-re-u* appear mainly in the context of bronze-working and have to do with 'worker collectives' or 'industrial groups', but prudently adds that *qa-si-re-we* were more than regional officials who operated at the local level: they were at the same time provincial dignitaries, indeed members of a local aristocracy (Palaima 1995: 124). Shelmerdine (this volume) stresses the highly structured position of *qa-si-re-u* in that sector of the Mycenaean society that the Linear B tablets allow us to approach. This position, even if not exclusively associated with industrial activities, renders the *qa-si-re-u* the one local functionary who, on the evidence of his association with the 'distribution of bronze' (Hooker 1980: 113; Carlier, *Royaute*: 108), could have gained intimate knowledge of the land from where the raw product was primarily imported. The island has not been identified under any name in the existing Linear B tablets, but the personal name Kuprios and the personal name Alasios are attested in the

Linear B documents (Knapp 1996: 51–2). The term *ku-pi-ri-jo*, whether an ethnic adjective or an adjective describing the origin of commodities (Knapp 1996: 11–13) or collectors in charge of such commodities (Killen 1995), is most likely based on the unattested place-name *Kupros*.

Like the term *wanax*, *qa-si-re-u* has no Indo-European ancestry (Palaima 1995: 122–3). Because it has no obvious Greek etymology, Weingarten suggests that the office may date back to Minoan times (Weingarten 1997: 530). Palaima, on the other hand, thinks of the *qa-si-re-we* as the locally based chieftains of the Early Helladic period who were made subordinate to the single figure of the *wanax* (Palaima 1995). In agreement with Morpurgo-Davies's earlier interpretation (Morpurgo-Davies 1979), he suggests that 'once the palace and its *wanax* was removed, the chief local and practical . . . administrators . . . became the chief power figures in the regional socio-political systems that developed in post-palatial Greece' (Palaima 1995: 125).

The above views, relating to the definition of the functionary as recognised in Linear B, and to the etymological ancestry of the term, render support to my proposition whereby the move to Cyprus was organised under recognised regional leaders. Having been reinstated as local rulers after the Mycenaean *wanax* had been ousted, *basileis* from different parts of the Aegean world reached the island at the head of troops of highly specialised industrial craftsmen and contributed to the preservation of the island's major asset. This interpretation can at least explain a migration that did not cause chaos but rather boosted the island's industry.

The most prominent aetiological myths defend two *Nostoi* (Malkin 1998: 154 for the definition of the term) as founders of the arch-Greek polities of Paphos and Salamis respectively: they are Agapenor, the Arcadian king of Tegea, and Teucer, brother of Ajax, son of Telamon, king of the island of Salamis. Their provenance not from renowned Mycenaean citadels but from such inconspicuous places as the mountainous heartland of the Peloponnese or a small Aegean island reflects the rise of regional chieftains in the post-palatial era of the twelfth century.

That the Cypriote Iron Age *basileus* was hardly more than an industrial plus agricultural resource manager, ruling operations from a primary centre (the capital), is clear even from the limited material evidence afforded by the Archaic and Classical kingdoms. The last major clash between Salamis and Kition was over the mines of Tamassos (Iacovou 2002a).

THE DIVINE AND THE HUMAN *WANAXI/WANASSA* IN CYPRUS

As incomprehensible as it may sound, *basileus*' successful colonial enterprise to Cyprus did not exclude the *wanax*. The *wanax* in Iron Age Cyprus can be either divine or human, as in the Linear B tablets (Hooker 1980: 135). The divine use appears to have been exclusively reserved for the Goddess of Cyprus. The epitaphs and the dedications of the fourth-century priest-kings of Paphos, Timocharis,

Echetimos, Timarchos and Nicocles, read ‘*basileus*, priest of the *wanassa*’ (see J. Karageorghis 1997: 115–17; 2002: 156). When it comes to the human *wanax*, however, we have an exclusively Cypriote development. As Chadwick states, ‘Where Homer confuses two words for ‘king’, the tablets have a sharp distinction; *wanax* is there the King, and the other word means only ‘chief’ (Chadwick 1976: 185). The distinction is equally sharp in the inscriptions of Cyprus where, surprisingly, the *basileus* as well as the *wanax* perform new roles: the *basileus* is the head of a kingdom, the *wanax* a member of the royal family. This Iron Age survival of the term *wanax* in the secular sphere – justifiably described as odd by Palaima (1995: 123) – had attracted the attention of Isocrates and Aristotle in the fourth century. Isocrates (*Evagoras* 9.72) explains that by virtue of their birthright the sons and daughters of *basileus* are *anactes* and *anassai*. A quotation from Aristotle’s lost *Kyprion Politeia* (quoted by the lexicographer Harpokration) defines *anassa* as the sister or wife of *basileus* and *anax* as his brother or son. Both authors, therefore, stress a blood relation between *basileus* and *wanax*. No equivalent bond is traceable in the relation of the Mycenaean *wanax* to *qa-si-re-u*. This singularly Cypriote kinship tie, which was more than likely developed after the Greek-speakers’ establishment in the island, stresses the hereditary nature of Cypriote kingship.

What is truly decisive is to acknowledge that this bondage is not a prerogative of those monarchies which had been founded by Greeks. The digraphic (alphabet-syllabary) and bilingual (Phoenician-Greek) dedicatory inscription of Baalrom at Idalion is of singular importance on this issue (see Masson 1983: 246, no. 220). First, it indicates that, despite the fact that the Greek monarchy of Idalion had been abolished by Kition in the fifth century, Phoenician speakers outside their linguistic stronghold were employing syllabic Greek, alongside the Phoenician alphabet. The same is observed on two non-royal inscriptions from Tamassos (Masson 1983: 224–8, nos 215–16), which was annexed to the kingdom of Kition during the reign of its last king, Pumayaton (see Guzzo Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977: 11–15; Yon 1989: 365–6). Second, it commemorates the dedication of a statue to Apollo by a Phoenician *dn/adôn* (prince) named Baalrom, which took place in the fourth year of the reign of Milkyaton, king of Kition and Idalion. This inscription confirms that the equivalent for the Phoenician *mlk* was *basileus* and for *dn/adôn* was *wanax* (see Masson 1983, no. 220; Sznycer 2001: 106). Irrespective of their linguistic heritage, irrespective of the official language per state, the royal clans of Cyprus were bonded with family ties and the kings were hereditary monarchs – admittedly, to the extent that we know them from the written records of the late Classical phase (the fourth century BC).

A ‘DIFFERENT HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY’ BUT A HOMOGENOUS INSTITUTION

In the introduction of his superb work on kingship, Carlier states: ‘Le cas des royautés chypriotes est très différent: leur étude systématique n’a jamais été tentée à

ma connaissance . . . En outre, il est difficile de séparer complètement l'examen des royautes chypriotes, qu'elles soient grecques, phéniciennes ou éteochypriotes, de celui des royautes syrophéniciennes' (Carlier, *Royaute* : vi). Carlier is correct as regards the 'different historical trajectory' (Mazarakis-Ainian, this volume) that *basileus* followed after his establishment in Cyprus. Inasmuch as I espouse the usefulness of comparing the Cypriote to the Syro-Phoenician kingship, because it will stress even better the individuality of the Cypriote institution, I strongly object to the underlying assumption that the institution may have been different in the 'Greek', the 'Phoenician', the 'Eteocypriot' kingdoms. The Cypriote *basileia* in the course of its 400-year long (by the most conservative standards) life underwent various stages of development, but it was never but one homogeneous institution.

It is not in the least surprising that 'none of the models that have been advanced until now can securely account for the origins of Cypriot kingship' (Zournatzi 1996: 164). Inevitably, the models failed because they tried to force upon Cyprus a 'primitive Mycenaean type monarchy' (Snodgrass 1988: 12), a Big Man's society (Petit 2001), or a Phoenician type of kingship (Rupp 1998: 216). The island however does not seem to conform to exogenous models of urbanisation or state formation. 'Archaeological correlates for the state will be difficult to discern in an island conspicuous for its cultural distinctiveness. Thus, a search for Asiatic or Minoan-Mycenaean expressions of statehood in Cyprus would be misplaced' (Peltenburg 1996: 27).

It was in Cyprus, and in Cyprus alone, that the Greek *basileus* became a hereditary king in a territorial monarchy that was a successful indigenous tradition. This survey has not been exhaustive but I hope to have done justice to the uniqueness of the *basileus* phenomenon of Cyprus. My primary attempt was to rid it of erroneous associations which do not reflect the island's own Iron Age political landscape and to assign it the emphasis it deserves as a chapter in the early history of the human carriers of the Greek language.

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PHOENICIANS IN CRETE

Nicholaos Chr. Stampolidis and Antonios Kotsonas

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses mostly new evidence and interpretations of the interactions between Cretans and Phoenicians¹ during the tenth to the seventh centuries BC.² The topic has lately received significant attention,³ but was first confronted by scholars almost two millennia ago: we are told that in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero (66 AD) an earthquake occurred at Knossos and opened many tombs, one of which contained bark inscribed with strange writing that was eventually sent to the emperor.⁴ Although Nero identified the language as Phoenician and summoned experts to translate the text, the preface of the latter's Latin

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- 1 The term Phoenicians is employed here to refer to the people who lived in Phoenicia, as well as in the areas to the north and north-east of that region (in north Syria). For the term Phoenician see also Frankenstein's definition, quoted in S. P. Morris 1995: 124.
 - 2 Although the Cypriot connection is discussed where appropriate, the relations between Crete and Cyprus during the Iron Age deserve a much longer treatment, which falls outside the scope of this paper (for the latest reviews see: Stampolidis 1998a; Matthäus 1998; Jones 2000: 142–8; Stampolidis 2003a: 47–51). Further, a review of the role of Crete in the introduction of the alphabet, which was once – but not any more – regarded prominent (see the review in Powell 1991: 13, 55–7), was avoided, since this process is currently strongly connected with the Euboean sphere of influence (Powell 1991; Whitley 2001: 128–33; Stampolidis 2003a: 61–2); moreover, this connection is further supported by new finds from Eretria: Kenzelmann et al. 2005. In any case the resemblance of some Cretan letters to their Phoenician prototypes is notable (Jeffery 1990: 309–14).
 - 3 S. P. Morris 1995; Hoffman 1997; Stampolidis 1998a; Markoe 1998; Jones 2000: 148–65; Stampolidis 2003c. See also the collection of references in Kourou and Grammatikaki 1998: 237, n. 2. The discussion in Negbi 1992: 607–9 includes several misunderstandings collected in Hoffman 1997: 123, n. 37. Specialised bibliography is cited below.
- The earliest discussion of the topic in modern scholarship does not date to 1884, in connection with the discovery of the Idaean bronzes (Markoe 1998: 233), but in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when Ernst Curtius's *The History of Greece* was produced (Bernal 1987: 336).
- 4 After Lucius Septimius (fourth century AD). The text, which is known as *Dictys' Journal of the Trojan War*, is preserved in Greek on a single papyrus fragment from Egypt and in a Latin translation (Forsdyke 1956: 42, 153–5; Bernal 1987: 385).



- | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Afrati | 6. Gavalomouri | 11. Khania | 16. Lappa | 21. Prinias |
| 2. Amnisos | 7. Gortyn | 12. Knossos | 17. Palaikastro | 22. Psychro Cave |
| 3. Axos | 8. Idaean Cave | 13. Kommos | 18. Pantanassa | 23. Rhytion |
| 4. Dreros | 9. Inatos Cave | 14. Kounavoi | 19. Phaistos | 24. Syme |
| 5. Eleutherna | 10. Kavousi | 15. Kourtes | 20. Praesos | 25. Vrokastro |

Figure 17.1 Map of Crete including the sites mentioned in the text (regional borders are modern)

translation states that the language was Greek and the text had merely to be transliterated from the Phoenician to the Greek alphabet. On these grounds it has been assumed that what was actually discovered in Knossos was not a group of Phoenician documents, but Linear B tablets (Forsdyke 1956: 42, 154–5).

The Linear B tablets from Knossos and Khania (Figure 17.1) are connected with the *wanax* and the palatial system, the collapse of which occurred in Crete considerably earlier than on the mainland.⁵ The political structure that emerged in the ensuing period is elusive and the debate about the reliability of the evidence for early kingship is continuing.⁶ The *Iliad* describes *Idomeneus* as the leader of the Cretans,⁷ a typical *basileus*, whose domain apparently covers only the central part of the island as defined by the Ida and Dicte massifs: (*Il.* 2.645–52), a guest-friend of Menelaus (*Il.* 3.232–3) and the Achaean commander who is most highly respected by Agamemnon (*Il.* 4.257–64). His military prowess, which is highly praised,⁸ as well as his political skills (*Il.* 13.219, 255) and divine ancestry (*Il.* 13.448–58), rightly place him among the most prominent Achaean leaders.

5 There is no agreement for the date of the destruction of the Knossian palace: both a LM III A1–2 and a LM III A2–LM III B-early date have been defended (see the review in Rehak and Younger 1998: 159–60).

6 An extensive collection of references is cited in Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*: 359, n. 821.

7 For the Cretans in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* see: Sherratt 1996. For their role in the preparation of the pyre of Patroclus and the related saga see Stampolidis 1996: 121–2.

8 References collected in Sherratt 1996: 87–8.

Furthermore, a *basileus* of Axos is mentioned by Herodotus in an early seventh-century context,⁹ but the title is not recorded in the rich collection of archaic Cretan inscriptions¹⁰ which testify that power lay in the hands of the *kosmoi* (Willetts 1955: 105–51, particularly 105–8). Nevertheless, Aristotle argues that the emergence of the authority of the Cretan *kosmoi* followed the abolition of kingship (*Politics*, 1272a9–13). This may be reflected in the late seventh-century inscriptions from Dreros, which are deeply concerned with the ‘renforcement de toutes les mesures constitutionnelles qui peuvent s’opposer au pouvoir personnel d’un homme’ (Effenterre 1946: 596). It is even claimed that: ‘l’aristocratie, à peine victorieuse de la royauté, devait se défier d’une tyrannie possible, qui se fût appuyée sur le peuple.’¹¹

This outline testifies that the literary evidence for the transition from the *wanax* to the *basileus* within Crete is poor and invites an examination of the relevant archaeological material, in search of prominent individuals. There is ample evidence to suggest that the collapse of the Mycenaean administrative system was – sooner or later – followed by the dismantling of the settlement network, particularly in the eastern part of the island: apparently, a strong preference for densely clustered domestic units on defensible hilltops (so-called ‘refuge sites’), mainly at some distance from the coast, emerged during the LM IIIB–LM IIIC periods. Most scholars attribute this change in settlement patterns to uneasiness caused by some threat from the sea, including the arrival of people from mainland Greece¹² (and perhaps some population decline), while others picture a more peaceful process, emphasise that similar sites existed throughout the Minoan period and elaborate on the social and economic agents that stimulated the change (Rehak and Younger 1998: 166–8; Haggis 2001; Wallace 2001; Borgna 2003). In any case, the hilltops with no easy access to arable land were abandoned in the course of LM IIIC, in favour of more convenient sites at a lower altitude (Nowicki 2001: 163–4, 168–9), and the ensuing Early Iron Age witnessed no serious pattern of disruption. Some prominent buildings of the latter period have been considered as possible ruler’s dwellings (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 207–33).

Despite the disturbances described above, which are related to the establishment of several new cemeteries (Cavanagh 1996: 674–5), the burial offerings do not reflect military concerns, even though Kanta has demonstrated that ‘warrior

9 Herodotus, iv, 154; Carlier, *Royauté*: 418; Coldstream and Huxley 1999: 303. The account, the historicity of which is challenged (Osborne, *Making*: 11–12), is discussed in Stampolidis (forthcoming).

10 There is a possible reference to kingship in a fifth-century inscription from Lappa (Willetts 1955: 103; Carlier, *Royauté*: 418).

11 Demargne and Effenterre 1937: 343. See further: Jeffery 1990: 309–16; Osborne, *Making*: 186, 192–3.

12 The extensive bibliography on the ‘refuge sites’ is cited in Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*. Important later contributions include: Kanta 2001; Nowicki 2001.

graves' do not die out in Crete after the LM III A2–IICC period.¹³ Two such graves of the eleventh century, one at Knossos¹⁴ and the other at Pantanassa (Tegou 2001), are of much interest in several respects. They mark the onset of a rise in the numbers of Cretan 'warrior graves' (Kanta 2003b: 180), reflect social attitudes that strongly recall those of the *basileis* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and yielded objects similar to those discussed in the epics. Whitley (2002: 226–7) has argued that the Knossian grave introduces a new conception of masculinity that emphasises the status of a man as a warrior (these comments readily apply to the Pantanassa grave). The two tombs are further differentiated from their immediate predecessors in displaying a number of objects that copy Cypriot originals or are actual Cypriot imports. Although the Cypriot connection is important per se, following a period during which imports from and exports to the eastern Mediterranean disappear (Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*: 19–20 (tables 9–11), 60–7 (fig. 13, table 37); Cline 1999: 116–27 (tables 1–2),¹⁵ its first attestation in this class of burials is highly significant. It demonstrates that the ability of the individuals buried in Knossos and Pantanassa to accumulate and destroy wealth, as well as their special status that was mostly – but not solely – expressed through ideological claims focusing on warfare,¹⁶ was combined with a taste for products deriving from the East. The latter dimension paves the way for the reception of objects from the Syro-Palestinian coast as appropriate funerary gifts, a trend which is identified from the late tenth century onwards (see below).¹⁷

The same picture is clearly related to Cypriot initiatives for the restoration of close contacts between the island and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age (Stampolidis 2003a: 42, 53). These initiatives were largely mirrored by the Cypriot enterprises that involved exports of Black on Red to the Syro-Palestinian coast.¹⁸

13 Kanta 2003b. See the critical review of 'warrior graves' in Whitley 2002.

14 Catling 1995, 1996a, Catling 1996b: 645–9 (for tomb 200–202). Catling elaborates on the connection of this tomb to burials at Tiryns (tomb XXVIII), Lefkandi ('heroon') and Kourion-Kaloriziki (tomb 40). The Pantanassa tomb discussed below and a recently discovered tomb at Palaepaphos-Plakes (tomb 144: Raptou 2002: 122–8) provide fresh evidence for this connection, as well as for the links between Crete and Cyprus (besides, Catling had already noted the links between some items found in the Knossian tomb and others at the cemetery of Palaepaphos-Skales). For warrior tombs see also the contribution by Deger-Jalkotzy in this volume.

15 Links between Crete and Cyprus, however, do not collapse: Kanta 1998; Kanta 2003a: 31–40.

16 Whitley 2002: 223–4, 227: for the Knossian tomb; his concluding remarks also apply to the Pantanassa tomb (especially concerning cremation and the destruction of weapons, even though Tegou does not consider the bronze krater an antique: Tegou 2001: 143–50). Besides, the Knossian tomb seems to have had an 'oikistic flavour' for the main burial ground of Iron Age Knossos and 'must be richer than any contemporary burials not only in SMin Crete but in SM Greece as well' (*Knossos, North Cemetery*: 715).

17 For the diversity in the early responses of some Aegean regions towards the east see Morris, *Archaeology*: 238–56.

18 Schreiber 2003: 72–81, 307–9. Although there were connections between Cyprus and Phoenicia already in the eleventh century (Bikai 1983), it is unclear whether Cypriots or Phoenicians initiated them.

It is mainly from the ports of the middle and northern part of the latter area, which was the home of skilled craftsmen and functioned as a cosmopolitan gateway to the Assyrian and Urartian empires (Boardman 1999: 37–8, 54–6; Whitley 2001: 106–15), but also served Egypt, that most of the Near Eastern products found in Crete were probably exported. The *Iliad* and mostly the *Odyssey* associate the circulation of such products in the Aegean with the activities of the Phoenicians (Muhly 1970; Winter 1995), but ‘it is likely that Greeks at home, and their poets, would not have been too nice in distinguishing the sources and races in the east of whose life and products they were beginning to become aware’ (Boardman 1999: 37). In any case, the main attractions Crete offered to the seafarers from the Syro-Palestinian coast were its geographical position, which falls within the main maritime routes to the west, and possibly its richness in iron ores (Markoe 1998).

OBJECTS OF NEAR EASTERN ORIGINS OR PEDIGREE FOUND IN CRETE AND THEIR INTERPRETATIONS

Catalogues and discussions of objects of Near Eastern origin or pedigree found in Crete have fairly recently been produced by Hoffman (Hoffman 1997) and Jones (Jones 2000).¹⁹ Although these are largely out of date, following the publication of material from important sites,²⁰ the publication of the proceedings of international conferences and the inauguration of major exhibitions with similar concerns,²¹ the aim of this paper is not their full revision, but a comprehensive account, which focuses on new finds and interpretations, without overlooking Hoffman’s concerns about the assumptions that underlie several aspects of related scholarship (Hoffman 1997: 1–18). The account is arranged according to classes of materials.²²

Pottery²³

The evidence from Kommos suggests that a shipment of Phoenician storage vessels reached Crete at around 900 (Bikai 2000: 308–11. Also: Johnston 1993: 370–1; Johnston 2000: 197, no. 10). A wider repertory of fewer Phoenician vessels occurs, however, at this site during the late ninth to early eighth centuries (Bikai 2001: 302–8; Johnston 2000: 197, no. 11; Figure 17.2). Furthermore, a small number of Phoenician vases dating to the end of the ninth and mostly the eighth

19 Problems pertinent to this publication are discussed in: Johnston 2003; Sherratt 2003; Kotsonas 2005: 234.

20 *Knossos, North Cemetery*: Knossos; Shaw and Shaw 2000: Kommos.

21 Conferences: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998a; Karetsou 2000a; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; exhibitions: Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Papadakis 2000; Stampolidis 2003b.

22 Note that materials excluded from this study, such as papyri (Lebessi and Muhly 2003: 100), were probably also imported.

23 The orientalising influence on Cretan Iron Age pottery is not treated here.

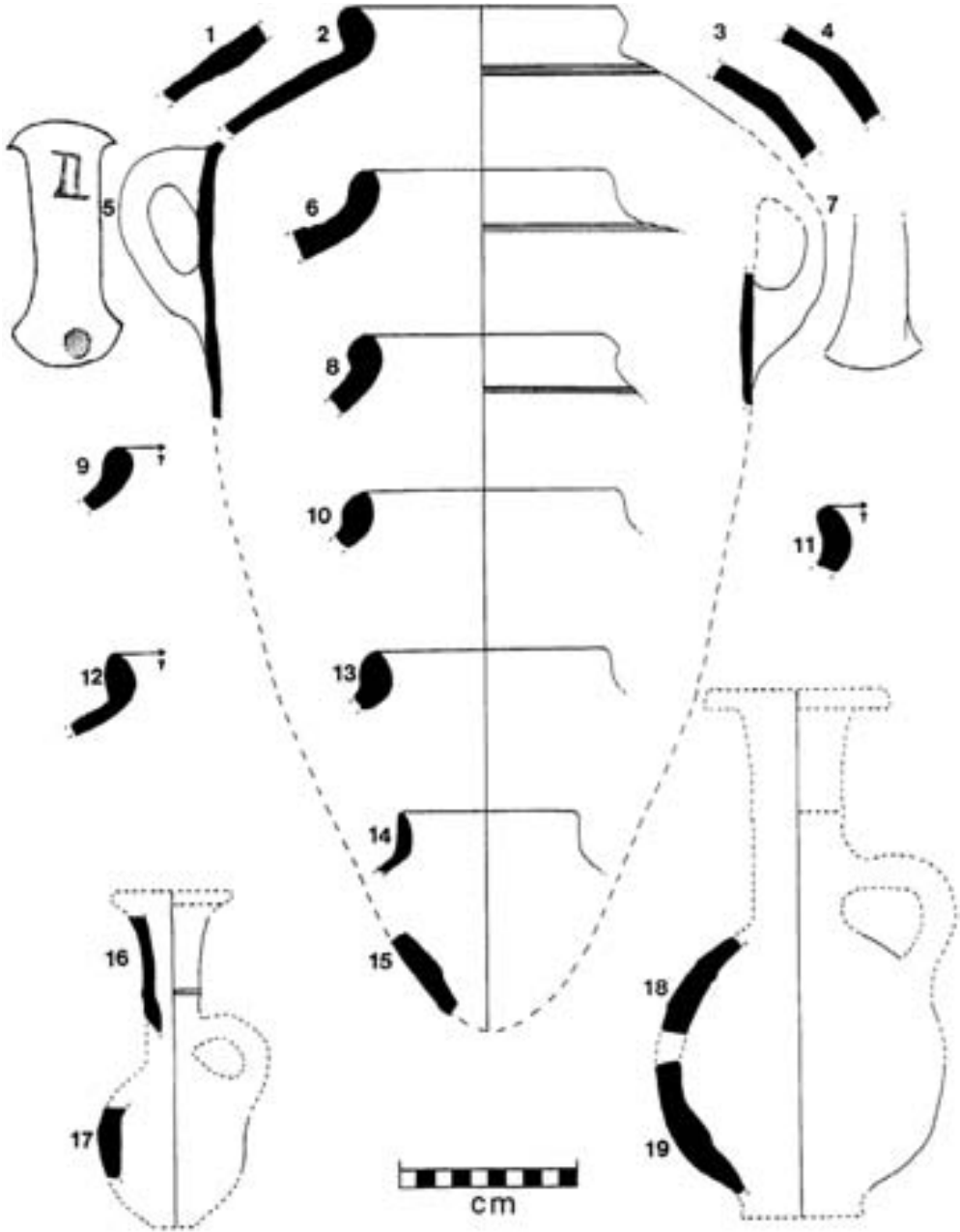


Figure 17.2 Phoenician pottery from Kommos (reproduced with permission by J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw)

century, primarily jugs and juglets, have turned up in Eleutherna,²⁴ Knossos,²⁵ Kounavoi (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 124, 181, no 184) and Phaistos (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 124, 181–2, nos. 185–6), while an oenochoe of presumably Syrian origin comes from Kourtes (Jones 2000: 283).

Although the number of Phoenician vessels identified in Crete is probably larger than in any other Aegean region, it is clear that the Cretans were not really fond of Phoenician pottery. The distribution²⁶ of Phoenician vases within the island suggests that its eastern part,²⁷ the one that lies close to the Syro-Palestinian coast, has not produced a single vase.²⁸ Furthermore any evidence for enduring links is limited to Kommos. Besides, Phoenician influence is scarcely found on Cretan lekythia.²⁹ On the other hand the popularity of Cypriot imports, which resulted in the production of the well-represented Creto-Cypriot class,³⁰ demonstrates that Cretans were not unwilling to replace their own containers with others that originated in the eastern Mediterranean and their potters were ready to make their own contribution to this change. On the other hand Jones (1993), Hoffman (1997: 176–85) and Schreiber (2003: 293–306)³¹ have demonstrated that Coldstream's suggestion that Phoenicians from Cyprus established an unguent factory in Knossos (Coldstream 1982: 268–9), in connection with the production of local copies of Black on Red pottery, has several weak points.

Small objects of faience, glass and Egyptian blue³²

The origins of most items from the rich collection of faience and glass beads, faience and Egyptian blue scarabs and vessels, as well as faience figurines that

24 Stampolidis 2004: 255, no. 289.

25 Coldstream 1996: 408–9 (the date of some of these vases is uncertain).

26 Note that Phoenician fragmentary material is perhaps not being recognised (Bikai 2000: 310).

27 For east Cretan pottery see mostly: Tsipopoulou 1987; Mook 1993. Although no Phoenician import is identified in the material from west Crete (west of Eleutherna), the latter is too little to allow any conclusions. Note, however, the occurrence of a Phoenician letter on an amphora from Gavalomouri: Stampolidis 1998a: 118–19; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 141, no. 86.

28 Besides, the few Cypriot imports identified come from the western part of east Crete: Tsipopoulou 1987: 267.

29 The single exception being Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 183, no. 190; Stampolidis 2003b: 233, no. 33.

30 See for example: Coldstream 1984; Tsipopoulou 1985; Stampolidis 1998a: 122–4; Kotsonas 2005; Kotsonas forthcoming. On the connections between Crete and Cyprus see note 2 above and note 36 below.

31 Note that Map 7 on page 33 suggests incorrectly that a Black on Red bowl has turned up in Eleutherna.

32 The circulation of these objects is usually attributed to the Phoenicians, but their occurrence in Crete has recently been associated with the Samians: Marinatos 2000: 185, following an oral suggestion by Lebesi. The reference cited by Marinatos should have been to Stampolidis 1998a (not 1988), where, however, Stampolidis provides a general discussion and does not directly involve the Samians in the distribution of these objects within Crete, at least before the later part of the seventh century.



Figure 17.3 Faience figurine of Sekhmet from Eleutherna (unpublished)

turned up in Knossos are traced to the Near East,³³ often without much precision. The same applies to similar finds from several Cretan sites including Afrati, Amnisos, Eleutherna (Figure 17.3), Gortyn, the Idaean, Inatos and Psychro Caves, Kavousi, Kommos, Palaikastro, Phaistos, Praesos, Prinias, Vrokastro.³⁴ Clearly, these artefacts are not rare and their distribution within the island is much wider than that of Phoenician pottery.

The figurines – and their concentration in the Inatos Cave³⁵ – deserve particular attention, since they raise questions pertinent to the penetration of oriental religious beliefs.³⁶ The selective repertory of deities represented, the preference for deities related to fertility and childhood (significantly, the cult in the Inatos Cave, where most figurines were found, was addressed to Eileithyia, the Greek deity that protected childbirth), as well as the occasional deposition of the figurines in child burials suggest the introduction of popular religious beliefs from Egypt and the Near East. Maria Shaw has convincingly argued, however, that this was a rather superficial process and not a formal introduction of theology.³⁷

Ivory

The catalogue of Near Eastern ivories found in Crete that was compiled by Hoffman (1997: 53–65) included many references to finds from the Idaean Cave and a few to objects from Knossos and Psychro. Since then, some imported ivory pieces from the Knossos North Cemetery (mostly tombs 219 and 292: Evely 1996) and a single item from the Inatos Cave have appeared (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 271–2, no. 342; Stampolidis 2003b: 537, no. 1057), but any discussion on the ivories depends on the interpretation of the very rich, but largely unpublished material from the Idaean Cave. Early scholarship and more significantly the work of Sakellarakis suggests that a part of the material is Phoenician and north

33 See Webb 1996 (particularly pp. 609–10), with reference to the finds from Fortetsa, as well as the rest of Crete. Add an Egyptian blue scarab mentioned in Banou 2002: 313. Hoffman's suggestion for a local production of faience items (Hoffman 1997: 135–7) has not attracted much support.

34 References collected in Hoffman 1997: 38–51, 88–92. Add: Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 222, no. 260, 225, no. 267 (Gortyn); Coldstream and Huxley 1999: 304–7 (review of finds from Amnisos); Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Papadakis 2000: scarabs from various sites: 302–3; 326, no. 341; 329–33, nos 346–54; faience figurines from various sites: 337–50, nos 356–80; 353–6, nos 383–9b; 359, no. 394; vessels: 350–1, no. 381; 356, no. 390. For more recent bibliography on the finds from Kommos see: Dabney 2000: 341; Schwab 2000: 396; M. C. Shaw 2000: 167–9, 189; Skon-Jedele and Dabney 2000: 351. On the finds from Eleutherna see: Stampolidis 1998a: 117–18; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 212–15, nos 236–8, 240, 242; 224, no. 264; Stampolidis 1998b, 177–8; Stampolidis 2003b: 487–8, nos 891, 894; 522, no. 1020. For general discussions see Stampolidis 1998a: 132–4; Stampolidis 2003a: 70–5.

35 Note, however, that the several figurines found at Inatos may simply represent only two groups of amulets worn together on a string: Marinatos 2000: 185.

36 Stampolidis 1998a: 132–3. The occasional discovery of bronze statuettes of oriental deities in Cretan cave sanctuaries (Hoffman 1997: 24–7) is also of interest here.

37 M. C. Shaw 2000: 167–70. A collective study of these artefacts and their appeal to Cretan religious beliefs would no doubt provide important insights.

Syrian, but several pieces were produced by Cretan artists, who were trained by ivory craftsmen who migrated from the aforementioned areas to Crete.³⁸ In any case, the amazing corpus of material from the Idaean Cave contrasts with the dearth of imported as well as Cretan ivories³⁹ in the rest of the island, and suggests that the importation of such objects was primarily directed to the Cave and that their local production was essentially affiliated with this sanctuary, even though this does not necessitate the establishment of actual workshops on the rather inhospitable Ida plateau.

Very recently Sakellarakis has attributed some of the ivories to an ivory throne, similar to the one found at Salamis in Cyprus, in agreement with literary testimony for a throne of Zeus kept in the Cave,⁴⁰ and has traced the origins and development of the symbolism of the 'empty throne' from the Bronze Age Near East to Christianity.⁴¹ This suggestion raises important questions on the religious nuance that was perhaps accompanying the importation of the throne.

Metal

Two classes of metal finds have been associated with the activities of individuals from Phoenicia or north Syria in Crete: bronze vessels⁴² and gold jewellery.

One of the earliest bronze vessels suggesting a link with the Syro-Palestinian coast is a bowl of Cypriot type that comes from a Knossian tomb, which dates to the late tenth to early ninth century, and carries a Phoenician, formulaic inscription of ownership (Figure 17.4).⁴³ It is unclear, however, whether the vessel belonged to a Phoenician resident in Knossos or is merely an import.

A fairly common class of bronze vessels of Egyptian and Phoenician origins, probably distributed by Phoenician merchants, includes jugs with lotus-flower decoration. The class is represented in a few Aegean sites, including Knossos and the Idaean Cave. The examples from the latter site, however, are more numerous than those in the rest of the Aegean taken together.⁴⁴ In addition, two other types

38 See the summary and extensive references in Hoffman 1997: 146–7, 156–60; Pappalardo 2004. The idea of travelling craftsmen (also discussed in connection with metal items) has recently been criticised by Muhly (2005), who suggests – based on literary evidence from the Near East – that craftsmen were under state control and their movements had to be negotiated at the highest level. Nevertheless, the arrival on Crete of immigrant craftsmen from the Syro-Palestinian coast has mostly been connected to military campaigns and upheavals in the former area, conditions that are clearly different to the ones described in the texts Muhly discusses.

39 One should not overlook the fact that the raw material for the Cretan ivories was imported.

40 Sakellarakis (forthcoming). For a brief discussion of this idea see Sakellarakis 1992: 115.

41 On this symbolism see also Stampolidis 1985: 243–5, with reference to the Kouretes, who were associated with the Idaean Cave.

42 For individual Near Eastern bronze vessels or other items see: Hoffman 1997: 29–30, 37–8.

43 Rich bibliographic references collected in Hoffman 1997: 12–13, 28, 120–3. Add Catling 1996c: 563–4.

44 Matthäus 2000a: 268–9; Matthäus 2000b: 522–4. See also: Hoffman 1997: 30–2, 123–5; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 228–9, nos 268–70. For the Knossian examples see Catling 1996c: 565.

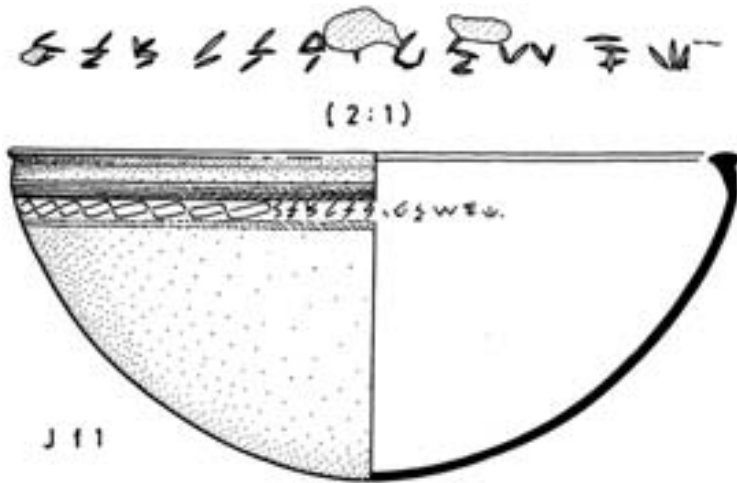


Figure 17.4 Bronze bowl with Phoenician inscription from Knossos (reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens)

of jugs, which are represented by single examples in the Idaean Cave, are unique for the Aegean (Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998: 229–30, nos 271–2; Matthäus 2000a: 268, 270–1; Matthäus 2000b: 521–2, 524).

A large group of bronze bowls of various types has turned up in Crete. It is often difficult either to discern whether some of these vases are actual imports or Cretan copies, or to trace the origins of the imports to specific areas of the Near East (Hoffman 1997: 32–5, 125–32; Stampolidis 1998a: 125–8; Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998: 242–54, nos 295–7, 299–304, 306–11; 313–15; Matthäus 2000a: 269–73; Matthäus 2000b: 526–34, 539–40). Interestingly, numerous finds have been discovered only in the Idaean Cave⁴⁵ and Eleutherna (Figure 17.5), while fewer examples have turned up at Knossos and other sites. Significantly, a few vessels from Eleutherna and the Cave display stylistic associations⁴⁶ and three examples from these two sites have been attributed to an immigrant craftsman (Markoe 2003: 211–12).

Another important class of objects includes the bronze ‘shields’ of Near Eastern pedigree (Figure 17.6). Several examples come from the Idaean Cave, a few from the sanctuary at Palaikastro and single pieces from a sanctuary at Phaistos, as well as from tombs at Afrati and Eleutherna.⁴⁷ Although nearly all

45 For some new finds from the Idaean Cave and a review of the Idaean bronzes see Galanaki 2001.

46 See Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998: 237–8, and comments by Matthäus for no. 284; Markoe 2003: 211–12.

47 For recent reviews see: Hoffman 1997: 155, 159–63 (the best review of earlier scholarship); Stampolidis 1998a: 114–15; Matthäus 2000b: 534–6. Other recent contributions, focusing on iconography, include: Galanaki 2001 (incorporating some new finds from the Idaean Cave); Pappalardo 2001. For the recently discovered shield from Eleutherna see: Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998: 255, no. 319; Stampolidis 1998b: 182–3.



Figure 17.5 Detail of a Bronze Phoenician bowl from Eleutherna (unpublished)



Figure 17.6 Bronze 'shield' of Idaean Cave type from Eleutherna (unpublished)

scholars agree that these artefacts were manufactured in Crete, some attribute them to Cretan artists, while others suggest that immigrant masters transmitted the technical expertise to local apprentices or actually produced the earliest pieces. On present evidence, it is hard to imagine how the Cretan smiths began to reproduce such sophisticated artefacts simply by relying on imported items, which – perhaps significantly – remain elusive for the archaeologist.

Interestingly, both the bowls and the ‘shields’ suggest some connection between Eleutherna and the Idaean Cave that is surprisingly underestimated by Matthäus, who insists that Knossos, which has produced relatively few bronze vessels and lies rather far from the Cave compared with several other major sites, was the most probable supplier of the bulk of the Idaean bronzes.⁴⁸ Although the discovery of eight to seventh-century moulds for bronze items in Eleutherna enhances the impression that the site was an important bronze-working centre (Themelis 2000: 31), it is anachronistic to assume that a single site is associated with the deposition of the rich collection of the Idaean bronzes. Besides, the distribution of bronze bowls and ‘shields’ in the rest of Central Crete suggests that the Idaean finds probably derive from a series of sites surrounding Ida,⁴⁹ rather than from any particular site.

Actual finds of gold jewellery that was imported from the Syro-Palestinian coast are rare, if any (Hoffman 1997: 52; Higgins 1996: 542), but the suggestion that a north Syrian master goldsmith established a prosperous workshop in Knossos at around 800 (Figure 17.7) is deeply-rooted in Iron Age scholarship, even though not unanimously accepted.⁵⁰ Although several insightful points were raised by Hoffman (1997: 234–42), the available evidence suggests that granulation and filigree (gold-working techniques that occur on jewellery from the workshop in question) did not survive in Crete after the end of the Bronze Age and offers considerable support to the hypothesis that these techniques were reintroduced in the island and the Aegean by immigrant Near Eastern goldsmiths.

RITUAL AS EVIDENCE FOR THE PRESENCE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE NEAR EAST

Cemeteries and sanctuaries have produced evidence for ritual that seems alien to the Cretan and Aegean traditions, but displays some resemblance to finds on the

48 Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998: 237–8, comments by Matthäus for no. 284; Matthäus 2000a: 274; Matthäus 2000b: 541–2. On the other hand, Markoe favours Eleutherna (Markoe 2003: 212).

49 Matthäus accepts that the cave was connected with several Cretan sites only from the Late Archaic period onwards (Matthäus 2000a: 542).

50 See the review in Hoffman 1997: 213–43. Only the character of the jewellery is discussed here, while the ‘foundation deposits’ hypothesis is treated below. Also note that the workshop in question has been associated with some bronze objects. Significantly, a bronze belt that was recently discovered in Knossos (Banou 2002: 313) should perhaps be assigned to it.

Figure 17.7 Gold jewellery and related items from the Knossos Tekke Tomb
(reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens)

Syro-Palestinian coast. Although this resemblance has occasionally proved more apparent than real, it is often meaningful.

Funerary ritual

Most of the gold jewellery that is attributed to the aforementioned workshop was found in the Tekke tholos tomb (Knossos),⁵¹ which was used from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the seventh century. Gold finds, objects influenced or imported from the Near East, as well as a vase from Sardinia are among the most notable items that turned up in the chamber and the *dromos* of the tomb. Further, the scraping of the floor revealed two holes dug in the virgin soil just inside either door-jamb. Each contained a clay vase assigned to the end of the ninth century that was full of gold and other pieces of jewellery, as well as gold and silver ingots (Figure 17.7). Boardman interpreted the find as a foundation deposit of Near Eastern type and went even further to suggest – on the basis of the character of the jewellery – that the tomb belonged to a north Syrian goldsmith (and his family) who migrated to Knossos, where he established a workshop that proved long-lived.

Although Boardman's interpretation was largely accepted, some scholars, including Lebessi (1975: 169) and Hoffman (1997: 196–245) challenged it. The latter in particular has demonstrated that the holes in the floor of the tomb were not foundation deposits, but a hoard that perhaps belonged to the patron of the craftsman. Moreover, Boardman now admits he has become sceptical about the nature of these deposits (which was one of his main arguments for the attribution of the tomb to Near Eastern immigrants) and considers the possibility that the jewellery was buried there – and not placed in an urn – to avoid the attention of robbers (Boardman forthcoming).

On the other hand, Stampolidis⁵² argues that the rich finds belonged to the patron of the smith (this was probably 'a common practice in antiquity': Boardman forthcoming) in the light of a passage in the *Odyssey* (3.430–7), according to which it was king Nestor who provided the gold for a smith to gild a heifer's horns. This interpretation finds further support in a study by Kotsonas that sets the Tekke tomb in context.⁵³ Accordingly, the tomb is assigned to the patron of a goldsmith, not to the goldsmith himself, the Cretan or Near Eastern descent of whom was discussed above in connection with the gold jewellery.

Boardman has further suggested that a group of immigrants from north Syria was buried in the cemetery of Afrati,⁵⁴ in south-east central Crete, on the basis of

51 The discovery of the tomb and its finds are described in Hoffman 1997: 191–7.

52 Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 110. Also: comment by Stampolidis in Kourou and Karetsou 1998: 254; Stampolidis 2003a: 57.

53 Kotsonas (forthcoming a) where it is argued that the Tekke workshop was not independent.

54 Levi 1927–9. Although precise dating is often hard, the cemetery was apparently established in the late ninth century, while most burials date to the seventh century.

the similarities in the deposition of some urns at this site and at Carchemish on the river Euphrates.⁵⁵ both sites yielded some urns that were standing upright in a pit or on a pot lying on its side and were covered by a large coarse vessel. Although the idea has recently been reviewed – with some scepticism – twice (Hoffman 1997: 168–72; Böhm 2001: 129–30), some remarks may be added.

On the basis of Levi's plans and descriptions that are not always meticulous, it can be estimated that the 'oriental' custom (with its minor variations) is represented in approximately 135 cases, while just over 100 burials were identified in the rest of the cemetery. Evidently, the supposed immigrants formed a significant part of the community. On the other hand, this community seems well-rooted in the area (Levi 1927–9: 389–400; Nowicki 2001: 179–80) and a sanctuary (or *andreion*) that dates from the ninth century to the Archaic period carries no sign of oriental influence or items,⁵⁶ unlike some of its counterparts in the rest of Crete. Further, there are reports – which have received no attention – that burials recalling the ones at Afrati have been identified at nearby Rhytion.⁵⁷ However, before, any large-scale north Syrian penetration into southern Crete is proposed, one should be reminded that men from Rhytion formed part of the Cretan contingent that sailed to Troy (*Il.* 2.648).

Recent burial evidence – currently limited to two sites – provides more solid ground for the Phoenician presence in Crete: the cemeteries at Eleutherna (Stampolidis 1990, 2003b) and Knossos⁵⁸ have produced stone funerary monuments, which find no close parallels in the Aegean but strongly recall Phoenician cippi.⁵⁹ This evidence not only confirms that Phoenicians were living in Iron Age Crete, but also suggests that they were integrated into the local societies. On the other hand, it is questionable whether this was the case in other Aegean sites, including Lefkandi (Lemos 2003). Unfortunately, however, none of the cippi discovered so far was standing on its original position or was firmly associated with a single burial that could provide evidence (whether archaeological or physical anthropological) on the identity of the deceased. Nevertheless, one of the

55 The suggestion appears in a series of publications (collected in Hoffman 1997: 167, n. 51), the latest being Boardman 1999: 60.

56 References collected in Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*: 224. The suggestion that the display of armour in rooms of the sanctuary is 'eccentric to Greek sacred architecture' (S. P. Morris 1995: 161), which rests on a misunderstanding of the building phases (the archaic phase, to which the armour is assigned, involved a single room), is eccentric in itself.

57 Platon 1955: 567. The evidence from Rhytion suggests that before debating whether the custom is imported and how it was introduced in Crete, one should study its distribution within the island. Notably, some roughly similar burials have been identified in Eleutherna.

58 Kourou and Karetsou 1998. Kourou and Grammatikaki 1998. Further evidence is required for the identification of one of the Knossian cippi (Kourou and Karetsou 1998) as Phoenician.

59 Despite its significance, the publication of the first cippus identified in Crete (Stampolidis 1990) was surprisingly overlooked in relevant studies (for example: Negbi 1992; S. P. Morris 1995; Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000). Occasionally, this contributed to false impressions, including the one that the overseas contacts of Eleutherna 'may be the result of interregional rather than international exchange' (Jones 2000: 117).

Eleuthernian cippi – the only cippus from a stratified context (dated to the eighth or seventh century) – was found immediately south-west of a building that enclosed a jug with cremated bones (Stampolidis 2003c: 223–4) and further study of the material, as well as research in the area may prove more revealing.

Religion and cult

The orientalising aspects of some Cretan temples and sanctuaries have rather easily – especially for a region that displays strong religious continuity from Minoan times – been equated with the oriental essence of the ritual or the cult.⁶⁰ Although the Near Eastern contribution to some Cretan religious beliefs was raised above in connection with the ivory throne from the Idaean Cave and the faience statuettes of Oriental deities, only the case of the Kommos sanctuary will be treated in some detail. Kommos temple B (Shaw J. W. 1989; 2000: 711–13; Figure 17.8) succeeded a smaller, earlier temple at around 800. Both were open to the east, but the later temple B had a pillar at its entrance and included a hearth and a large block, into which three small pillars were socketed. Faience figurines of Sekhmet and possibly Nefertum, both members of an Egyptian Triad, were wedged between the pillars of what was interpreted as a tripillar shrine of Phoenician type. It was thus assumed that the temple, which produced much of the Phoenician pottery discussed above, was erected and used by both Cretans and Phoenicians. Clearly, the erection of such a structure on Greek soil is unique and emphasises the privileged connection between Crete and the Near East. On the other hand, it has recently been claimed (Pappalardo 2002) that the Kommos shrine belongs to a type that displays considerable diffusion in the eastern Mediterranean and suggests no particular connection with Phoenicia. According to this view, oriental, as well as Cretan elements were combined to produce a cult of diverse matrix.

In any case, several classical literary sources emphasise the importance of the Cretan contribution to Greek ritual (S. Morris 1995: 164–5), which was partly based on the Minoan religion and partly on Near Eastern traditions.

60 S. P. Morris 1995: 154–8, 163–4; Carter 1997. See for example how Herakles Dactyle, a figure that is considered non-intrusive in Greek mythology but suggests complex contacts with the Phoenician world (Tzavellas-Bonnet 1985: 240), is readily transformed to an imported cult figure (Morris 1995: 154). Besides, the relevant iconographical approaches, which are rich in parallels from the Near East – occasionally overlooking that ‘somewhere, at some time in the long history of the Near East, a parallel can be found for any artistic motif under the sun’ (Boardman 1999: 55) – are not equally meticulous in citing Aegean parallels (as in the case of Carter (1997), who cites a parallel from Jordan for the orientalising lintel goddesses of Prinias but overlooks one from Lemnos: Pernier 1934: 177). On the other hand recent studies, which discuss a bronze Syro-Palestinian sistrum from Syme in south-east central Crete (Lebessi 2000: 176; Lebessi and Muhly 2003: 97), exemplify how the Near Eastern contribution to Cretan cult and ritual should be assessed.

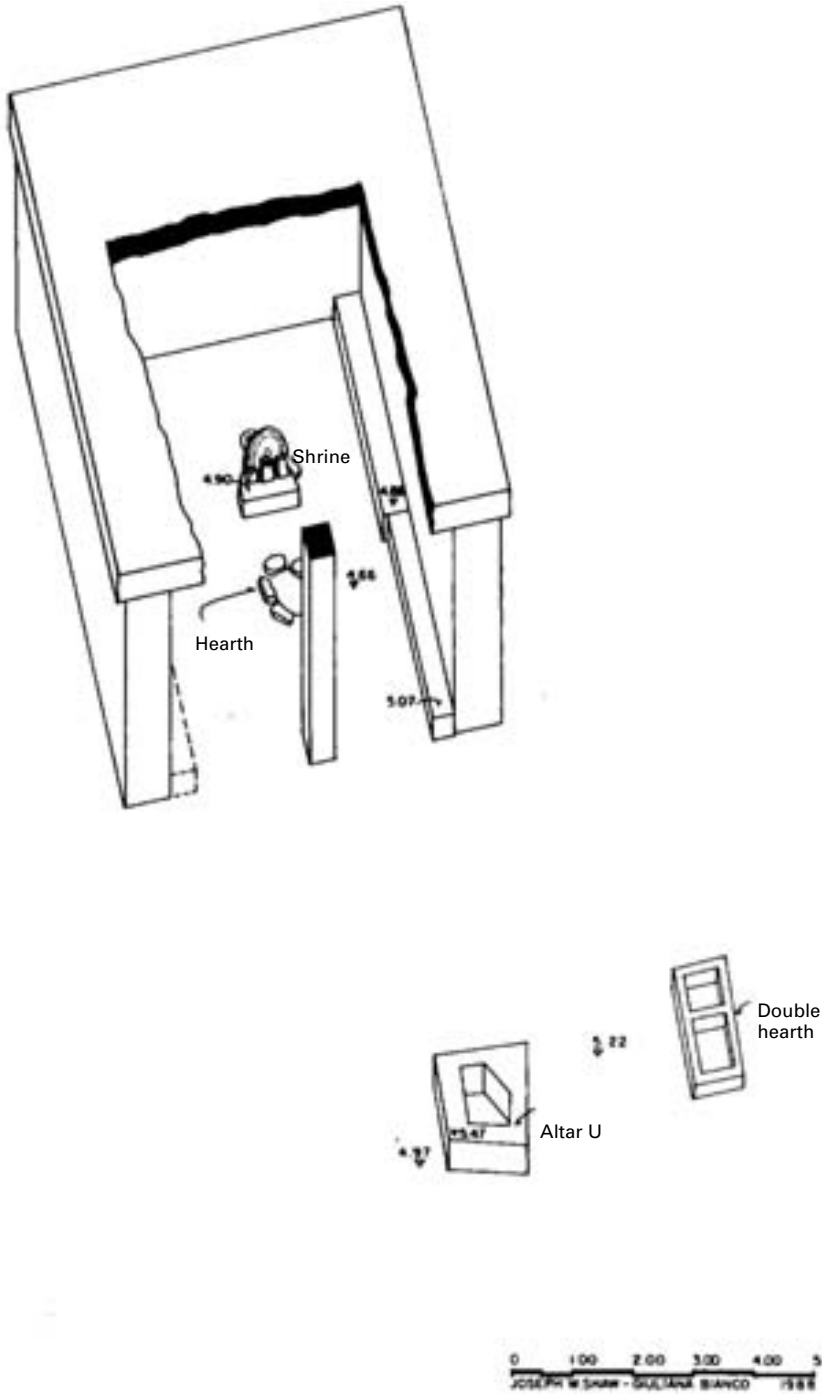


Figure 17.8 Kommos Temple B, including the tripillar shrine (reproduced with permission by J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw)

EPILOQUE

The evidence reviewed in this paper suggests that Crete maintained close and enduring links with the Near East. The links with the Syro-Palestinian coast were perhaps severed for a short period, but were certainly re-established by the end of the tenth century. It is, however, in the late ninth and eighth centuries that these links flourish in quality, as well as in quantity. Interestingly, these two stages of interaction are loosely paralleled in the literary testimonies for the Phoenician presence in the Aegean (Stamplidis 2003c: 217–18).

Although there is no space to embark on a comparative study of the relations of various Aegean regions with the Near East, the work of other scholars (I. Morris 1997: 556; Whitley 2001: 102–24, esp. 120–1) has suggested that Crete enjoyed a privileged connection, documented not only by the amount of imported objects found in the island, but mostly by their reception in sanctuaries, as well as cemeteries, and their popularity – as well as the popularity of orientalising art in various materials – over a long period.⁶¹ Another important aspect of this connection is the migration of people from the Syro-Palestinian coast to Crete, which was surmised in the past, but has lately gained considerable support by the discovery of the cippi. Several communities of Iron Age Crete were evidently open to and receptive of Near Eastern commodities as well as individuals, and it was this attitude of theirs that crafted the ambivalence with which Crete and the Cretans were presented to the audience of the *Odyssey* (Sherratt 1996).

Significantly, this attitude was largely abandoned in the late seventh and sixth centuries. Although this change, of which a thorough discussion lies outside the scope of this paper, has been attributed to the fall of Assyria and the siege of Tyre,⁶² it can hardly be fully understood as a result of external agents and should be associated with a series of contemporary, interlocking social, political and economic phenomena that are identified within Crete and have been interpreted as symptoms of the rise of the *polis*.⁶³ Accordingly, the demise in the island's interactions with the Syro-Palestinian coast should largely be attributed to the disintegration of the Cretan Iron Age social structures, including the downfall of the *basileis* (and other leading individuals who claimed to be such), who had proved a wholehearted partner for the Near Eastern entrepreneurs. Their successors, the aristocracy and the *kosmoi* of the archaic *polis*, advertised the traditionalism of their communities (Whitley 2001: 252) and were evidently not enthusiastic about conspicuous consumption, competitive display and Near Eastern commodities.

61 This evidence has even led to the unpersuasive conclusion that 'activity more Levantine than Greek' is identifiable in Iron Age Crete (S. P. Morris 1995: 169).

62 S. P. Morris 1995: 170–2. On the other hand, the collapse of Assyria has recently been seen as an agent that brought Near Eastern artefacts to the Aegean (Guralnick 2003).

63 Kotsonas 2002: with references to earlier scholarship.

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Part IV

RELIGION AND HERO CULT

FROM KINGS TO DEMIGODS: EPIC HEROES AND SOCIAL CHANGE c.750–600 BC

Hans van Wees

The men who fought the Trojan war were called ‘a short-lived race of demigods’ in Simonides’ elegy on the battle of Plataea (11.18). The heroes of legend were much on Greek minds at the time: at Salamis, an Aeginetan ship carrying images of Aeacus and his descendants had joined the Greek fleet at the last minute and led the charge against the Persian navy – at least according to the Aeginetans. This was not the first time the Aeacids had been mobilised for battle, and the Aeacids were not the only ancient heroes to lend military aid. Indeed, they were so active in warfare that a mid-fifth-century epitaph for the war-dead could say ‘one of the god-like demigods came against you and struck you down’.¹

By the late archaic period, the Greeks saw their legendary heroes as not merely great men of the past but still-present superhuman beings who protected those who honoured them with sacrifices and games. Agamemnon, Achilles and Odysseus may have started out as Mycenaean kings and nobles or they may have begun as chieftains invented by Dark Age oral tradition, but they ended up transfigured into ‘demigods’ (*hēmitheoi*) and worshipped as ‘heroes’ (*hērôes*) in the Greek religious sense. When and why did this elevation take place? It is generally believed that Homer did not yet regard his heroes as objects of cult, and it has been doubted whether Hesiod did. I hope to show that both Homer and Hesiod *did* think of the distant past as an age when the world was inhabited by a semi-divine race, and that archaeological evidence shows this new perception of the past emerging not long before the composition of the epic poems, c.750 BC, as a result of major social change in this period.²

1 Peek 1955, no. 17; Aeacids: Herodotus 8.64, 83–4; cf. 5.80–1. See further, for instance, Boedeker 1993; Bowden 1993.

I owe much to the helpful comments of the conference organisers and many of the participants, above all Jan Paul Crielaard and Elizabeth Gebhard.

2 I have previously briefly argued the first point in van Wees, *Status Warriors*: 7–8 (see Morris, *Archaeology*: 234–5; Crielaard 2002; 272–7), and the second in van Wees 1999: 11–13 (= 2002: 105–7).

THE DEMIGODS

Simonides' notion of a 'race', 'kind', or 'generation' (*genos*) of demigods had a long history. A Homeric *Hymn* celebrated 'the race of clear-eyed demigod-men' (31.18–19), who also featured in Hesiod's *Works and Days* as 'the godlike race of hero-men called demigods' (159–60), and already in Homer's *Iliad*, which pictured the riverbanks in the Trojan plain on which 'many shields and helmets and the race of demigod-men fell down in the dust' (12.23). Many other archaic poets and classical authors alluded to the heroes of legend as 'the demigods', without specifically calling them a 'race'.³ For Hesiod, the race of demigods included *everyone* who lived in that legendary age, just as everyone born later belonged to a 'race of iron' (*Works and Days* 176).

What did the Greeks understand by 'demigod'? Modern scholars confidently assert that the term strictly refers to a man or woman with one divine and one mortal parent, a literal 'half-god', in the same way as a mule was called a 'half-ass' (*hēmionos*). Such figures of mixed descent were quite common in myth, it is said, so 'the demigods' became a shorthand label for all the heroes of legend, without implying that they enjoyed semi-divine status (see Rohde 1893 [1907]: 152, n. 2; West 1978: 191 ad 160; Hainsworth 1993: 320 ad 12.23). The consensus on this point is remarkable, because the evidence does not support it at all.

Surprisingly enough, no one is ever called 'a demigod' in the singular to describe him as half-mortal, half-divine by descent – the word is *always* used in the plural, in its supposedly secondary, extended meaning, to denote the whole race of 'the demigods'. A good example occurs in Aristotle's explanation of the distinction between 'generic' and 'specific' praise:

By 'generic', I mean praise for Achilles on the grounds that he was a man [*anthrôpos*] and one of the demigods [*tôn hēmitheôn*] and joined the expedition against Troy – for these things also apply to many others, and therefore this sort of thing does not praise Achilles any more than it does Diomedes. (*Rhetoric* 1396b10–14)

Achilles is 'a man' in the singular but he is not simply 'a demigod', although he is in fact the son of a goddess: he is 'one of the demigods', of whom there are many, including Diomedes, who in the *Iliad* prides himself on an ancestry which includes no gods at all (14.113–25). Pindar used the term similarly: 'Thus [Medea] spoke to the demigods, warrior Jason's sailors: "Hear me, sons of proud men and of gods"' (*Pythian* 4.11–13): some Argonauts are sons of gods, some are sons of men, but all are demigods.⁴

3 Apart from the passages discussed above and in this section, see *Hymn* 32.19; Callinus F 1.19–20; Alcaeus F 42.13; Bacchylides 13.155, F 20b.31; Melanthius F 1.2; Plato, *Apology* 28c, 41a.

4 The ten Argonauts other than Jason who are named in the poem are in fact all sons of gods (171–84), but these clearly do not constitute the whole crew, which ought to have fifty men.

It is the same again in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which spoke of an age when gods and mortals mingled freely (F 1.6–7) and many gods slept with mortal women, until Zeus put a stop to it. A fragmentary, but easily restored, passage explains that

Zeus made great efforts to annihilate the clear-eyed human race; his reason was to destroy the lives of demigods [so that no longer] he would see with his own eyes the children of gods mi[n]gling with mortals, but the blessed gods would, as in the past, have their livelihoods and dwelling-places separate from human beings. (F 204.98–104)

If we have restored the missing text along the right lines, Zeus wished to abolish the situation familiar from the epic world, where children of gods do indeed mix with ordinary men. He therefore wiped out the earth's entire population, described as both 'human beings' and 'demigods': the term once more explicitly includes both half-gods and pure mortals.⁵

In most other passages, 'demigods' is applied to groups which clearly included many without divine ancestry. Alcman said that one of the sons of Hippocoon, a legendary king of Sparta, was 'outstanding among the demigods' (F 1.7), although he and his many brothers had mortal parents. Bacchylides called the assembled armies of Adrastus and Proetus 'red-shielded demigods' and 'bronze-shielded demigods', respectively (9.10; 11.62); Euripides described the entire Greek force at Troy as consisting of 'demigods' (*Iphigeneia at Aulis* 172). When Simonides, in another fragment, remarked that even the greatest men must suffer during their lives, singling out 'those who existed once upon a time, demigods who were sons of our lords the gods' (F 523), his point was surely not that all demigods were sons of gods, but that sons of gods were the best of the demigods – and suffered all the same.⁶

The only evidence for 'demigods' as beings of half-divine, half-mortal descent is a passage in Plato's *Cratylus*, where Socrates proposes witty but outrageous etymologies for 'gods', 'heroes' and 'human beings'. He derives *hêrôs* from *erôs*, desire, because all heroes were demigods, and 'they were all born because a mortal woman was desired by a god or a goddess by a mortal man.' He then moves swiftly on to an even less plausible derivation from *erôtan*, 'to inquire': the heroes were all expert forensic orators. No one in the dialogue takes any of this seriously, and 'demigods' is clearly not used in its normal meaning. Everywhere else, the offspring of gods

5 If one were to equate the demigods with the 'children of the gods' (so West 1978: ad 160; see the proposed restorations in his edition of Hesiod's fragments), the story would presumably be that Zeus annihilated the whole human race in order to destroy the half-gods among them. This seems odd.

6 *Contra* West 1978: ad 160. Compare Isocrates' comment that even 'the most famous demigods' had hard lives (9.70); significantly, he also says that some became immortal 'through excellence', *aretê*, rather than on account of their birth.

and mortals are called simply 'children of gods', as in the *Catalogue of Women*, 'children like the gods', or some such phrase⁷ – never 'demigods'.

Finally, half-gods by descent, although common in Greek myth, were not particularly prominent among those who fought the Trojan and Theban wars. If 'many sons of immortals fight over the great city of Priam' (*Il.* 16.448–9), they are mostly obscure sons of minor deities and nymphs who play the tiniest of roles. Apart from Achilles, among the forty-four Greek commanders listed in the *Iliad's* Catalogue of Ships, only the little-known brothers Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares, are literally half-divine. Among the twenty-five Trojan commanders only Aeneas and Sarpedon have a divine parent.⁸

'Demigods', then, never denoted persons of mixed divine and mortal descent, but always a much wider group, a small proportion of whom were children of gods but most of whom were born to mortal parents. The modern claim that 'half-god' is nevertheless the true meaning of the term is therefore unfounded and indeed perverse. The idea would surely have found no acceptance at all if scholars had not been so eager to escape the conclusion which we are forced to draw: 'demigods' *did* mean a category of superhuman beings somewhere between mortals and gods, and the Greeks attributed this status to an entire 'race' which they believed had existed once upon a time.

HÊRÔES IN HOMER AND HESIOD

The usual Greek word for beings who were more than human but less than divine was 'heroes' (*hêrôes*) rather than 'demigods'. One type of *hêrôs* was a man who manifested special, often destructive, powers after death. The massacred Phocaeans whose vengeful spirits twisted, maimed or paralysed the limbs of all people and animals who passed their grave are an example (Herodotus 1.167). A second type of *hêrôs* was a man who was recognised after death as more than human on account of the exceptional qualities which he had displayed in life. Founders of cities, outstanding warriors and great athletes were prominent in this category, alongside one-offs like Philippos of Croton who became a *hêrôs* in Egesta because 'he was the most beautiful Greek of his time' (Herodotus 5.47). Thirdly, a very few men were elevated to the status of *hêrôs* during their lifetimes, as happened to Hagnon, founder of Amphipolis, and the boxer Euthymos of Locri in the mid-fifth century.⁹ And finally, many figures from epic

7 'Children like the gods': see *Theogony* 968, 987, 1020; cf. *Od.* 11.631; *Il.* 6.191.

8 Ascalaphus and Ialmenus: *Il.* 2.512–15, 9.82, 13.518–25, 15.110–42. Achilles: for instance, 1.280. Aeneas: for instance, 2.820–1. Sarpedon: for instance, 5.631. Asclepius is simply 'a healer' in Homer (*Il.* 11.518), not a god, so his sons Podaleiros and Machaon (2.731–2) are not half-divine. The rarity and haphazard attribution of divine descent are noted by Hainsworth 1993: ad *Il.* 10.47–50; Janko 1994: ad *Il.* 16.444–9.

9 Euthymos: Currie 2002: esp. 29. Hagnon: Hornblower 1996: 449–56. Later instances: Hughes 1999. For the concept and cult of 'heroes' in general see esp. Farnell 1921.

tradition were worshipped as *hêrôes* by 600 BC at the latest, when the poet Alcaeus called Achilles 'ruler of the Scythian lands' (F 354 L-P) because he was widely worshipped in Greek towns around the Black Sea, and when a certain Deinis dedicated a perfume bottle 'to Helen, wife of Menelaus' in a shrine at Sparta.¹⁰

Before their cult is first firmly attested, these legendary figures were already called *hêrôes* by Homer and Hesiod, and on the face of it one could not ask for clearer evidence that these poets regarded their protagonists as more than human. Modern scholars, however, have almost unanimously denied that Homer and Hesiod used *hêrôs* in its normal religious meaning, mainly on the grounds that these poets always apply the word to living men, whereas in its religious sense the word normally applies to the dead. No doubt helped by the modern connotations of 'hero', the idea has struck root that *hêrôs* in Homer and Hesiod was a strictly secular term, an honorific title equivalent to 'lord' or 'sir' (see, for instance, Rohde 1893 [1907]: 154; Farnell 1921: 16; West 1978: 373 (also 190); Snodgrass, *Archaeology*: 159; 1988: 21; de Polignac, *Origins*: 136, 139; Barrigón 2000: 2, 14).

The objection that the term *hêrôs* could not have a religious sense when applied to living men carries little force. Some men in historical Greece *were*, after all, recognised as *hêrôes* while still alive. One could thus be thought of as a 'hero' on the basis of great achievements in life, even before one acquired any special post-mortem powers. A great athlete or warrior heroised after death could therefore surely be seen in retrospect as having been a living 'hero' – just as someone canonised by the Catholic church is regarded as having been, at some level, a 'saint' in life as well. The achievements of the living *hêrôes* of historical Greece had been more than matched, according to oral tradition, by the great men of the legendary past. These had waged wars on a vast scale and performed feats of superhuman prowess; their wives and daughters had been almost as beautiful as goddesses; and their massive fortifications and monumental tombs, now ruined but still visible, were far beyond the capabilities of early Iron Age technology. The Greeks could hardly *fail* to conclude that these men, too, had been living *hêrôes* (so Hack 1929: 70; supported by Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 132; Morris, *Archaeology*: 234–5).

One feature of Homer's usage of 'hero' which may seem puzzling at first sight is that the word is employed not only by the poet as narrator, but also in direct speech by the characters of the epics themselves. They refer to their relatives, friends, comrades, hosts and enemies, as well as to previous generations and the

10 Dedication: Catling and Cavanagh 1976; the inscription is dated to c.600 BC (Jeffery 1990: 446, 448), although the vase dates to c.650. The description of Helen as 'wife of Menelaus' shows that she is being worshipped as a character from legend, not as the goddess which she is often thought to have been originally. For Achilles, see Rohde 1893 [1907]: 147, n. 1; Farnell 1921: 285–9.

dead, as *hêrôes*.¹¹ As a form of address, *hêrôs* is used between nymphs and mortal men, comrades in battle, and guests and hosts, sometimes with the addition of a personal name: 'hero Eurypylus' or 'hero Telemachus'.¹² It sounds odd for 'heroes' in the religious sense to call one another 'hero', and this is no doubt why modern scholars prefer to explain *hêrôs* as merely a polite title in the epic world. Yet in Homer gods call one another 'god' (*theos*) in exactly the same way. Zeus refers to 'goddess Thetis', Athena alludes to 'goddess Hera', and Hermes says that Calypso questioned him 'goddess to god' (*Il.* 15.76, 130; see also 1.516, 540; *Od.* 5.97). Deities address their peers collectively as 'you gods' or 'all you gods and goddesses', and individually as 'senior goddess' (Hera), 'goddess Themis', 'goddess Iris' and 'goddess Thetis'.¹³ Unless we are prepared to argue that 'god' also has a unique secular meaning in Homer, we will have to accept that the term *hêrôs*, even when used by the heroes themselves, can perfectly well have had its normal religious meaning. It is worth noting that no *hêrôs* is ever addressed as 'man', although of course they *were* men as well as heroes, and 'man' (*aner*, *anthrôpe*) was the most common form of address in classical Greece.¹⁴

The other remarkable feature of the usage of *hêrôs* in epic poetry is that the term can be applied to all free men, whatever their status, rather than just a few outstanding individuals. The poets do give many leading warriors the epithet 'hero', but Homer awards the same epithet also to three lower-ranking personal attendants and – in the *Odyssey*, which features a wider range of characters – to four old men, two youths, and a singer.¹⁵ *Hêrôes* is often used in the plural to

11 Brother: *Il.* 22.298. Father: *Od.* 6.303. Father-in-law: *Od.* 2.99, 19.149, 24.134. Friends, comrades: *Il.* 2.256, 11.770, 13.629, 18.325, 23.151, 893; *Od.* 24.68. Hosts: *Od.* 1.189, 4.617, 14.317, 15.52, 117. Enemies: *Il.* 9.613, 12.165; *Od.* 11.520. Previous generations: *Il.* 9.525; *Od.* 21.299. The dead: *Od.* 11.329, 629. Gods also refer to mortals as heroes: *Il.* 7.453, 13.112, 18.56, 437, 19.34.

12 Nymphs: *Od.* 4.423, 10.516. Comrades: *Il.* 10.416, 20.104. guest and host: *Od.* 7.303. With personal name: *Il.* 11.819, 838; *Od.* 4.312.

13 Collective address: *Il.* 8.5, 18; 19.101; 22.174; 24.33, 39, 62; *Od.* 5.7, 118, 129; 8.306; 12.377 (the gods also keep referring to themselves as 'the immortal gods': for instance, *Il.* 1.520, 525, 548–9, 566, 575; 4.7; 5.873). Individual address: *Il.* 14.194, 243; 15.92, 206; 24.104; see also 18.182. Female deities are addressed as 'goddess' by mortals (*Il.* 1.216; *Od.* 5.173, and *passim*) and by the poet (*Il.* 1.1; *Od.* 1.10). Gods were not addressed in this way in normal Greek usage: Dickey 1996: 188.

14 Especially in the plural: see Dickey 1996: 85–6, 150–4, 178–82. Hector is once called *aner* in the sense of 'husband' (*Il.* 24.725) and twice in the *Homeric Hymns* a god addresses a group of mortals as *anthrôpoi* (2.256, 3.532). ('Woman', on the other hand, is a common form of address, and not only for wives: *Il.* 3.204; *Od.* 6.168, 11.248, 19.81, 107, 221, 555).

15 Attendants: *Il.* 5.327; 24.474, 574; *Od.* 18.423. Old men: *Od.* 2.15, 157, 7.155, 11.342; 22.185; 24.451. Youths: *Od.* 3.415; 4.21, 303; 15.62, 131. Bard: *Od.* 8.483. Leading Greek warriors: *Il.* 1.102; 6.61; 7.120, 322; 23.896 (Agamemnon); 2.708 (Protesilaos); 3.377 (Menelaos; also *Od.* 15.121); 4.200 (Machaon); 6.35 (Leitos); 8.268 (Teukros); 10.154, 179 (Diomedes); 11.483 (Odysseus); 13.92 (Peneleos); 13.384, 439 (Idomeneus); 13.575 (Meriones); 17.137, 706; 23.747 (Patroclus); 23.824 (Achilles; see also *Little Iliad* F 2.2). Leading Trojans: *Il.* 2.844 (Peiroos); 5.308 (Aeneias); 6.63 (Adrestos); 11.339 (Agastrophus); 12.95 (Asios); 13.164 (Deiphobus); 13.428 (Alkathoos); 13.582 (Helenos); 13.788 (Paris); 16.751, 781 (Kebriones); 21.163 (Asteropaios). See also Hesiod, *Theogony* 970, 1009 (see *Homeric Hymn* 5.77); *Cypria* F 16.4; *Thebaid* F 2.1, 8.1.

denote entire armies and assemblies. The Trojan army contains 'many ranks of heroes and many ranks of horses'; Greek soldiers are 'Achaean heroes'; the forces on both sides are 'hero-men'; and armies in general are made up of 'ranks of hero-men'.¹⁶ Greek commanders address their soldiers, in battle and assembly, as 'Danaan heroes' (*Il.* 2.110, 6.67, 15.733, 19.78). The Hellenistic scholar Aristonicus astutely observed that Agamemnon uses the latter phrase when he addresses a full assembly but says 'leaders and counsellors of the Argives' when he faces a select council (*Il.* 9.17); Aristonicus reasonably concluded that Homer 'called all of them *hêrôes*, not just the leaders'.¹⁷ The assembled Ithacans and Phaeacians are also called 'heroes' (*Od.* 1.272, 7.44), and at one assembly the 'Achaean heroes' include non-combatant helmsmen (*Il.* 19.40–6), a usage which so upset another couple of Hellenistic scholars that they emended 'Achaean heroes' to read 'trusty Achaeans' (schol. A on 19.41). Despite their best efforts, though, it is clear that in Homer all men are indeed *hêrôes*, just as in Hesiod the entire 'race' are *hêrôes* as well as demigods.¹⁸

This wide application of the term caused unease in the Hellenistic period, when several authors insisted, in the face of the evidence, that 'among the ancients only the leaders were *hêrôes* and the common people were human beings' (pseudo-Aristotle, *Problems* 922b18–19; see also Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 69). Those who did accept that the term had a wider meaning foreshadowed the approach of most modern scholars and posited that epic poets used *hêrôes* in a special sense: Aristonicus argued that *hêrôes* derived from *era*, 'a dialect word for earth', and thus originally meant 'earthling' (*Etymologicum Gudianum* 248.58 and Tzetzes on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 159). It is not surprising that Hellenistic intellectuals could not believe that a race of supermen ever existed, but equally it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see how epic poets could have happily entertained the idea. The deeds, wars and monuments of the distant past may well have seemed so magnificent that early Greeks saw them as the work of not just a few great men but of an entire race of superior beings.

In short, nothing in Homer's or Hesiod's use of the term *hêrôes* forces us to posit a distinct secular meaning. If we were to posit such a secular meaning we would in any case have to resort to quite convoluted and speculative explanations

16 Trojans: *Il.* 20.326. Greeks: *Il.* 15.219, 230, 261, 702. Both: *Il.* 13.346. All armies: *Il.* 5.746–7, 8.390–1; *Od.* 1.100–1; see also *Il.* 2.483, 579; 16.144; 19.391. Cf. [Hesiod] F 25.9–11, F 204.118–19.

17 Schol. A and bT on *Il.* 9.17; also schol. A on *Il.* 1.4, 2.110, 12.165, 13.629, 15.230, 19.34; schol. T on *Il.* 13.629; schol. B on *Od.* 18.423.

18 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 159, 172; other passages which apparently use 'heroes' for entire populations are *Shield of Heracles* 18–19 ('the villages of the Taphian and Teleboean heroes') and *Od.* 4.268 (mankind at large). Ambiguous are *Il.* 23.645; *Od.* 8.242, 14.97, 24.25, 88. Since non-combatant helmsmen and personal attendants specifically count as 'heroes' in the *Iliad*, I see no grounds for assuming that the application of 'hero' to a personal attendant as well as non-combatant youths, old men and a bard in the *Odyssey* constitutes a widening of usage, as, for instance, West 1978: 370 claims.

of how this could have developed. *Hêrôs* cannot have been a secular title which after Homer and Hesiod became a religious appellation, because two Linear B tablets which record offerings to Triple Hero (*trishêrôs*, *tî-ri-se-ro-e*) show that the religious meaning went back all the way to the Bronze Age.¹⁹ One has to assume that the religious connotations of the word were somehow lost in the epic tradition while they continued to exist in the real world, and that by sheer coincidence many literary, secular 'heroes' also came to be worshipped as religious 'heroes'.²⁰ This is strained and unnecessary. Homer and Hesiod simply used *hêrôs* in its normal religious sense, because they spoke of an age when all men were living *hêrôes* and demigods.²¹

THE AFTERLIFE OF *HÊRÔES* AND WARRIORS

Archaic heroes received cult, usually in the form of annual blood-sacrifices and athletic and equestrian games, in order to placate their power to do harm or evoke their power to bring military aid or a range of other benefits such as the beauty bestowed by Helen on the ugliest girl in Sparta (Herodotus 6.61). Homer, by contrast, says nothing about his heroes' post-mortem powers or worship. This has been cited by some as proof that he was unfamiliar with the religious concept of the *hêrôs* (Rohde 1983 [1907]: 147–8, 153–5; West 1978: 370–1; Johnston 1999: 31–5), but there are strong indications that Homer, while aware of the special status of heroes after death, had his reasons for ignoring it.²²

All dead heroes go to Hades, but whereas cult-heroes can 'emerge from the mire' and rise up from the earth (Asius F 14.4; Pausanias I.15.4), epic heroes are helplessly confined to the underworld. 'The shades flit about' like shadows or smoke, without any physical substance. They lack all mental faculties, do not know what goes on among the living, make unintelligible sounds like screeching bats or birds of prey, and can communicate with the living only in dreams. Spirits can seem frightening, but are not dangerous: any threat comes from the gods of the Underworld, and it is these who need to be placated. Even the ghosts of unburied dead do not seek their own revenge but rely on the gods to punish the

19 Tablets: PY Fr 1204 and Tn 316.5, with discussion in Chadwick 1985: 196.

20 It has been suggested that East Greeks lost the concept of the hero as an object of cult but developed an epic tradition in which the word gained a new secular meaning, while mainland Greeks continued to have cult-heroes but had no epic tradition, until the two streams merged in the eighth or seventh century: see, for instance, West 1978: 370–3; Seaford 1994: 181.

21 This picture is reinforced by constant use of the epithets 'god-like' (*dios*, *theios*, *antitheos*) and occasionally 'holy' (*hieros*), even if their religious connotations were perhaps not strongly felt. Most striking are the passages which personify 'the sacred force' of Telemachus and Odysseus (*Od.* 2.409; 16.476; 18.60, 405; 21.101, 130; 22.354; Hesiod F 198.2) and 'the sacred spirit' (*menos*) of Alcinoos and Antinoos (*Od.* 7.167; 8.2, 4, 385, 421; 13.20, 24; 18.34). It has been ingeniously suggested that these formulaic phrases preserved Mycenaean court titles (Ruijgh 1995: 83), but they rather suggest a perception of the heroes as embodying supernatural force.

22 As suggested, for instance, by Farnell 1921: 10–11, 18; Hack 1929; Nagy 1979: 114–17; Edwards 1985. Hesiod's account of the heroes is so short that his failure to mention cult is unsurprising.

culprits. In short, the dead have neither the knowledge nor the power to intervene in human affairs.²³

This picture of the afterlife is so sharply highlighted that we must infer that it was a very particular vision which was far from universally accepted. Both Achilles and Odysseus try to embrace the ghosts of their loved ones and are amazed when this proves impossible. Achilles exclaims 'So there is some soul and image even in the halls of Hades', and adds quite gratuitously 'but without any mental faculties at all' (*Il.* 23.99–104). Odysseus wonders whether the gods are playing a trick on him, but he is put straight: 'No, this is how it is for mortals when they die.' He is also told to pass on the lesson to his wife (*Od.* 11.204–18, 223–4). As for mortal remains, in mutilating Hector's body, Achilles is 'humiliating mute earth' (*Il.* 24.53–4): the corpse is emphatically nothing but lifeless matter.²⁴

A similar image of the powerless dead may be hinted at by the early seventh-century poet Semonides of Amorgos, who said that 'we would give no thought to a man who has died, if we had any sense, for more than a single day' (F 2), and it certainly persisted in the classical period, when it coexisted with a belief in powerful *hērōes* and vengeful ghosts. Homer evidently stressed one strand of contemporary thought about death at the expense of another.

In keeping with this emphasis, there is no sign of cult at the graves of the heroes. The burial mounds of fallen warriors are often mentioned, but never as sites of worship or as places visited and tended by relatives: they are conspicuous monuments, often designed to be visible from afar to travellers by sea, which serve to perpetuate the *fame* of the dead man. Most of these warrior graves and cenotaphs are on foreign soil, so it is not surprising that they remain untended and unvisited, except perhaps by former enemies, stamping on the burial mound and gloating.²⁵ But not even the tomb of Ilos, founder of Troy, in front of the city, appears to receive any care or cult: it is used for purely secular purposes as the site of a battlefield ambush and an impromptu war council. The barrow of another Trojan

23 Flitting: *Od.* 10.495, 11.222. No substance: *Od.* 11.207, 222, 392–4; *Il.* 23.100–1. No mental faculties (*noos, phrēnes*): *Od.* 10.493–5, 11.475–6; *Il.* 23.104; hence they do not know the fate of their families: *Od.* 11.457–61, 492–503 (Anticleia's report must refer to the situation in Ithaca at the time of her death, 11.180–96). Screeching: *Od.* 11.605, 24.5–9; *Il.* 23.101. Communication in dreams: *Il.* 23.62–107. Odysseus is frightened by the shrieking swarms of the dead (*Od.* 11.43, 633) but he reacts by sacrificing to Hades and Persephone (10.531–4, 11.44–7) and later by retreating in fear of 'the Gorgon-head of a fearsome monster' which Persephone might send (11.634–5). Gods enforce burial: *Od.* 11.73; *Il.* 24.31–140; see also harmless ghost of 'angry' Aias at *Od.* 11.544, 565. See, for instance, Farnell 1921: 9; Bremmer 1983: 70–124; Garland 1985: 1–12; Ogden 2001: 219–50.

24 Within the confines of Hades the dead behave more or less as they did in life (*Od.* 11.568–75, 602–8) and form social groups (11.387–9, 467–70; 24.15–22), but even the 'great power' which Achilles enjoys is held strictly 'among the dead' (11.485–91), and the activities of the dead amongst themselves are not logically inconsistent with their perceived inability to interact with the living.

25 Fame: *Il.* 7.85–91; *Od.* 1.239–40, 5.306–11, 11.72–8, 24.32–3, 80–94 (all on foreign soil); also *Od.* 4.584 (a cenotaph abroad). Grave on foreign soil, stamped on by enemy: *Il.* 4.174–82. Other cenotaphs abroad: *Il.* 7.332–7, 434–6; 23.237–57. Cenotaph at home: *Od.* 1.291–2, 2.222–3.

serves as a look-out post. At a third mound, 'Bramble Hill', the Trojan army musters, unaware that it conceals an ancient grave.²⁶

A few figures in Homer escape death because they enjoy the special favour of the gods: Heracles and Ganymede are transported to Olympus; Ino becomes the sea-goddess Leucothea; Menelaus, Helen and Rhadamanthys are granted eternal life in the Islands of the Blessed.²⁷ There is no mention of cult, and since none of these men and women actually die, any worship they might receive would in any case not be tomb cult. Castor and Pollux are 'honoured by Zeus' with the privilege of alternating between life and death, and 'they are honoured like the gods' (*Od.* 11.300–4), while Erechtheus, raised by Athena, shares her temple on the Acropolis where he receives annual sacrifices of bulls and rams (*Il.* 2.546–51; see also *Od.* 7.80–1). These men, then, do receive cult, but only because they have been elevated by the gods to a status which is clearly beyond that of the normal *hêrôs* (*contra* Hack 1929: 72; Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 135–6).

In omitting from his picture not only hero cult but all ritual and commemorative activity at tombs, Homer was again taking an extreme line. He could hardly have been unaware of at least a few of the varied cultic practices at grave sites attested throughout the Early Iron Age, and of still other rituals, such as the decoration of graves with wreaths and ribbons common in classical Athens, which could be carried out without leaving any archaeological trace. The *Odyssey's* account of its hero's visit to Hades, in fact, betrays an awareness of such practices, since the ritual which Odysseus performs to call up the dead is very similar to the rites associated later with both regular tomb cult and the summoning up of spirits. It includes libations, blood sacrifice into a pit, and a promise of lavish further sacrifices to the dead, 'filling the fire with fine things'. The latter has an exact parallel in the holocaust of finest female clothes arranged by Periander of Corinth for his late wife. The custom implies a belief that the dead have enough power to require pacification.²⁸

Why, then, did the epic tradition ignore all forms of tomb cult and deny the spirits of the dead any power over the living? Part of the answer may be that, in a world where everyone is a *hêrôs*, 'there is no one to do the worshipping' (Hack 1929: 71–2; cf. Seaford 1994: 187), although that does not explain why even future

26 The meeting at the tomb of Ilos (*Il.* 10.415) is not modelled on the cult of a founder-hero in the agora (*contra* Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 137–40): the tomb is situated in the middle of the plain (11.166–8, 371–2; 24.349–50) and used as a meeting point only because the army camps out there one night. The tomb used as a look-out (*Il.* 2.793) is also outside the city (22.145–6), not next to the agora (*contra* de Polignac, *Origins*: 144, n. 40). The Trojans' ignorance of the true nature of Bramble Hill (*Il.* 2.811–15) again means that one cannot infer tomb cult (*contra* Seaford 1994: 111). Whether or not the turning-post in the chariot race is an ancient grave marker apparently does not matter: *Il.* 23.326–33. No cult is hinted at for the graves of Sarpedon and Hector: *Il.* 16.453–7, 671–83; 24.801.

27 Heracles: *Od.* 11.601–3; Ganymede: *Il.* 20.232–5; Ino: *Od.* 5.333–5; Menelaus et al.: *Od.* 4.561–9.

28 Sacrifices to dead: *Od.* 10.522–5, 11.30–3. Periander: Herodotus 5.92η. See Farnell 1921: 8; Garland 1985: 104–20; Ogden 2001: 163–90.

generations will see the tombs merely as monuments, not as cult-sites. Another part of the answer is perhaps that, since hero cults were by definition local, poets addressing a panhellenic audience could not afford to privilege a few local heroes over countless others.²⁹ Yet they might still have hinted at hero-cult in general, without endorsing specific cults.

The main answer, I would suggest, lies in a tension inherent in the epic portrayal of the world of legend. Poets attempting to sketch in the details of this remote world could not help but draw on the social organisation and moral values of their own day, so that their heroes reflected not only the qualities associated with superhuman *hêrôes* but also the qualities and ideals associated with contemporary rulers, aristocrats and warriors. One such ideal – that a man ought to be prepared to die in battle and expect no reward other than glory – was fundamentally at odds with any prospect of gaining special powers and worship after death.

Callinus of Ephesus, an early seventh-century poet, enunciated the principle most clearly in an exhortation addressed not to mythical heroes but the young men of his city (F 1.12–21):

No man can escape his fated death, not even if he is the offspring of immortal ancestors. Often a man will escape the slaughter, the thud of javelins, and return, and the fate of death will catch him at home, but such a man is neither deeply loved nor missed by the community. Yet if the other man suffers anything, the great and humble will groan, for a brave man is a great loss to the whole people when he dies, and in life he is the equal of the demigods [*axios hemitheôn*]. For in their eyes he is like a bulwark because he matches the deeds of many, single-handedly.

The language is quite startling: a warrior who fights outstandingly well will be regarded by his fellow citizens as the equal of the demigods *in life*; yet in death his sole reward will be that he is fondly remembered. This is all the more remarkable since, as the first line announces, it applies even to those who are descended from gods. Later in the seventh century, Tyrtaeus told young Spartans that, when a man falls in battle, he brings ‘fame [*kleos*] to his city, his people and his father’ (F 12.23–4):

Both youths and elders mourn him equally, and a heavy sense of loss befalls the whole *polis*. His burial mound and sons will be conspicuous among mankind, and his son’s sons and his later lineage [*genos*], and his noble fame

29 Nagy 1979: 116; Seaford 1994: 181. Hence the passages about Erechtheus may well be topical references inserted for performance in Athens at the Panathenaia in the sixth century, rather than a regular part of the epics (van Wees 1999: 15–16 [= 2002: 111]). The account of the death and burial of Phrontis at Sounion (*Od.* 3.278–85) may be another such topical allusion to Athenian hero cult.

will never perish, nor will his name, but he becomes immortal although he is under the earth. (F 12.27–32)

The warrior should aim at ‘immortality’, but not through heroisation: it is his fame which will live forever kept alive by a grand funerary monument and passed on to his descendants.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* convey precisely the same message. Their heroes’ desire for fame is always in evidence. The *Odyssey* in particular stresses the good fortune of those who die on the battlefield and seal their fame with a funeral pyre, a burial mound and funeral games which are the work of entire armies abroad or entire communities at home – as opposed to the monuments constructed by relatives only, in order to keep alive the fame of those killed at home or missing at sea.³⁰ There is nothing beyond this, not even for sons of gods. Sarpedon, son of Zeus, says that all men must die, and decides to face his own death for the sake of glory, in particular because he feels that he owes it to his community to pursue fame (*Il.* 12.312–28). Zeus is tempted to save his son, but ultimately can do no more than ensure for him a full-scale funeral at home (16.431–683). Achilles announces that even he must die in battle, despite being the son of a goddess (21.98–113). Forced to choose between a long life of anonymity and a short life of glory, he chooses the latter.³¹ Odysseus’s remark that for a great man like Achilles the afterlife cannot be too miserable, and Achilles’ retort that the most miserable existence on earth is still better than being king of the dead (*Od.* 11.485–91), serve to emphasise that there really is nothing worth having after death except fame among the living. The elaborate description of Achilles’ spectacular funeral at the end of the *Odyssey* concludes with a reaffirmation of the everlasting fame which it has brought him, and is clearly meant to vindicate his choice.³²

The grim portrayal of Achilles’ fate in Hades is all the more remarkable because there was a tradition that he had been spared death by his divine mother and transported to a Blessed Island, just like Menelaus and Helen. This version of his story is attested so widely and so early that Homer probably knew it, but rejected it in favour of a story that better suited his theme. The *Iliad* similarly suggested

30 Graves as source of fame: see reference in notes 25, 26, above. For the role of fame in Homeric battle, see van Wees 1996: 23–5. Homeric funerals: esp. *Il.* 23.110–897, 24.777–804; *Od.* 24.35–94.

31 *Il.* 9.410–16 (wavering at 398–409); 18.95–6; 21.275–80; also the hints at ‘some prophecy’ (11.794–5 = 16.36–7, 50–1) and the allusions to his short life (1.352–4, 414–8, 505; 18.458). See also 13.663–70.

32 *Od.* 24.35–94. Achilles’ retort does not imply that he now believes his original choice was wrong (*contra*, for instance, Hainsworth 1993: ad *Il.* 9.410–16): it only means that, other things being equal, he much prefers life to death. Since other things were not equal, however, his statement implicitly asserts that for the sake of glory he was prepared to suffer a fate worse than even the most miserable life on earth. Similarly, the fact that Odysseus will end his life in prosperity and old age does not imply a rejection of Achilles’ choice: Odysseus is lucky enough to have a long life and great fame – a fate which Achilles would no doubt have chosen, too, if only it had been one of his options.

that part-time immortals Castor and Pollux were buried in Sparta (3.243–4) and that the famously immortalised Heracles had died (18.117–19).³³

Like Callinus and Tyrtaeus, then, Homer exhorted men to accept death in exchange for fame, and nothing but fame. The possibility that some truly exceptional individual might be heroised and enjoy not just glory but power and worship after death was clearly too remote to be relevant to poetic exhortations to battle. It was evidently also too remote to be worth introducing it into epic stories at the cost of undermining their central message that not even the sons of gods could hope to achieve anything more than fame for their deeds. The attempt to present the heroes as superhuman *hêrôes* clashed here with the attempt to portray them as idealised contemporary princes and warriors. The latter won: splendid funerals and a miserable afterlife were in; annual hero cult and post-mortem powers were out.

CONCLUSION: THE INVENTION OF THE RACE OF DEMIGODS

The elevation to superhuman status of the kings and warriors of epic, then, had already taken place by the time the poems of Homer and Hesiod were composed. When and why did this happen? Ian Morris has recently proposed a date around 1000 BC and suggested that a driving force in the process were powerful social groups which tried to turn themselves into hereditary elites and forged connections between themselves and heroes of the past to legitimate their status (Morris, *Archaeology*: 228–38). This seems to me the right scenario at the wrong date.

It was not unusual for families in classical Greece to claim descent from legendary heroes, and several powerful aristocratic clans in archaic Greece are known to have done so. Callinus was surely appealing to young warriors of precisely such families when he exhorted them to win glory in battle because ‘even the descendants of gods’ must die (F 1.21). The *Iliad* has several set-piece dialogues in which men and gods discuss the value of divine ancestry, and a couple of passages in which gods announce that certain ruling families will remain in power forever: all indicate that the legitimisation of hereditary status and claims of descent from gods were matters of interest to contemporary audiences.³⁴ Leading families thus had a motive for linking themselves to great figures of the legendary past and for elevating these figures to more than human status by offering them cult.

The spectacular burial of the ‘hero’ of Lefkandi around 1000 BC may well have been the start of the first attempt in Early Iron Age Greece by a local elite to lay

33 These points are all excellently made by Edwards 1985; see Morris 1989: 310. For the non-Homeric version of Achilles’ end see, for instance, *Aethiopis* F 1; Alcaeus F 354 L-P; skolion PMG 984.

34 Divine ancestries: *Il.* 20.213–348, 21.149–99 (van Wees 1996: 41; Adkins 1975). Divine ancestry versus piety: *Il.* 24.32–111 (see van Wees, *Status Warriors*: 142–5). Ruling forever: *Il.* 20.307–8; *Od.* 24.483 (van Wees, *Status Warriors*: 281–94). See Crielaard 2002: 266–82 on continuity between past and present in Homer.

claim to hereditary status, as Morris convincingly argues, but the link with the past is confined to the inclusion of 'antiques' among the grave goods and perhaps an attempt to match the imagined glories of the past by the sheer scale of the funerary monument. Not until much later do we find evidence that the past was seen specifically as an age of demigods and *hêrôes*. Around 750 BC monumental Bronze Age tombs which for centuries had been either ignored or else used for new burials, as dumping sites, or as dwelling places, suddenly became places of worship in Mycenae, Pylos and Attica. From c.725 BC cults at such tombs began to proliferate in mainland Greece.³⁵ Cult at recent graves is occasionally attested throughout the Early Iron Age (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 199–220), but cult at centuries-old and previously disregarded graves was something completely new, and the obvious explanation of its emergence is surely that Greeks now, for the first time, began to think of great men of the past as *hêrôes* deserving worship.

The Bronze Age graves singled out for special treatment bore almost no resemblance to the graves of the heroes as Homer describes them – Mycenaean burial mounds cover stone-built chambers containing inhumations, whereas Homer speaks of simple mounds of soil, heaped up over cremated remains in an urn or box – so that the cults at these sites could hardly have been inspired by epic descriptions of heroic burial (as pointed out by Snodgrass, *Archaeology*: 161; 1988, 23, *contra* Coldstream 1976). The discrepancy, however, is no obstacle to assuming that the Greeks identified the occupants of Bronze Age graves with the heroes of epic tradition. In order to make his heroes more effective models of – and for – contemporary aristocrats, Homer not only ignored their post-mortem powers and cult, but also the form of the graves at which they were worshipped in some places: he provided his heroes instead with a version of the grandest funerary rites and monuments to which contemporary aristocrats could aspire.³⁶

A few of the new cults at Mycenaean tombs lasted for centuries, but most were short-lived. Some may not have extended beyond a single ceremony, and many others petered out in the course of the seventh century. What we know of hero cults from literary evidence suggests that by the early sixth century they were celebrated by entire communities rather than by elite families. Moreover,

35 Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 11–143 (re-use: 26–7, 119, 121, 131; dump: 65–6; habitation: 35, 90–2). Given the evidence for such various forms of use, it is hard to argue that cult already took place before 750 BC, but in ways that left no archaeological trace (*contra* Morris, *Archaeology*: 235–6).

36 Grand cremation funerals and grave monuments are attested in several parts of Greece from c.750 BC onwards: see, for instance, Morris, *Archaeology*: 271–3; Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 221–43. Such burials are also often called 'heroic' by modern scholars, which seems to me misleading: (a) in most cases there is no evidence of cult, so there is no reason to assume that those buried were seen as *hêrôes* in the religious sense; (b) in so far as 'heroic' is used in its supposed secular epic sense, it implies that the burials were inspired by a preconceived idea of a form of burial peculiar to ancient heroes, that is, that epic tradition invented a non-existent form of burial which was then mimicked in real life. It seems much more likely that literature followed life and that epic funerals were based on contemporary practice. The term 'heroic' should therefore be avoided in this context.

some of the earliest known cults of named epic heroes were located in shrines without any apparent connection with the site of a tomb, Mycenaean or otherwise.³⁷ Rather than conclude that the cults at Bronze Age graves therefore could not, after all, have had anything to do with the heroes of legend, we may conclude that the cult of legendary heroes changed in nature as family claims to heroic ancestry were challenged and community claims to be under the protection of heroes grew stronger.

By 600 BC Sparta had shrines to Helen and Menelaus, Ino/Leucothea, and Castor and Pollux, all mentioned by Alcman; archaeological evidence suggests that the first goes back to c.700 BC.³⁸ These were evidently public cults and it may not be a coincidence that they all concerned immortalised figures who were neither ordinary *hêrôes* nor regarded as ancestors of prominent families. Community-oriented hero cults probably sprang up alongside, and in reaction to, family-driven hero cults. Some family cults failed almost immediately as attempts to assert hereditary status proved abortive. Others were more successful, but as hereditary status gave way to a more strictly wealth-based social order in the course of the seventh century, these cults too began to lose ground. Only a very few kept up their claims and cults into the later archaic and classical period. At the same time, the bonds of community grew in strength and the worship of epic and other heroes increasingly became a focal point for such loyalties, especially in war, until in the sixth century the images and bones of *hêrôes* travelled across the Greek world as the currency of international relations, and their cults also moved into the centre of domestic political organisation.³⁹

If this is what happened, the emergence of hero cult tells us a great deal not only about early Greek social organisation but also about the development of the epic tradition which around 750 BC must still have been fluid enough to incorporate the new conception of the heroes of legend as superhuman beings, and which, in doing so, lost perhaps the last vestiges of continuity with the Mycenaean age which it might once have had.

37 See again Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 145–97. Compare the communal cults of Melanippus and Adrastus at Sicyon, by c.570 BC (Herodotus 5.67), and the cult of Orestes at Sparta, c.560 BC (Herodotus 1.67–8).

38 Alcman FF 4A, 7; the dedication to ‘Helen, wife of Menelaus’ (see note 10, above) confirms their worship at Therapne c.600 (date of the script) or even 650 BC (date of the vase). Archaeological remains begin c.700 BC (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 155–66), and I see no reason to doubt that Helen and Menelaus were the object of cult from the start. In Athens, the cult of Phrontis at Sounion may be a parallel: it is attested by sixth-century dedications to him by his patronymic Onetorides, but may go back to the earliest dedications on the site, c.700 BC: Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 166–9.

39 As most famously in Cleisthenes’ reforms, see esp. Kearns 1989. The hero cult of city-founders is part of the same process, but, given the informal nature of early Greek colonisation (Osborne 1998) one must suspect that they did not go back as far as the late eighth century (*contra* Malkin 1987: 189–266). For other interpretations of the archaeological evidence for hero cult see, for instance, Coldstream 1976; Snodgrass, *Archaeology*: 160–4; 1988; Morris 1988; Whitley 1988; Malkin 1993.

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RELIGION, *BASILEIS* AND HEROES

Carla Antonaccio

The brief of this chapter is to discuss *basileis* (perhaps to be rendered as ‘chieftains’), in conjunction with religion, and also with the complex and contested concept of the hero, in the early Iron Age. It seems best to begin with clarifications of terms, starting with religion. It is disputable whether it is even legitimate to disembed religion as a separate category of study (or of society) at all, and an agreed definition of Greek religion is not so easy to establish. In Walter Burkert’s fundamental study, *Greek Religion*, the first footnote occurs after the first two words of the first sentence on the first page, and it occurs after the very words ‘Greek Religion’. (The note gives a full page of references to earlier scholarship on the topic, rather than a discussion of what the subject itself might be.) Several pages into the book the author ventures to define Greek religion: ‘A supra-personal system of communication’ which ‘like Greek civilization itself . . . is delimited in time and place by the reach of Greek language and literature’ (Burkert 1985: 7). There are several possible objections to this characterisation: it is too vague, and its range too dependent on language (just one aspect of culture or identity), to say nothing of communication, and on literature, as opposed to other modes of discourse. Indeed, though Burkert’s book is about the practices of Greek religion as well as what might be constituted as ‘belief’, practice is subordinated in this definition to what can be said about religion.

Archaeology may be invoked to recover practices that are unavailable in the literary sources (about which more below), or aspects of those recorded in written sources that are not represented by writers. Thus, in the same year that saw publication of the English translation of Burkert’s study, Colin Renfrew set out an archaeology of cult, attempting to provide archaeological criteria for the study of prehistoric religion, with the Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi as exemplum (Renfrew 1985). Renfrew’s study set out to define precisely how to identify religion as it might be encountered in the remains of an era and a culture without texts. But Renfrew suggested an approach not to the study of cult itself,

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but rather to the identification of cult locations in the archaeological record (Wright 1995a: 341). For his part James Wright advocated a view going back to Emile Durkheim, quoting Anthony Wallace's definition of religion: 'Religion is a set of rituals, rationalized by myth, which mobilizes supernatural powers for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformations of state in man and nature'. Thus religion is fundamentally about practice. To this Wright added 'the process of symbolizing that results from the need to communicate perceptions of reality.' (Wright 1995a: 341, n. 2). This reality is a cosmology, a set of beliefs about space and time that may be expressed in myth, and with ritual practices – which it enacts. Such a formulation is not far from the Greek formulation of *ta legomena kai dromena*, 'things said and done', usually rendered simply by the terms myth and ritual, respectively.

With regard to the present topic, the things are said mostly by Homer (and accompanied by cautions about using epic poetry as evidence for any historical period). The things done focus on Iron Age burial, sacrifice, deposition or votive behaviour, and formalised feasting. *Ta legomena* will also include a brief look at what Linear B texts tell us about the things done, or at least things offered and to whom, in the late Bronze Age. The aim is to identify those patterns of symbols that constitute a shared symbolic language, and to try and understand how widely this system was shared, and who controlled, or at least managed it.

This aim is tied directly to the important link between religion and society identified by Wright: 'when [social] stratification and the attendant issues of economic and political control come into play, the repetition and organization of symbols becomes intense enough to be evident within localities, such as villages and cemeteries.' Wright suggests that when this happens, shared cults signal the emergence of a chiefdom, in which symbols are controlled by specialists (Wright 1995a: 344). This state of affairs may have obtained in the Iron Age (see below). In a state-level society, such as probably characterised the Greek Late Bronze Age, a formal religion is a usual feature, with multiple cults, rituals and priest-hoods, sacred texts and calendars. In any case, Greek religion (however the terms 'Greek' or 'Religion' are defined) is not a static system of extreme conservatism that handed down deeply rooted beliefs intact through the centuries. Thus both ritual and belief change with society and social institutions, not just ritual as is sometimes suggested. For example, some of the divinities that the Mycenaeans and the later Greeks worshipped were the same ones, and some were not. This will be important in accounting for the continuities, discontinuities and transformations over the several centuries under consideration here.

The next category to consider is the *basileis*, mentioned above. Various papers in the present volume treat the status of a few important individuals in Greek Early Iron Age society, individuals whom we have become accustomed to referring to as *basileis*, after the chieftains or kings of Homer. There are good reasons to view them as more or less direct inheritors of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-we* (see below). There seems to be a general consensus on the existence of *basileis* in

the Iron Age, but differences of opinion on their precise status, prerogatives and power (for example, whether their status could be inherited). In addition, it seems widely agreed that the depiction of *basileia* in Homer has some bearing on historical situations, though a range of caveats applies.¹ To summarise the common ground, *basileis* in the Greek Iron Age were individuals in the top level of a ranked society in which claims to power were based partly on ascribed status, i.e. birth and the social and economic capital that might belong in a lineage or accompany descent. Achieved status was, however, more important: standing earned by achievements in amassing or retaining wealth, having a set of relationships based on reciprocity through gift giving and feasting, warrior identity (if not actual feats of arms) and attracting followers and dependents. This description comes from the poetry of Homer and from the detection of individuals belonging to this category in the archaeological record, as will be discussed below.

The final category that falls in this paper's scope is that of heroes – arguably a subset of the concept of religion. There are two issues in one to consider here: first, the nature and origin of heroes; second, the nature and origin of hero cult. Both of these are complex and thorny topics in and of themselves. 'The etymology of *heros* is unclear', as Burkert aptly remarks (Burkert 1985: 203, n. 2). It has been suggested that the notion of the Greek hero originates in a year god associated with a goddess of nature and of springtime, the Bronze Age Potnia/Hera. The function of the man who dies with the season would then stand at the core of the hero's identity.² The relationship of heroes to the goddess Hera is, however not entirely straightforward. Hera is the patroness of many heroes in the *Iliad*, but not alone in that function, even among female divinities. The explanation, moreover, does not conform well to the evidence from Linear B. Among the divinities mentioned is the *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, the 'thrice hero', closely connected with the palace at Pylos (see below). This figure appears in the company of divinities (including Potnia, it must be said), but seems not to be related to a specific deity.

Archaeological and documentary evidence for rituals connected with the *ti-ri-si-ro-e* in the Bronze Age, and the function of this figure, form the first section of the analysis that follows these introductory remarks. Next, the nature and function of both the *qa-si-re-we* and of the *basileis* will be taken up. Discussion then turns to these figures in relation to heroes (and ancestors) as a subset of Greek religion. The conclusion attempts to understand how the *basileis* and heroes might be connected, how ideologies of power and ancestry were practised through ritual, stressing the importance of the past in both the Bronze and Iron Ages of Greece.

1 The contributions of Palaima, Carlier, van Wees, and Mazarakis Ainian in this volume are particularly relevant to this chapter.

2 Recently considered by Morris, *Archaeology*: 233.

THE THRICE HERO AND ANCESTOR CULT

The *ti-ri-se-ro-e* appears to be a divine figure at Pylos, where a Linear B tablet (Fr. 1204) informs us that he receives a small quantity of rose-scented oil.³ In a ceremony at nearby Pakijane, which seems to be a place devoted to cult observances, the tablet Tn 316 records that he received a gold vessel, as did individual gods; the Thrice Hero is followed by the final entry, which specifies the same offering to *do-po-ta*, possibly 'lord of the house'.⁴ The connection of a powerful ancestral figure with the origin of the concept of a hero, and the worship of heroes, suggests itself in the very name of the *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, which incorporates an archaic form of the word hero. The close connection of the *ti-ri-se-ro-e* with the palace and his worship at Pakijane suggests that he is the ancestor of the *wanax* and his lineage. The later Bronze Age is a time where the concepts of hero and ancestor are perhaps not as particularly differentiated, or perhaps only the *wanax*'s lineage was 'heroic'. This is important, because the fully developed institutions of hero cult seem not to have existed in the late Bronze or early Iron Ages, though their origins are to be sought there.

The *ti-ri-se-ro-e* appears to survive in some fashion into the historic period, when the Tritopatores or Tritopatreis receive cult in many places, most prominently in Attika but also, as recently revealed, in colonial Sicily. A *lex sacra* from Selinous has given us an unexpected insight into the Tritopatores outside the Greek homeland. At Selinous, they are the object of a purification ritual and are invoked twice, once as impure, where they are to be sacrificed to 'as to heroes', and the second time as pure, where the sacrifice is 'as to the gods'.⁵ In this text, from a Greek colony in the mid-fifth century, the categories of ancestors, heroes and divinities are conflated. But in all cases the Tritopatores seem to represent a collective notion of familial ancestors or of the generative power of the family or clan. In the Kerameikos, a shrine dedicated to the Tritopatreis, i.e. a Tritopatreion, is located in a burial ground at a crossroads, and the figures seem to embody the idea of the Dead as a collective entity (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 264–5). At Selinous, according to Kevin Clinton, they are perhaps similarly connected with a larger collective ancestry.⁶ The Thrice Hero in Linear B seems to be a single figure, in contrast with the Tritopatores, but this may not be a serious problem. The significance of three in Greek thought is multivalent, but here could represent the limit of personal human generational memory, expressed monumentally in the archaic and classical periods in the triangular structures like the Kerameikos Tritopatreion and other structures that mark particular burials or burial plots. Perhaps related in function and conception are the Archegetai, worshipped on Delos where a set of

3 Bennett 1958: 43–4 on PY Fr. 1204, designates rose-scented oil for the Thrice Hero at Pylos.

4 *Documents*, pp. 284–9 on PY Tn 316.

5 Jameson et al., 1993: 107–14; see also Clinton 1996: 171–2; Curti and van Bremen 1999.

6 Clinton 1996; Antonaccio 1993 with fig. 9 for the Kerameikos *tritopatreion*; Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 235–6, 263–8 on these and related cults.

graves was marked off and a cult instituted to these figures, who may also symbolise origin, as their name implies (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 218–20 for the Delian Archegeion). In these cases, as I have tried to show elsewhere, the conceptualisation of the subjects of these cults is as anonymous, collective ancestors whose graves are located in the midst of later building activity like an agora or sanctuary. Thus it may be argued that figures like the *ti-ri-se-ro-e* and Tritopatores belong in the realm of ancestor cult.

ANCESTORS AND HEROES

For the post-Mycenaean period it is useful to draw a distinction between ancestor and hero cult, although the two categories of heroes and ancestors certainly overlap in conceptualisation in the Archaic period. A brief summary only is possible here.

In the Iron Age and later, ancestor cult is expressed in a variety of practices directed at family graves, and at Bronze Age graves, the latter either sought out or uncovered by chance. Ritual action is usually limited in duration and sometimes confined to a single episode of offering or sacrifice, or isolated reuse of a tomb for burial. The deliberate reuse of tombs or of a cemetery area for later burials belongs in the category of ancestor cult because it is a practice that explicitly links the past and the present generations despite the passage, sometimes, of centuries between burials and the loss of continuity between them. The fully-developed hero cult of archaic and classical times, contrary to expectation, often does not involve an actual tomb or bodily remains. Its focus, however, is explicitly on a figure identified as a hero: epic, local, even anonymous in some cases (i.e. dedications made simply to ‘the hero’). The main distinguishing factor is the explicitness of the invocation to a named hero or an entity called a hero.

An obvious difficulty that arises when the object’s anonymity, or a lack of evidence, makes it difficult to judge whether we are dealing with a hero cult or an ancestor cult, or some other kind of cult entirely. Since location at a tomb is not the deciding factor one way or the other, I have argued that it is repeated and habitual rituals, or the erection of an altar or other structure that memorialises a site, that constitute the foundation and practice of a (hero) cult per se. A single act of veneration does not constitute a cult, though a prayer or ritual action may still be a ritual act at the level of what Wright refers to as a ‘particle’ or smallest unit of ritual symbolising.⁷ Obviously some of these may be directed at an entity conceptualised as a hero on a given occasion; others will leave no archaeological trace, and be irrecoverable to us in the present. It must be said, however, that attitudes and practices concerning the dead fall along a continuum or spectrum, and the lines between hero cult and ancestral veneration may not have been completely clear at any time.

⁷ Wright 1995a: 342 n. 11, citing Anthony Wallace again.

A special topic in the issue of hero cult is hero cult in Homer, as fraught as any of the other topics already touched on. The difficult issues under this rubric include, but are certainly not limited to, the following. First, the relationship between the concepts of *heros* and *basileus*; since the terms are used of the same individuals in Homer. Second, if Homer (whether to be understood as the poet, or the tradition he represents, or the time in which the epic was being composed and performed) knew of hero cult. Third, whether knowledge of Homeric epic generated heroic worship in the eighth century. These are all hoary questions that have been addressed many times. The view adopted here is that the oral tradition of epic poetry is inseparable from the Bronze and Iron Age contexts in which this poetry was composed and the tradition it transmitted and in turn shaped. This understanding contrasts with the notion that the 'publication' or 'circulation' of Homer's poetry engendered the phenomenon of hero cult among Greeks suddenly inspired by the genius of Homer's epic to venerate hitherto unknown, or forgotten, demigods.

Obviously, in Homer *basileis* are also at times called heroes. There are, moreover, echoes of cult prerogatives in the honours, *timai*, or portion, *geras*, which the *basileis* receive as their prerogative. In addition, the term *hemitheos* is used in both Homer and Hesiod of certain human figures in epic and myth. A few individuals (living or dead) are honored *hos theos*, 'as a god', and the Hesiodic myth of five generations speaks of a bygone age of heroes, located between the Bronze Age of myth and the Iron Age in which the poet places himself (Antonaccio 1993; Morris, *Archaeology*: 270–1).

Yet, even in Homer, the *basileis* do not receive or offer hero cult per se, or even ancestor cult, in the sense that they do not themselves go to a tomb or shrine and make offerings to the named or unnamed dead. Ancient tombs of remembered or forgotten heroes may serve as landmarks in the plain of Troy, but it is through epic that heroes' *kleos* survives. The dead in Homer are strengthless shadows without memory; Odysseus's offering of blood to the dead in the Underworld, so that they may recover their strength to speak, belongs more to chthonic cult than to hero cult per se. As for the oft-invoked funeral of Patroclus (which takes up most of *Iliad* Book 24), with its lavish sacrifices and games celebrated in honour of the dead, they are part of a funeral, as is feasting by the mourners, and not of a cult as defined above. Much of what transpires in the burial of Patroclus is ritual action that is customary with regard to burying the dead as Homer tells it, if especially elaborate (or exaggerated) in this case. As is widely remarked, the burial customs in epic are not those prevalent in the Bronze Age, but on the other hand, while Homer knows of cremation and burial tumuli, he does not know about monumental burial buildings and entire cemeteries such as will be discussed shortly. This has left scholars trying to account for Homer's reticence about hero cult, if he did in fact know of it.

WANAX, QA-SI-RE-U, AND RITUAL

As noted above, it is likely that the *ti-ri-se-ro-e* expresses the continuity of the *wanax*'s lineage. This continuity and its framework of divine entities and prerogatives (offerings) would be strong validating statements, giving the *wanax* a claim to authority situated in time and space. The *wanax*'s status may have been inherited; if legitimated by descent from a heroic or divine ancestor – as would befit a king – a palatial cult would make sense. Wright defines kingship as follows: 'an inherited, superior, political authority vested in a single person . . . who holds his position for life' and whose power, while based in kin-groups, is asserted and maintained by his power to control far-off resources (Wright 1995b: 65; Palaima, this volume). The *wanax*, whether he is a king as defined above, was certainly at the top of the heap in Mycenaean society, while the *qa-si-re-we* (later *basileis*) were at least two degrees lower in the hierarchy. Despite the familiarity of both kingship and chieftainship, it is interesting, as stressed by Palaima, that neither term is Indo-European; indeed, both are 'peculiar to Greek within the Indo-European language family' (Palaima 1995: 122, esp. 123).

The power of the *wanax* was economic, religious, and military, although the *lawagetas* has more to do with the latter sphere of action. Among the documented religious activities of the *wanax* is the dispensing of scented oil and spices to divinities as well as to himself. Ta 711, from Pylos, may relate to the *wanax* presiding over a funeral, which is very tempting, but the alternative interpretation of making an appointment must also be considered.⁸ He is, moreover, the chief contributor to, and probably presided at, major feasts that took place both in the palace and in the district of Pakijane, in the case of Pylos. The frescoes from the megaron at Pylos include seated banqueters in a landscape presided over by a robed lyre-player.⁹ Thus, the *wanax*'s power was legitimated through burial ritual and offerings, patronage of sacrifice and feasts, and possibly with the singing of epic, if the Pylos lyre-player may be interpreted as a bard, as well as by palatial symbolism. It is also abetted, as stressed by Wright and by Cline, by his access to far-off regions and their production. These strategies begin with the Shaft Graves and continue down through the end of the Late Helladic period, and the end of the palatial system. In short, Mycenaean religion, Late Helladic imagery, and the palace system itself, both sustained and legitimated the centralised hierarchy of which the *wanax* was paramount.

On the other hand, the power of the *qa-si-re-we* (whose origin may have been pre-Mycenaean) was at the local level, and while they are at times clearly associated

8 Palaima 1995: 132–3: PY Fr. 1215.1, 1220.2, 1227, 1235.1, for oil (see *Documents*²: 442–7, 481–3) and KN Ga 675 for spice; on PY Ta 711.1 (related to a burial or an appointment see *Docs*, p. 496–7).

9 Palaima 1995: 133 with pl. XLI, b. Bendall (1998–99) has suggested that some of the tablets in the Pylos Fr series that record oil disbursements to divinities (and to the *wanax*) may be connected with banqueting, though PY Fr 1204, recording scented oil to the Thrice Hero, is not one of them.

with bronze working and groups of bronze-workers in the Linear B records, they need not function only with respect to these activities. Whatever the case, however, they were not at the same level as the palace-dependent officials more immediately beneath the *wanax*. Nor were they in charge of the major centres second only to the palace. Palaima summarises, 'The many individuals who hold the title *qa-si-re-u* . . . can be interpreted as local chieftains in the purest sense, i.e., figures who derive their authority and privileges from society as it developed on this level, and who had responsibilities that might, in some cases, involve the central palatial administration' (Palaima 1995: 124–5). Carlier cautions against considering them as 'fonctionnaires palatiaux', but he also stresses the connections of the *qa-si-re-we* with certain local sanctuaries.¹⁰

FROM *QA-SI-RE-U* TO *BASILEUS*

With the demise of the palaces and the palatial system, the locally based *qa-si-re-we* came out on top (Morpurgo-Davies 1979). Funerary symbolism and ritual, feasting, and especially the control of and inclusion of particular objects in early Iron Age burials betoken an attempt to use concepts similar to those of the Late Bronze Age and some of the same symbols to legitimate the emergent or re-emergent power of the *basileis*. While talk of power inevitably leads us to think in terms of the category of politics, the contexts are religious in the sense discussed above, i.e., that the things done express a set of beliefs about a cosmology that invokes the supernatural.

As already noted, our notion of an Iron Age *basileus* has emerged from several decades of scholarship on the Homeric poems and on the past twenty or so years of archaeological research. It is more or less accepted that some important individuals whose graves have been discovered and published merit the identification of *basileus* in the Iron Age, the inheritors of the *qa-si-re-we*. These individuals are more chiefs than kings (see above), but perhaps more Big Men than chiefs. The status of *basileus* as seen in Homer is not strictly inherited, and claims to power were contestable by others. The polities presided over by the *basileis* in Homer are somewhat unstable, as are those of the historical Iron Age; this instability is a key factor in understanding Iron Age *basileia*.¹¹

The Homeric *basileus* does share with the classic chiefs the following: 'his principle concern . . . is oriented towards maintaining his position of dominance, which is open to challenge by peers . . . Thus rules are established that favour his

10 Palaima 1995: 125, n. 21, *qa-si-re-u* glossed by him as follows: ' . . . a local authority who has power that is not derived primarily from his connections to the palace and who therefore will still hold that power when the palace is removed.' See also Carlier 1995, who attempts to distinguish the role of the *qa-si-re-u* from that of others in the palatial hierarchy, and who points to evidence for hereditary succession.

11 The notion of a Big Man entered the literature on early Greek society more than twenty years ago; see Antonaccio 2002 with references.

position, through rituals and sumptuary behaviour and through succession' (Wright 1995b: 66; Antonaccio 2002). As Wright emphasises, redistribution of goods acquired from the people to the chief's followers is a major strategy for maintaining the chief's power. Wright also stresses the importance of kinship, lineage, and what he describes as 'heroic or divine ancestors' that link the chief with the realm of the supernatural (Wright 1995b: 68). In the archaeological record, the celebrated warrior graves of LH IIIC are important in linking the Late Bronze Age to the ensuing Iron Age through the period of transition, but warrior status, whether ascribed or earned, is not by itself indicative of *basileia* – or at least of paramount status.¹²

The now famous example from Lefkandi's Toumba burial ground is the single most important archaeological instance of an Iron Age *basileus*.¹³ The burial in question, an extraordinary ensemble of cremated male individual in an antique bronze vessel accompanied with weapons, and a female inhumation with antique and gold jewellery, as well as four sacrificed horses, was found beneath the floor of the largest Early Iron Age building yet discovered. There are obvious echoes of both the poetic tradition of 'heroic' burial, and the tradition of 'warrior graves' in the Bronze and Iron Ages, although the burial building is not part of the tradition. Following the destruction of this gigantic house and the erection of a tumulus over the original burials and the demolished structure, a cemetery developed around the monumental mound.

Yet, while the Toumba building is still unparalleled in size and elaboration, recent reinterpretation of the early excavations at Thermon and discoveries at Oropos have suggested that the same kind of complex of customs, i.e. big house with tombs, in roughly the same period, existed elsewhere in Greece.¹⁴ Moreover, there is evidence for even earlier 'heroic' burials in the archaeological record. The important question about these monuments and the individuals connected with them is the last of our terms to consider: were the *basileis* also heroes? Do 'warrior burials' and monumentalisation of their graves constitute hero cult?

FROM *BASILEUS* TO HERO?

The Toumba *basileus*'s burial has been widely regarded as 'heroic' because of resonances with the funeral of Patroclus, as noted above. The archaeology of *basileis* is the focus of another paper in this volume, so only a few points are in

12 See Deger-Jalkotzy, this volume, and Whitley 2002, who seeks to play down the representation of warrior status in Iron Age or Late Bronze Age tombs.

13 I have discussed the Toumba burial ground in Antonaccio, *Ancestors* and in Antonaccio 1995 and 2002, where primary and secondary bibliography may be found. See also Coucouzeli 1999 for a reconstruction of the Lefkandi building as a planned multi-room longhouse belonging to a headman and his lineage, and which was abandoned, unfinished, upon his death.

14 See the summary and comments of Morris, *Archaeology*: 225–7, with references, for Thermon; for Oropos, see Mazarakis Ainian this volume.

order here. The Toumba *basileus* was cremated and his remains placed in a metal urn, as in Homer, but instead of gold the receptacle was an antique bronze of exotic origin, a Late Bronze Age amphoroid krater from Cyprus. This individual's burial was accompanied by a sword and whetstone. Four horses were slaughtered and buried in an adjacent grave, echoing the slaughter of horses and other animals at Patroclus's funeral. Also reminiscent, for some, of the humans sacrificed by Achilles is the burial of a woman in the same shaft as the *basileus*. She was accompanied by a stunning antique, a gold necklace of Babylonian origin that may have been as much as 1,000 years old when it was buried with her. Though her status is much in doubt, the presence of this burial raises the question of whether she was killed to accompany the male cremation, though other scenarios are possible and deserve to be considered (Antonaccio 1995; Antonaccio 2002: 32–3).

Nevertheless, the main point is the unusual richness and exoticism of the central burials, and the particulars of their monumentalisation. Indeed, Ian Morris has recently declared that the Toumba *basileus* burial differs from all other Iron Age burials in central Greece, including those from the Thermon complex, which were distinguished mostly by their juxtaposition with Megarons A and B rather than their wealth (or funerary context per se). Referring to the exotic metalwork, and ceramics from the building with orientalising motifs, Morris contends that the contrast of the Toumba burials with other graves is so great that 'to someone used to elite funerals around 1000 BC, the behaviour of the Lefkandi buriers would have been shocking' (Morris, *Archaeology*: 228). According to Morris, the Lefkandi *basileus* assemblage constitutes 'the earliest known example of a ritual package which was to define heroic status for more than a millennium', i.e. through virtually the whole of Greek antiquity. The LH IIIC burials discussed elsewhere in this volume are already a caution against this conclusion, but Morris also continues: 'By archaizing and orientalising, buriers connected heroes to broader and more glorious lost worlds. Singers of tales and buriers of great men worked out a shared symbolic language' (Morris, *Archaeology*: 235). This scenario sidesteps the antiquity of the epic tradition and implies a kind of direct collusion between bards and *basileis* that is probably not quite accurate. While bards are certainly dependent on the patronage of big men and chieftains, they are not mouthpieces for some kind of Dark Age propaganda machine, and as has been emphasised in this conference, they are attuned to their audiences as well as their patrons. The bards, moreover, leave out some major details of burial customs in the Iron Age, like the houses at Lefkandi and elsewhere, and exaggerate others. More importantly, while the mound that gives Toumba its name recalls the mound and stele that is formulaic in Homer for a hero warrior's burial, the Toumba mound is, so far at least, exceptional for its time. The tumulus, finally, is the focus for a cemetery, and is not solely the monument or memorial for a hero or king. But Morris is surely right in thinking that the relationship of epic and practice is reciprocal, practice informing the epic

tradition and epic absorbing some of the customs of its patrons. In this we might regard the bards as among the specialists who shape or control ritual, as suggested by Wright for stratified societies (see above), without expressing this as poetic collusion in a politics of domination.

As I have recently discussed, the Lefkandi *basileus* burial is not the earliest example of the burial assemblage and the ideology it represents. Before taking up the 'archaizing and orientaling' characteristics, the Lefkandi *basileus* burial expresses a warrior identity: it includes a spearhead and whetstone. Several other burials in the Toumba cemetery also contained weapons as well as well antiques, and I have suggested that these burials belong to the followers of the *basileus* who would also be his peers, among whom he was pre-eminent.¹⁵ Unremarked by Morris are not only the Sub-Mycenaean burials discussed by Deger-Jalkotzy in this volume, but Sub-Minoan burials from Knossos and an eleventh-century burial from Cyprus with similar features. In fact, Hector Catling places the Lefkandi *basileus* about fifty years after the earliest post-palatial warrior burials on Crete and Cyprus (Catling 1995; Antonaccio 2002 with references; Whitley 2002; Crielaard 2002). Taken together, these burials also nearly close the gap between the Bronze and Iron Ages, which encourages the view that the inclusion of Bronze Age antiques at Lefkandi and Crete was a deliberate claim to the inheritance of the vanished *wanaktes*, an invocation of the past to legitimate the present. At the same time, the choice of exotic antiques, rather than domestic Mycenaean ones, distances the Iron Age from the local Bronze Age past. The strategy may be intended to de-familiarise the past, and allow individuals in the Iron Age to claim control of space as well as time, or to tap into a mythological age (see above).¹⁶

As I have argued, the Iron Age warrior grave assemblages refer to at least three different qualities or spheres of action. Warfare is the first of all, and the burials of horses at Lefkandi and elsewhere or of horse trappings speaks also to this as well as to the economic wherewithal to sacrifice them and inter them. Feasting is second, and the status and means to participate as both host and guest in the feasting. Third is what we unsatisfactorily term 'trade', a set of interrelated functions or categories that is referenced by the antiques of far-off origins. The first of these spheres has already been discussed. Concerning the second, the 'warrior' tombs sometimes contain variations on the basic theme of weapons, often including spits, graters, firedogs, and ceramic or metal objects that include feasting equipment. Heirlooms or antiques from the Late Bronze Age, again often of unusual or distant origin, and sometimes fragmentary, are a frequent feature.

15 I agree with James Whitley 2002 (which came into my hands after this paper was written) that using the term 'heirloom' for old bronzes and other items is problematic, since that word connotes an object passed from hand to hand typically within a family, and implies a continuity of possession that is not warranted. I have discussed possible sources and meanings for antiques in Antonaccio 2002.

16 Antonaccio 2002. On a concept of 'spacetime', see Morris, *Archaeology*: 129–30, 256 ff.

While the Toumba *basileus* himself lacked feasting equipment, the Late Bronze Age Cypriot amphoroid krater in which the *basileus*'s cremated remains were interred itself could have had such a use, and the burial building is one huge artefact suitable for communal feasting (and the singing of epic).

The antiques come into play in the third sphere. These artefacts, which are both archaising and orientalising, are of particular interest; they point to an aspect of the *basileis* that perhaps carries over from the Bronze Age: the elite as masters of long-distance relationships and trade. A spatial dimension of power and prestige is expressed in the ability to acquire goods or objects of far-off origins, a power that probably depended on personal relationships of the kind that may be reflected in the practices of gift exchange both in the Bronze Age and in epic. But also as in epic, where some gifts have pedigrees or genealogies attached to them, biographies of a sort, the presence of exotic antiques extends this power from the present back in time. Such objects may be (or represent or pretend to) the traces of continuous relationships that pass from generation to generation. A famous example of such a relationship can be found in the *Iliad* (6.215–36) where Glaukos and Diomedes discover that their fathers were guest friends, and so spare each other on the battlefield. Another example is that of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, who can rely on his father's relationships of *xeneia* to aid him as he travels, a young stranger, in search of news of Odysseus. Sometimes gifts of objects seal, enact and ensure these relationships. Indeed, the poems at several junctures describe an object in terms that appreciate its workmanship, age and exotic origins, and these are sometimes enunciated at the time they are exchanged. Such items have biographies that can be independent of the relationship in which they are currently involved, and they participate in the system of lineage boasting that is a feature of epic.

With respect to lineage, I emphasise that the Toumba *basileus*'s burial founds the Toumba cemetery, while the closely-related double cremation Tomb 201 in Knossos North Cemetery, mentioned elsewhere in this volume, with boar's tusk helmet and Cypriot four-sided stand, is among the earliest in that cemetery. At Lefkandi, I have also suggested that the individual in Tomb 79 to the south of the tumulus epitomises the control of long-distance trade, and thereby of space and of time, that has been invoked by Wright with respect to the *wanaktes*, and independently by Morris, as well as by me. Tomb 79 is another 'warrior burial' in a bronze vessel, interred with orientalia including Cypriot and Phoenician items, as well as a grater and weapons. Remarkably, the burial included a set of scale weights, and another very old heirloom, a North Syrian cylinder seal. These in particular reference the control of long-distance trade, and thereby of space, as well as time (Antonaccio 2002 with references). Finally, the cauldron again suggests the function of feasting or *xeneia*, and the woman buried nearby in Tomb 80 with multiple standed cooking mugs may indicate the importance of women in the staging of feasts.

CONCLUSION

Ritual action (i.e. religion) in the Iron Age that is archaeologically recoverable is carried out in the rites of burial, deposition of artefacts, sacrifices and feasting, in which the participation or invocation of the gods differentiates both the occasion and the action from anything ordinary. Rituals also involve dedications or destructions of objects in connection with sacrifice and feasting, and in burials. The destruction of the Toumba building and founding of the cemetery is another such ritual act. Athletic competition is another, probably later form of ritual action which, together with the singing of epic, straddles the line between entertainment and ritual activity. The importance of feasting is detectable also at early sanctuaries, like Isthmia or Olympia, where even before the first temples there were mass gatherings that included feasting and the dedication of pottery and other objects (Morgan in *Isthmia*). Feasting equipment comes to be dedicated in both graves and in sanctuaries. The individuals of the Iron Age who are by general consensus identified as *basileis* or their followers also often have this kind of equipment in their graves. The *basileis* as lords of the feast hark back to the *wanaktes* who supply the feasts in the palaces, feasts that include sacrifice. The Iron Age *basileis* also make claims to transcend, or control, space and time with their acquisition, distribution, and deposition of exotic and antique objects that recall the pedigreed gifts and possessions of epic.

Thus, the *basileis*, inheritors of the *qa-si-re-we*, occupied the vacuum left by the *wanaktes*, and staked their claims to power by linking themselves to a past in which they were, actually, subordinate. Their use of old orientalia, more often than Mycenaean antiques, also distances themselves from the past near at hand and sets them apart from it. In this way they create themselves as their own ancestors – which may be regarded as a form of heroisation.

The main purpose, therefore, of the Toumba tumulus is to create a lineage with the *basileus* as *archegetes*; as also suggested by François de Polignac (de Polignac 1998). This calls to mind the close connection of the figure of the *archegetes* in the archaic period with the Tritopatores and their possible origin in the *ti-ri-se-ro-e*. The close association of later graves at Toumba with the mound, some of them actually cut into the tumulus, supports this idea. So does the similarity of the assemblages in some of the graves in this cemetery, which include other antiques, including antique feasting equipment, as well as weapons, though not of quite the same quality as the *basileus*'s. If the Toumba house had remained standing for generations and feasting and offerings taken place there, above the central graves, the *basileus* and his companion could be more convincingly viewed as the object of a hero cult, and the building as a heroon. It is true that no one can say what archaeologically irrecoverable rituals were conducted on top of the eroded mound that was erected on the site of the house. But arguments from silence are not as strong as those based on positive evidence, and given the presence of the cemetery, it seems safest to conclude that

the house was not meant to shelter a hero cult. Indeed, the instability of Iron Age polities may be detectable in the decision to destroy the house, rather than practice a cult within it, whether directed to the founding *basileus*, or to the incumbents of the later cemetery.

If ancestors are the embodiment of a relationship of the past with the present, and heroes are also ancestors who partake of both human and divine aspects, yet are mortal, then the *basileis* may be heroes in this sense. It requires knowing if the dead man is thought of as divinely descended or divinised himself, and still powerful in the present – an entity capable of being mobilised by ritual action – something unknown to us in the present.

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CULT ACTIVITY ON CRETE IN THE EARLY DARK AGE: CHANGES, CONTINUITIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A 'GREEK' CULT SYSTEM

Anna Lucia D'Agata

CULT ACTIVITY ON CRETE IN THE EARLY DARK AGE: AN INTRODUCTION

Certainly to a greater extent than on the Greek continent,¹ the study of cult activity on Crete in the Early Dark Age has been carried out with the assumption of cultural continuity between the Bronze Age and the Early Archaic period, and it is undeniable that on the island the continuity of formal elements of Minoan derivation is tangible at least up to the beginning of the Archaic period.

In the 1980s the key site for supporters of continuity was the sanctuary of Kato Symi on the Dikti massif, the excavation of which has been considered the symbol of uninterrupted Cretan cult activity from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (Lebessi 1981, 2002). It is also worth noting that at least until the 1980s the idea of persistence has rarely been considered in terms of contradicting the alleged Doric invasion of the island, also taken more or less for granted until the last few years (Desborough, *Last Mycenaeans, Dark Ages*; Coldstream 1984b, 1991; Musti 1985).

Over the past twenty years the matter has been taken in somewhat different terms. It is now widely acknowledged that even if continuity of use can be demonstrated for some places, the problem remains of trying to piece together a detailed picture of the transformation mechanisms and the developments of cult activity between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. In other words, continuity in the use of a given site in terms of cult activity does not automatically imply persistence of the same cult practices and identical religious beliefs on the same site over the centuries.² Secondly, it is now clear that on Crete itself, as indeed in Greece,³

1 For cult activity in Greece in the Early Dark Age, see Mazarakis-Ainian, *Dwellings*; Morgan 1996; Morgan in *Isthmia*: 378–94; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 221–4.

2 See, e.g., the case of the open-air sanctuary of Agia Triada, D'Agata 1997, 1998, 1999.

3 See among others Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 1998a, 1998b. On Dark Age Greece see now the many papers focusing on regional contexts included in this volume.



Figure 20.1 Map of Crete showing locations of the sites mentioned in the text

1. Amnisos 2. Knossos 3. Prinias 4. Gortyn 5. Phaestos 6. Agia Triada 7. Kommos 8. Siva 9. Agios Ioannis
10. Thronos/Kephala (Sybrita) 11. Patsos 12. Khandia 13. Khamalevri 14. Agia Irini/Rethymnon 15. Kato Symi 16. Psykhro
17. Gournia 18. Karphi 19. Kavousi/Vronda 20. Kavousi/Kastro 21. Pakhlizani Agriada 22. Khalasmenos
23. Vasiliki/Kephala 24. Kalamafki Kipia 25. Praisos 26. Itanos 27. Palaikastro

LM IIIC and SMin are the chronological starting points for any enquiry seeking to determine if there is in fact continuity with the Bronze Age past: indeed, they mark the beginning of a new phase on the island, characterised in the first place by the formation of new regional settlement patterns and a sharp shift in the economy (D'Agata 2003). Thirdly, the ethnic problem regarding the alleged Doric invasion takes on the far more complex lines of a construction of social and political, rather than genetic, nature (Hall 1997, 2002). Finally, study of the cult activity cannot be separated from, but indeed must be seen as running parallel to, what has become the central issue in research on the Dark Age, namely the development of different forms of 'early states' – or 'microstates', to adopt the useful definition given by John Davies – at the beginning of the first millennium BC (Davies 1997; Morris 1991, 1994, 1996, 1998).⁴

In conclusion, ancient religion being embedded in society, reconstruction of the cult activity must be carried out within the social-political context that can account for the function that the cult places and activities were required to serve. This having been said, the study of cult activity on Crete in the course of the Dark Age is made all the more complicated by the fact that, although the archaeological literature contains a certain amount of evidence attributed to PG, attempts to weigh it up, especially in chronological terms, are hampered by the circumstance that while LM IIIC, SMin, and LG material is readily recognisable, little is known of the ceramic sequence specific to PG, EG and MG outside central Crete, which makes identification of the levels or material belonging to these phases uncertain, and indeed makes it virtually impossible to establish a chronological distinction between the tenth and the ninth century BC in the absence of stratigraphic data.

Nevertheless, the point remains that the first task to attempt is to reconstruct in detail what cult activity there was phase by phase and site by site. The main aim of this chapter is to offer an overview – with some inevitable simplification – of cult activity on Crete at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium BC, with the stress placed both on elements of continuity with the preceding phases, and on the processes of transformation that can account for transition from a cult system still definable as Late Minoan to the formation of a new cult system that may be defined Greek. The Greek term is used here not to indicate cult activity presupposing a collective consciousness of 'Greekness', which – as has recently been demonstrated – emerged quite late in Greece (Hall 1997, 2002). More simply, it is a convenient way to define cult practices that can no longer be defined as Minoan-Mycenaean and that, even in their diversity, represent at least chronological precedents of the Greek religious system.

4 C. Morgan, however, shows considerable scepticism about the possibility of identifying in the Dark Age politics the precursors of the Greek poleis, whose existence she does not recognise before the sixth century BC, and which she sees as phenomena deriving strictly from the contemporary social-political context: see Morgan, *Early States*: 71.

LM IIIC AND SMin: THE GREAT DIVIDE ⁵

After the collapse of the regional system founded on autonomous polities that had characterised the thirteenth century, what emerges in the twelfth century BC is a different scenario characterised by the breakdown of the traditional settlement pattern and a marked instability that includes both shifts of population from low-lying to defensible sites and the establishment of new sites. As recently demonstrated by Nowicki (*Defensible Sites*), occupation of territory in the various parts of the island can hardly be ascribed to a single settlement pattern.

In eastern Crete fairly widespread settlement seems characteristic of the earliest phase of LM IIIC, although limited to sites occupying readily defensible positions, while by LM IIIC Late, new territorial units were formed consisting of citadels above and settlements located lower down, usually close to the plains. Central Crete sees the foundation of new settlements in defensible positions and the abandonment of many sites, although life went on in traditional central places, like Knossos and Phaestos. Here, the population seems to have concentrated on few large sites. In the plain of Mesara they can be identified at least at Phaestos, in the area of the modern village of Siva, and on the hills to the west of the classical town of Gortyn.

Finally, for western Crete it seems that we can reconstruct a phenomenon at least in part analogous to the developments known to us in eastern Crete. Here, too, we find populations moving to sites either easily defensible or situated at strategic points, while life continued in settlements on the coast such as Khania and Khamalevri, or even started at Agia Irini not far away from Rethymnon, at least in the early part of the period.

As from LM IIIC Late and throughout the SMin period, i.e. in the second half of the twelfth and in the eleventh century BC, a common system of cult becomes evident almost all over the island. The practically ubiquitous urban or settlement sanctuary is now the bench sanctuary, very often associated with ritual sets of cult objects including large clay female figures with upraised arms, stands or snake tubes, plaques, and kalathoi (Gesell 1985; D'Agata 2001).

To the class of urban cult buildings or complexes belong the well-known sanctuaries of Karphi, Kavousi/Vronda, Khalasmenos, Vasiliki/Kephala (D'Agata 2001: 348–50), while to similar complexes we may refer cult material found at Agios Ioannis, at the southern end of the valley of Amari, on the Christos Effendi at Phaestos and at Prinias in central Crete, and at Kalamafki Kipia, to the east of ancient Praisos (D'Agata 2001: 350–1).

As for the degree of continuity with the preceding phase, the bench sanctuary and many elements of the cult equipment are of evident LM III derivation: and in some cases (e.g. Kannia, near Gortyn, and Prinias; or Gournia and

⁵ Reconstruction here of the cult activity on Crete in LM IIIC and SMin returns to that proposed in D'Agata 2001.

Kavousi/Vronda) this derivation can be followed in the specific repetition of cult attributes (D'Agata 2001: 349–51). Thus, many of the new elites formed in the course of the twelfth century BC chose for the settlement's primary cult that which had characterised the ruling class preceding them. Cult assemblages include elaborately made pottery and ritual objects – which should correspond to elite involvement in the organisation of cult, and perhaps also to an increase in the importance of ritual specialists. Despite the diversities to be seen in the political organisation of the urban sites, this assemblage shows that at the elite level a coherent system of ritual architecture, and cult symbols and behaviours, had then been formed across the island, and was especially evident in eastern Crete. A different type of cult place fairly common on Crete in the LM IIIC is the open-air sanctuary (D'Agata 2001: 351–3), which has a long history on the island and is often regarded as linked to the rise of somewhat popular cults. As a matter of fact, the cults performed open-air cannot be associated with a single class of sanctuaries, but rather may be grouped on the basis of the level of integration they show with the social-political system they belonged to.

Re-established on an important Bronze Age site thenceforth reserved exclusively for use as sanctuary, the open-air shrine on the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Agia Triada was located in the most important area on the site which, at least as from LM I, had been the traditional centre of social, political and religious power in the settlement (D'Agata 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). It is characterised by three classes of objects: wheel-made bulls, horns of consecration and fantastic animals, all of which represent for Crete new classes of clay figures and objects and seem to be the results of somewhat complex manufacture.

The cult place at Agia Triada may be interpreted as expressing the control exercised over the territory by the ruling power settled at Phaestos (D'Agata 1999). It cannot simply be interpreted as a sort of pre-packaged import from the Greek mainland, but should rather be seen in terms of the ways in which the ruling group responsible for the new territorial plan asserted their identity. Many features combine into the formation of the cult iconography created by this new elite including, notably: Minoan symbols such as horns of consecration; new types of cult objects – the most striking example being the fantastic animal with human head and legs; and Mycenaean elements associated above all with warlike/warrior iconography, to be seen in the shin-guards worn by the fantastic animals.

Domination by the Phaestos elite controlling the Agia Triada sanctuary came to an end somewhere in the eleventh century BC – a circumstance that must surely have had to do with the shaky political balance obtaining on the central part of the island, and in this particular case between the main centres of Mesara.

At least two more types of open-air sanctuaries can be identified on Crete in this phase. In the case of the sanctuary at Kato Symi, where wheel-made animals and clay vessels represent the most common offerings, the emphasis on ritual consumption of drinking and/or food suggests interpretation of the cult place as a rural cult centre, which acted mainly as local/regional meeting point and was

probably established on a basis of peer polity interaction. Small-scale rural shrines, set up in natural locations and probably detached from any level of social organisation, may constitute a third type of open-air sanctuary. The cult in the cave of Psykhro on the northern slopes of the Dikti massif included mostly the offerings of personal objects, such as fibulae, pins and rings, or razors, spearheads and knives. Considering that the organisation of the sacred area shows little structuring and that offers other than individual are rare, we may well suppose that these are personal dedications and that the cult was hardly likely to have been organised by a local central authority. In other words, it appears to have been visited on an individual basis, and to have represented a traditional cult place for the inhabitants of the bay of Mirabello.

Finally, mention must be made of the appearance in LM IIIC of a new phenomenon destined to last at least through to LPG and, to our present knowledge, attested only in western Crete. This is the phenomenon of the ritual pits, which cannot be considered directly due to cult activity, but are nevertheless to be considered the outcome of a ritual behaviour that must also have held cult implications. In the area of the Dark Age settlement of Thronos/Kephala in central-west Crete – the site which is usually identified with ancient Sybrita – forty-seven pits have been discovered, carefully dug in the plateau of calcrete on the summit of Kephala (Rocchetti 1994; D'Agata 2002; D'Agata forthcoming b). All the pits constitute closed contexts whose chronology ranges over the period between LM IIIC and PG. Their fillings, which were clearly deposited at one time and were not the result of gradual accumulation, consist mainly of fragmentary pottery and animal bones. An understanding of the phenomenon of the ritual pits of Thronos can be achieved by viewing it in the light of its social and environmental context.

Within most of the new settlements of early LM IIIC, social boundaries, power hierarchies and the management and sharing of resources had to be reformulated. In an initial stage the balance between group autonomy and group integration must have been uneasy and unstable, one result being the experimentation of new organisational principles and strategies. Such may have been the social framework in the settlement of Thronos/Kephala at the beginning of the twelfth century BC. Such a scenario, characterised by irregular and/or uncertain supply within the individual settlements, and possibly also by tensions over access to and management of resources, may well have given rise to 'feeding strategies' within which the adoption of a ritual practice of common meals may easily be understood.⁶ As the final act of the feast, remains of the banquet were deposited in a pit excavated in the ground. It is tempting to visualise the rationale behind this peculiar behaviour as the intention to preserve the memory of an exceptional event which evidently marked the life of the participants. Even so, the intention to make offerings to the ground as a propitiatory practice cannot be ruled out.

6 The importance of banquets and ritual meals in Dark Age Greece is stressed by Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*. See also D'Agata 2002.

Indeed, the fact that access to resources and thus the territorial equilibrium was somewhat precarious on Crete in the Early Dark Age is borne out both by the persistence in some areas of settlements in defensible sites at least until LPG, and by the importance attributed to what seems to have been the only social nucleus to have clearly emerged on the island during the Dark Age, namely the warrior elite (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 1998b; Crielaard 1998).

At any rate, the cult assemblage of urban cult buildings and open-air sanctuaries controlled by elites such as at Agia Triada, diverse as they may be, indicate that in the course of the twelfth century BC the ruling groups succeeded in establishing a common ideological structure also founded on the use of common ritual objects. This flow of contacts and interest in communication is confirmed by the emphasis assigned to communal feasting, which was functional to the display of status and definition and maintenance of relationships at both the local and the regional level.

However, a significant point worth stressing here is that despite the changes taking place in the settlement pattern, the territorial (or rural) sanctuaries associated with many sites, such as Kato Symi and the cave of Psykhro, appear to have remained in use even in the most complex periods of the island's history, while the sanctuaries associated with individual sites, as is the case with Agia Triada, declined following the fates of the sites they depended upon.

EARLY PG: A NEW ORDER?

The cult system we have so far been considering seems to have largely fallen off in the course of the tenth century BC. Between the tenth and the ninth century BC, above all in the eastern and western regions of the island, we see a reshaping of the settlement pattern, with a dispersion of settlements and the definitive emergence – at the expense of others – of a number of settlements that were to become the centres of new territorial units, later the new microstates of the Early Archaic period (Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 241–7; Wallace 2003: 605). The political landscape of Crete in the early tenth century BC has by and large yet to be defined in detail, but it seems significant that this phenomenon of restructuring also corresponds to the disappearance of the urban bench sanctuary and the ritual set that had gone with it since the early centuries of the Dark Age.

In eastern Crete, upland settlements like Karphi, Kavousi/Vronda and Khalasmenos, and probably also Vasiliki/Kephala, had been deserted by the end of the tenth century,⁷ the bench sanctuaries disappearing with them. Of a certain interest in the same area is the sanctuary of Pakhlizani Agriada (Alexiou 1956). The structure, which seems to have been modelled on an LM III bench sanctuary, is taken to be PG by S. Alexiou, although the published evidence is hardly

⁷ Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 164; Tsipopoulou 2005. At Kavousi/Vronda too the settlement appears to have been largely deserted apart from Building E, cf. Day, Coulson and Gesell 1986; Day 1997: 390.

sufficient, while the material found in association with the building is no earlier than the eighth century BC. What is particularly interesting here is the fact that we are no longer dealing with an urban sanctuary but a rural building, situated in the area with the apparent task of serving a number of sites, or clusters, if we accept the peculiar settlement model proposed for the Dark Age for the region of Kavousi (Haggis 1993, 2001).

Situated at an altitude of over a thousand metres on the slopes of the Dikti massif, far from any known settlement but close to a perpetual spring, the open-air sanctuary at Kato Symi boasts an extraordinary continuity in use, from the Protopalatial period – possibly even from the Prepalatial – to the Hellenistic-Roman Age.

In contrast with the Minoan period, SMin/PG saw rather limited architecture activity. One novel feature is to be seen in the presence of an altar in the form of a wall where offerings were placed. To this phase have been attributed: the altar just mentioned, in the form of a north-south wall, against which is set the subsequent Geometric/Archaic altar, and a trapezoidal bench to the east of it; and building L, to the west of the altar, of which there remain three parallel walls and a hypaethral hearth found under the west end of terrace II, which had eliminated it (Lebessi 1977: 416–17; 2002: 2, pl. B).

In other words, for this phase we can only reconstruct areas of limited dimensions and separated from one another where cult practices were performed.⁸ Typical of the sanctuary for many centuries, however, and indeed representing elements of continuity with the preceding phases, are the deposition of offerings, the ritual meals consumed and the animal sacrifices. The remains of these community activities form a huge 'sacrificial' layer of rich earth mixed with pottery and all sorts of offerings, which occupies much of the site. The presence of skyphoi and kraters, for the phase under consideration,⁹ indicates that the role as a regional meeting point for this rural cult centre remained unchanged over the centuries. All the bronze statuettes, including the PG specimens, were found within the huge 'sacrificial' layer, most of them coming from the area to the south-east of the altar (Lebessi 2002: 6, fig. 1). A bronze warrior figurine (Lebessi 2002: 17, 57–61, no. 10) and thirty animal figurines, including twenty-three bulls and seven rams, have been dated to the last quarter of the tenth century BC (Schürmann 1996: 8–14, 215, table 1), while three bronze human figurines (Lebessi 2002: 17–18, 60–74, nos 11–13), forty-nine bulls and eighty-seven rams seem to belong to the ninth century BC (Schürmann 1996: 15–38, 215, table 1). Unfortunately the chronology of these finds is based solely on stylistic features since the area where offerings were deposited shows no real stratigraphic sequence, nor is there any stratigraphic connection between the offerings and the architectural structures.

8 Only as from the LG period was the sanctuary monumentalised with the construction of three terraces and a gutter round the altar.

9 For PG skyphoi and jugs from the sanctuary, Kanta 1991: 494–7, figs 30–3.

Let us now consider the nature of this sanctuary. If its function as a regional meeting point remained unchanged over the centuries, Lebessi (2002: 269–82) notes a contrast between the thematic homogeneity displayed by the offerings of the Minoan Age – and therefore also the social homogeneity of the dedicators – and the variety of subjects and types of figurines used as votive offerings as from LM IIIC, implying that they are to be ascribed to individuals, now characterised as such, with different social statuses, probably engaged in performing coming-of-age rites: rites now serving – as Lebessi points out – to mark the beginning of their new ‘life’ as members of their communities and, at least as from the Geometric period, held in honour of Hermes Kedritis and Aphrodite. Thus Lebessi, probably rightly, traces the formation of the Cretan educational system of archaic society to the end of the Bronze Age.

The importance taken on by initiation rites for youths, serving to form members of the communities they owed their existence to, in the Early Dark Age finds confirmation in the exceptional scene depicted on a clay bell-krater recently found at Thronos/Kephala, and ascribable to the transition between SMin and PG.¹⁰ Here, in a composition which stands out as unique, three armed warriors are represented performing a dance in a musical context involving the use of a lyre and percussion instruments. Without going into complex exegesis of the scene painted on the vessel here – which possibly includes representation of a building – suffice it to recall that in the Greek world the armed dance, generically described as Pyrrhic, played a primary role above all in rites for the initiation of youths (Lonsdale 1993: 137–68). According to the Cretan educational system, youths gathered in groups were to receive instruction for adult life under the general supervision of the males of the community. Thus at the age of eighteen they were promoted as members of the city community. A ceremony was performed annually to mark this passage, in the course of which the young were joined in wedlock and received gifts of armour. This represented symbolic sanction for the death of the ephebus and birth of a new, armed citizen (Willems 1965: 110–18).

Returning, now, to analysis of cult activity on Crete in the course of the PG period, it is hard to tell how official cult was organised within the settlements of this phase, also on account of the limitations of an archaeological nature mentioned in our introduction. There are no traces – although this might be a matter of archaeological visibility – of actual urban sanctuaries.

At Knossos, too, even if there is clear evidence of an urban nucleus surviving uninterruptedly as from the Bronze Age in the area immediately west of the Palace (Hood and Smyth 1981; Coldstream 1984a, 1984b, 1991, 2000; Coldstream and Macdonald 1997),¹¹ the cult activity of PG times is elusive. The cult performed in SMin at the Spring Chamber (Evans 1928: 123–39; Coldstream

10 D’Agata and Karamaliki 2002: 352, fig. 10; D’Agata forthcoming a. The archaeological context to which the figured krater from Thronos/Kephala belongs can be dated to EPG.

11 Plans of Knossos in the Early Greek period are in Coldstream 1984b: figs. 1–3; 1994: fig. 1.

et al. 1973: 181–2; Gesell 1985: 63–4), including painted vessels and a hut-urn with a seated female figure with upraised arms, seems to have to do with a divinity directly deriving from the LM III ‘Goddess with Upraised Arms’, and thus probably from the Shrine of the Double Axes, showing a striking degree of continuity, and reuse of Minoan ruins running on into a phase subsequent to LM IIIC. The Spring Chamber cult came to an abrupt end in the course of SMin; to find other clear cult evidence at Knossos we have to wait until the eighth century BC, with the two sanctuaries above the South Propylaeum of the Palace, and on the lower slope of the Gypsadhes hill. The open-air cult of Demeter on the Gypsadhes hill begins at least in the LG period with a few scattered clay votives including small and solid clay figurines of humans, and wheel-made animal figurines, followed in the fifth century by the construction of a temple together with the first local production of figurines on a mass scale (Coldstream et al. 1973, 2000). It has been observed that the sanctuary of Demeter is situated next to the Vlykhia stream and to the Spring Chamber, and it is possible that the spring itself may have had to do with the siting of the sanctuary considering that miniature hydriai and terracotta figurines of hydrophoroi are extremely common classes of votives in the sanctuary (Coldstream et al. 1973: 181–2). Thus, it is possible that the cult performed in the Spring Chamber did not really come to an abrupt end in SMin, but was moved to the site one hundred metres away where the Demeter sanctuary was later to be installed.

In fact, evidence of PG frequentation of the temple area is to be seen in the presence of PG sherds in the layers under the southern end of the Hellenistic wall, but they do not offer elements to verify whether the cult might be traced back to that date, thus coming in direct chronological continuity with the cult attested in the Spring Chamber (Coldstream et al. 1973: 180–1).

Much the same story as that of the sanctuary on the hill of Gypsadhes has been reconstructed for the cult that flourished on the ruins of the Palace (Coldstream 2000: 284–8, 296). Evans himself had advanced the hypothesis that after the Bronze Age the palace had been reserved for cult purposes, and that in Early Greek times a sacred wood and a temple – the oblong structure discovered in 1907 north-east of the South Propylaeum – had been dedicated to Rhea (1928: 5–7, following Diod. 5. 66). Some support for this hypothesis came from the 1922–3 find of votive pottery outside the east wall of the building in the south-west corner of the Central Court. Actually, the earliest set of material found here dates to the fifth century BC, but it also includes one figurine ascribed to LG. In addition, PG and G sherds from the ‘temple’ site – now lost – were mentioned by Hartley, who was the first to get to work on the pottery finds (Hartley 1930–1931: 92–3; Popham 1978: 185; Coldstream 2000: 286). Consequently it has been hypothesised by Coldstream (2000: 296) that, as in the case of the sanctuary of Demeter at Gypsadhes, the cult established on the ruins of the palace, which must at that time have been largely occupied by the sacred wood, should date back at least to the Geometric period.

Finally, mention must be made of the two female figures on a wheeled platform, with trees and birds, depicted on pithos 114 from North Cemetery T. 107 (Coldstream 1984a; Coldstream 1996: 315–16). The vase has been attributed to PG B, and the figures have been interpreted as portraying ‘a deliberate contrast of seasons, showing a nature goddess arriving in spring and departing at the onset of winter’ on her chariot (Coldstream 1996: 316). Whether or not they are to be seen as having to do with early representation of Demeter Eleusinian (Coldstream 1984a: 100), or of Rhea and her sacred grove (Coldstream 2000: 296), at any rate they strongly imply the existence of the worship of a vegetation goddess of Minoan derivation, at Knossos, in the PG period.

A decided change from the preceding phase is to be seen, once again, in central Crete. In fact, attributed to the transition between SMin and PG is the beginning of use of Temple A at Kommos, the important harbour site on the southern coast of the island.¹²

Identified under the subsequent Temples B and C,¹³ the building called Temple A (1020–800 BC) was raised exploiting the north wall of Minoan palatial Building T in the eleventh century BC. There are no cult precedents for the building in the area, and excavators associate the choice of the site with the possibility of reusing the ashlar masonry of the Minoan age. The sanctuary consisted of a small rectangular room open to the east,¹⁴ with a beaten earth floor and a narrow stone bench along the north side, connecting with an open space to the east.¹⁵ The chronology of the earliest phase of Temple A is given by the remains of fine pottery (bell-skyphoi, kraters and deep bowls) associated with its first floor. No figurines were found on the area of the floor where excavations were possible. A second phase, dated to the early ninth century BC (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 214–15, Deposit 2), in use of the building is indicated, among other elements, by a new floor in beaten earth.¹⁶ A spiked wheel, fragments of two large wheel-made painted bulls, and of a small clay quadruped were found on the latter floor in the northern part of the room. The deposits of bones, pottery, and votive material mainly including small clay bulls, but also clay horses and wheels, in the area to the north-east and to the south-west of the buildings, have been interpreted as temple dumps and, on the basis of ceramic joins, individual items of material have been ascribed to single phases of the sacred buildings. A bronze figurine of a man has been attributed to the second phase of Temple A (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 170). It is worth recalling that the epigraphic evidence of the later sanctuary of

12 For an overview of the site and the main results of the excavations visit <http://www.fineart.utoronto.ca/kommos/>. See also Shaw 1998. To the Greek sanctuary at Kommos is devoted Shaw and Shaw 2000.

13 In use respectively in the eighth to seventh centuries BC, and fourth century BC to second century AD (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 1–100).

14 Its dimensions are: 5.54 m north-south x 4.00 to 6.70 m east-west (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 11).

15 On Temple A: Shaw and Shaw 2000: 8–14, 212–15, pls. 1.15–1.27, tables 1.3, 8.1

16 Among the material ascribed to this phase there are also remains of two Phoenician storage jars and one jug: Shaw 1998: 18; Bikai 2000.

Kommos indicates Zeus and Athena as the dedicatees of the local cult (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 711–17).

Temple A at Kommos remains to our present knowledge a building that finds no match in tenth-century BC Crete, and it should be noted that the remains of the building are not in fact very substantial. However, given that we actually find two floors here, together with the pottery associated with them, and that Temple B rose over it, we might reasonably conjecture that such a simple cult building belonged to Early Iron Age Kommos (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 698–700).

In the Mesara plain the transition from the eleventh to the tenth century was marked not only by the launch of the temple at Kommos, but also by the temporary end of the open-air sanctuary of Agia Triada (D'Agata 1998, 1999). For the sanctuary of Agia Triada, unlike Kommos, excavation data are not available, and phase chronologies therefore had to be based on dating of the material according to stylistic criteria. It is probable that the site saw frequentation in the course of EPG/MPG (D'Agata 1999: 239–41), but no cult material can be attributed to this phase with sufficient certainty. At the same time, the material gathered offers ample evidence that the site had begun once again to function as a sanctuary by the second half of the ninth century BC (D'Agata 1998, D'Agata 1999).

If Agia Triada is the traditional extra moenia cult place of Phaestos – and there is no reason to suppose that any change took place for the ninth century BC¹⁷ – we may then reasonably ask which centre of Mesara was responsible for the earliest cult installation at Kommos. A particularly interesting point here is the fact that both the earliest sanctuary of Kommos and the restored cult at Agia Triada were developed on remains of the Minoan age, expressing – over and above the evident differences in organisation of the sanctuaries and in the votive offerings dedicated – the need to re-appropriate the monumental past of the area.¹⁸

The sanctuaries in question must therefore have been connected with the territorial expansion of individual centres which, as from the tenth century BC, began to show an interest in occupying the surrounding lands with the creation of new cult structures and re-utilisation of the Minoan monumental remains with symbolic implications. This phenomenon would continue on the island until the eighth century BC, and is to be accounted for with the growing urge for expansion of what may be defined as early as the tenth century as the microstates of Central Crete.¹⁹ It is not clear whether the temple of Kommos is to be associated with Phaestos, as seems more likely, or Gortyn, but some indication may be offered by the fact that imported objects are known of neither at Phaestos nor at Agia Triada for the tenth and ninth century BC, while the iron spits of Cypriot type found in the rich tholos tomb of Gortyn (Alexiou 1966; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*:

17 On the relations among Gortyn, Phaestos and Ayia Triada even before the second century BC, see Alcock 2002: 120–1.

18 D'Agata 1998, 1999; Prent 2003. On the use of the past in Crete, Alcock 2002: 99–131.

19 On the use of the term microstate to indicate the polities of Early Iron Age Greece see Davies 1997.

49), use of which is dated to the PG period (end of the tenth to end of the ninth centuries BC), imply that relations between what was to become the most important centre of Mesara and the southern coast were already under way.

In the course of PG a new sanctuary, once again on the remains of Minoan wall structures, is also recorded on the north coast, at Amnisos, west of the hill of Palaiohora, in the area later consecrated to the cult of Zeus Thenatas (Schäfer et al. 1992: 159–70, 182–3).²⁰ A thick layer of dark earth rich in ashes and animal bones lying by a wall of LM I age has yielded chronologically heterogeneous material, and has been interpreted as the remains of an open-air cult-place. On the evidence of a male statuette in bronze, the cult activity of the site has been dated as from the later half of the ninth century BC (Schäfer et al. 1992: 182). In fact, the fragments of skyphoi, kraters and amphorae found here, datable to EPG, could evidence some form of ritual activity – much like that reconstructed for the earliest phase of Temple A at Kommos – that had also got under way at Amnisos in the course of the tenth century BC (Schäfer et al. 1992: 236, D2. a13–16).

The question arising, however, is which centres were responsible for the birth of the sanctuary of Amnisos in the PG period. The cult at Amnisos – a site located eight kilometres to the east of Knossos and later, like the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas, included in the khora of the same centre – could have been initiated by a group from the traditional central place of that area, or in other words from Knossos itself. The presence of prestige material, such as bronze rod tripods and bowls with lotus handles of Cypriot origin (Schäfer et al. 1992: 229, D1.b10–12; Matthäus 1998), in the sanctuary may represent evidence in support of the idea that it was frequented by high-ranking individuals of the Knossian ‘microstate’.

We may well wonder whether this practice of reuse of Minoan ruins for cult purposes, and thus the need to assert control over the area and a port vital for the supply of prestigious products from the East, may also have to do with the intention of emphasising cultural identity, given the fact that this part of Crete was much frequented by people from Cyprus and the Levant whose importance in the economic, and probably also social, life of the island was destined to increase (Hoffman 1997; Crielaard 1998; Markoe 1998; Matthäus 1998; Stampolidis 1998, 2003; see also Shaw 1998; Duplouy 2003). This interpretation seems to be borne out by an analogous phenomenon of reuse of Minoan ruins, outside central Crete, in an area traditionally in contact with Egypt and the Near East on the far eastern coast of the island; here, on the ruins of the Minoan town of Palaikastro (MacVeagh Thorne and Prent 2000; Prent 2003) – a sanctuary, once again dedicated to Zeus was built, possibly by nearby Itanos.²¹

²⁰ On the cult see Sporn 2002: 133–5.

²¹ According to the results of recent excavations, occupation in the area of ancient Itanos goes back to the end of the eighth century BC, see Greco et al. 1997: 818; 1998: 595–6; 1999: 524–5; 2000: 547–59.

In any case, the importance ascribed to the cult building outside the settlement area as expressing control over the territory is a phenomenon that developed in central Crete, to find ample application in the following centuries and to be seen as one of the founding elements of political entities that can be considered new, in terms both of the new importance attributed to the territory and of the new use the cult structures were now required to serve (de Polignac, *Origins*).

Are we to consider this phenomenon as going hand in hand, at the beginning, with the acquisition of a more complex social identity by the communities responsible for it? And, what was the relationship with the warrior elite, so well delineated on Crete and in the Mediterranean area in the eleventh and tenth centuries BC (Crielaard 1998)? In other words, can a connection be traced out between the new territorial development, the appearance of cult buildings outside the urban settlements and the warrior elite which appears to be dominant on Crete in this period?

According to one hypothesis recently advanced, 'the ruin cults appear to have been the exclusive domain of restricted groups of worshippers to whom association with the past would have been a mark of social distinction', and the association with the Bronze Age past 'provided instruments for the articulation and legitimisation of the claims to power and authority of rising aristocratic groups' (Prent 2003: 90, 91). If this conjecture should prove true, we might well be dealing here with precise evidence of the phenomena of antagonism characteristic of certain emerging elites,²² seeking to expand by occupying the surrounding territory, and legitimising their occupation by inventing a new past for themselves, as delineated in the suggestive scenario evoked by Susan Alcock (2002). This phenomenon of antagonisms between emerging elites, evidence of which is to be seen as from the twelfth century BC (D'Agata 2001), must surely have had to do with the transformation of some Cretan centres into socially and politically highly organised communities, coming into existence even at such an early date (D'Agata forthcoming b).

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Part V

THE HOMERIC EPICS AND HEROIC POETRY

THE RISE AND DESCENT OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE HOMERIC POEMS

Michael Meier-Brügger

The aim of this chapter is to underscore the importance of an adequate understanding of the language of the Homeric poems for all the purposes of the papers in this collection. For reasons of simplicity, let me immediately replace the full term ‘language of the Homeric poems’ by the shorter term ‘epic dialect’. My point of view is that of a linguist who is interested in the development of the Greek language from the second to the first millennium BC. I shall present an overview of our actual understanding of the epic dialect and of its prehistory, concentrating naturally on the Mycenaean and Homeric periods. My reference is the famous debate between Martin L. West and John Chadwick in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, namely West’s ‘The rise of the Greek epic’ (West 1988) and Chadwick’s ‘The descent of the Greek epic’ (Chadwick 1990; see further West 1992; Wyatt 1992). A similar controversy can be found in the different arguments formulated by Joachim Latacz and Wolfgang Kullmann (Latacz 1998 and 2001; Kullmann 1995 and 2001). Latacz is in favour of a hexametric poetry already metrically fixed in the sixteenth century BC with a strong tradition through the Dark Ages, while Kullmann supports the idea that the essential parts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were inventions of the eighth or seventh century. To make it clear: West and Chadwick on the one hand, and Latacz and Kullmann on the other, are, so to speak, representatives of two different attitudes in the scientific debate, basing their conclusions on a whole range of research done by a long line of outstanding scholars. The important question is whether the linguist is able to furnish arguments for one or the other of these positions, and what a scenario based on linguistic features would look like.

My paper consists of four parts: (1) general remarks; (2) the characteristic features of the epic dialect; (3) the presentation of a few linguistic examples which illustrate, on the one hand, that the epic dialect had a longstanding tradition going back to Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean times, and on the other hand, that the epic dialect was in a state of permanent change until the monumental composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; (4) conclusion.

1. GENERAL REMARKS

The linguistic situation in Archaic Greece around 700 BC cannot be compared with that of the German language area of today, in which the still spoken dialects cover usually only a certain part of the linguistic functions (among other things, the discussions at home and between friends and colleagues) and in which the so-called high-level language is otherwise used, especially for written records. Dialect and high-level language complement each other. The ancient Greek dialects were not dialects in the current sense, but language developments which were usable for everything, from everyday discussion to the written form. Everybody at that time spoke his native dialect, for instance Attic, Ionic, Arcadian or Laconic. Nevertheless, it was clear for everyone that all Greeks belonged linguistically together and that the Greek language was a unit (Morpurgo Davies 1987; see also Mickey 1981). A national traffic language for the Greeks only developed with the rise of the so-called *koiné* in post-classical and Hellenistic times. This new development was responsible for the fact that restrictions of modern dialects were imposed on the individual dialects, which were given up briefly or for a long time in favour of the *koiné*.

The epic dialect was the traditional form of language used by the singers (the so-called *αοιδοί*). This sort of dialect was in principle known to all Greeks as the medium of epic poetry. The epic dialect is also found outside the epic poems at the very beginning of the introduction of the Greek alphabet. Famous examples are the so-called Dipylon vase from Athens and the so-called cup of Nestor from Ischia in Italy. Both inscriptions show linguistic features in metre and vocabulary common to the epic dialect. The understanding of the epic dialect as a poetic language (as *Kunstsprache*) goes back to Karl Meister, who, having written his famous thesis for a prize, just weeks after winning the prize was allowed to develop his book for publication (Meister 1921).

Up to the introduction of the well-known Greek writing system in the middle of the eighth century, Archaic Greece must be seen as a purely oral society. Even afterwards through Plato's time orality was normal for the ordinary citizen. In the Mycenaean period, writing was limited to the scribes in the palace administration. However, in everyday life all communication was oral. The conclusion to be drawn for the prehistory of the epic dialect is therefore that from the very beginning, in the Proto-Indo-European period, up to the rise of the monumental Homeric poems in about 700 BC, the dialect was exclusively oral. Singers, who accompanied their singing with a stringed instrument, were already depicted on the well-known fresco fragment from Pylos. Meanwhile, two lyre players (*ru-ra-ta-e* = *hurātā-e*) are attested in the newly published Linear B tablets of the archives of the Mycenaean palace in Boeotian Thebes. Furthermore, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* give us a good idea of how to imagine the performance of a singer and how to imagine his audience in the eighth century BC. I remind you for instance of Demodocus at the royal court of the Phaeacians in Scheria. The singer could

take up and improvise topics in his epic dialect according to the desires of the listeners in his audience.

2. THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE EPIC DIALECT¹

The most important feature of the epic dialect is the obligatory use of the metrical form. The epic dialect is based on the dactylic hexameter, and all utterances had to form complete hexameter lines. The singers had at their disposal several strategies to fit un-metrical forms into the required shape. To illustrate this, I call to mind two phenomena: in phonology the so-called metrical lengthening; in morphology the existence of irregular forms. For the first, I shall take the example of the dative plural # ἄθανάτοισιν # 'to the immortals' (for instance, in *Il.* 1.503), in which the given sequence # u u u - u # is metrically impossible and the integration in the hexametric form is based on a lengthened first long *a*. For the morphologically irregular forms, consider the accusative form εὐρέα in the formula # εὐρέα πόντον ## 'the broad sea' (for instance, in *Il.* 6.291), in which the standard accusative form εὐρύν would have resulted in combination with the following πόντον in the sequence # - - #, usually avoided in the fifth foot. The solution here is the form εὐρέα, specifically created to have the desired hexameter sequence # - u u #.

The epic dialect is not uniform. The speaker of the epic dialect has at his disposal Ionic and non-Ionic, that is, Aeolic features. The use is most often metrically determined. First example: instead of Ionic # ἡμεῖς # 'we' with the sequence # - - #, we find elsewhere for metrical reasons Aeolic # ἄμμε # with the sequence # - u #. Second example: the Ionic *e*-vocalic εἰ 'if' alternates without metric relevance with Aeolic *a*-vocalic αἰ.

Another important characteristic of the epic dialect is the possibility of simultaneous use of linguistically older and linguistically younger items of the same forms. This phenomenon is due to a continuous tradition in which the established language shape is constantly supplemented and enriched by phonological, morphological and lexical innovations. The amalgam of younger and older items belongs naturally to each language in use. The tendency to prefer archaisms is, however, an important component of the style of the epic dialect. The traditional, older forms supported by this style are thus represented in a more widespread fashion than otherwise. Archaisms are particularly found at the end of verse lines.

A further characteristic of the epic dialect consists in the well-known use of formulas. I don't want to enter this particular debate here. It should be stressed that certain nouns, in combination with certain epithets, were forged in the course of the tradition as fixed formulas, see, among many others πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς and μητίετα Ζεύς. However, the state of affairs is much more complicated. The epic

1 Today's reader will find good information on all the problems mentioned here in Hainsworth 1988, Horrocks 1997, and West 1997.

style shaped by formulas could be contrasted with contemporary style elements. It is probably not a pure coincidence that the language used for similes or for direct speech is often more stylistically influenced by the contemporary language of the singer than the surrounding traditional narrative.

As W. F. Wyatt says:

Homer's language was as natural to him as is English to us, or nearly so, but only for the purposes for which it was designed, that is, epic poetry. It was of course not his first language, but he must have been as fluent in it as any speaker of a second language can be. Though he could almost certainly without difficulty produce epic recitals in the epic language, he could not compose an *Iliad* or an *Odyssey* extemporaneously. Poems of this length, complexity and excellence required a long time, probably years, before resulting in the complex poems which we have before us today. Those who hold that because the language was familiar to him, Homer could create an *Iliad* extemporaneously are mistaken: he could compose short, undistinguished poems on epic themes, but he could not create masterpieces in this way. (Wyatt 1988: 29)

3. EXAMPLES OF LINGUISTIC TRADITION AND CHANGE

The central lines of the prehistory of the epic dialect are well known and have been adequately described. The predecessors of the Greeks entered Greece probably around 2500 BC. The Greeks brought in their native Indo-European language. They must have been also accustomed to an oral poetic language, as is testified by the famous formula κλέος ἄφθιτον 'imperishable fame' (*Il.* 9.413) which goes back to the Proto-Indo-European period. Apart from heroic topics they must have also known religious ones.

The story about Troy was certainly anchored in the second millennium BC and must have become a component of heroic poems at the latest shortly after 1200 BC. Between this time and that of Archaic Greece (around 700 BC) lie approximately 500 years, or sixteen to seventeen generations of singers, allowing thirty years for each generation. At the end of this long time the monumental poems of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are at the peak of the achievement of the Homeric language. The *Iliad* is composed of more than 15,500 verses (exact number: 15,693) and the *Odyssey*, of more than 12,000 verses (exact number: 12,109). Contents and language are in principle traditional. However, the singers were able to add new topics, new morphological forms and new words to their repertoire at any time.

To this day, it remains unclear how exactly the custom of using both Ionic and non-Ionic, that is, Aeolic elements came into being. It seems likely that after a long epic tradition in the Aeolic language area a group of singers located in East Ionia transposed the epic dialect into their native Ionic and that one of them

finally formed the monumental poems of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I personally do not know if this is right or if, on the contrary, we have to begin with an old Ionic core and take into account a secondary addition of Aeolic forms.²

The different words and forms used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* allow us to draw back historical lines of different depths. The rich material allows us to illustrate, on the one hand, that the epic dialect has a long-standing tradition going back to Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean times, and on the other, that the epic dialect was in a state of permanent transformation until the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For these two points, I shall quote only a small number of different examples, taken from among many others.

3.1. The use of the so-called digamma (the consonantal w)

One group of words is treated metrically as if the words had a purely vocalic beginning, even though we know that they originally began with digamma. In contrast to this first group, a second one originally featured a digamma too, but here a consonantal element at the beginning of the word is absolutely needed even if the digamma is not noted in the alphabet in use for the Homeric poems. For the first group, see the formula *Il.* 20.67: # Ποσειδάωνος # ἄνακτος ## ‘of ruler Poseidon’ with the sequence # u - - - u # u - u ##. A consonantal element at the beginning of ἄνακτος would lead to an unmetrical sequence – (-voς w-) u (wα-) - (-νακτ-). For the second group see *Il.* 1.7: # Ἀτρεΐδης # τε # wάναξ # ἀνδρῶν # ‘and the son of Atreus, the ruler of men’, where the setting of the digamma alone avoids the hiatus at the beginning of the third word. The contradictory phenomenon described here is best explained if we assume that the second group preserves the original state of affairs. The word in question became a component of this item of epic vocabulary in its oldest form, *wanaks*: see Mycenaean *wa-na-ka* = *wanaks* and see also attestations in non-Ionic dialectal inscriptions of the archaic period. In the contemporary Ionic dialect of the composer of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, however, the consonantal *w* digamma had disappeared. The Ionic-speaking singer had accordingly at his disposal two possibilities of using ἄναξ, a traditional past one with a consonantal element at the beginning, and one with vocalic start according to the contemporary domestic dialect. The lesson to be learned from this example is that the epic dialect is the product of a longer tradition created in any case before the time of the Homeric poems.

3.2. The application of so-called tmesis

The epic dialect shows both compound verbs of the ἐπιτέλλω type and verbs in tmesis, where the preverb is separated as in ἐπὶ . . . ἔτελλε (see, for instance, *Il.* 1.25 versus *Il.* 11.840). We know by comparison that tmesis represents the earliest state

2 For different positions see Haug 2002; Horrocks 1997, 214–17.

of affairs. Tmesis survived from a period when the preverbs were treated as independent words. Mycenaean shows regular composition of preverb and verb. Thus, paradoxically, epic syntax is linguistically more archaic than the syntax of the Mycenaean tablets. The phenomenon of tmesis originated in a prehistoric period, when the tendency to link verb and preverb in one and the same expression first appeared. The poets of that time retained the old fashion and combined it with the new one, thus obtaining the possibility of choosing between two different syntactical attitudes in their poetic language.

3.3. ἐάφθη and ἀμφουδῖς

In *Il.* 14.419 ## χειρὸς δ' ἔκβαλεν ἔγχος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ἀσπίς ἐάφθη ## the verbal form ἐάφθη was already unclear for the great Hellenistic philologists. As I proposed in 1989, ἐάφθη is best explained as a zero-grade aorist formation built on the same root as found in the epic noun ὀμφή 'voice' (Meier-Brügger 1989: 91–6). The translation must therefore be: 'The spear fell down from his hand, the shield sounded upon him.' The epic dialect preserves here an archaic verbal form that later was no longer understood. This phenomenon indicates once more that the epic dialect has a long development behind it.

The same could be said of ἀμφουδῖς, a *hapax* in the expression ἀμφουδῖς αἰείρας with disputed meaning in *Od.* 17.237. The adverb ἀμφου-δῖς is in my opinion a frozen dual form of the type attested in the Mycenaean instrumental form *du-wo-u-pi* = *duyou-p^{hi}*, which may be translated as 'raising him up with both hands' (Meier-Brügger 1993 [1994]: 137–42).

3.4. The problem of syllabic r

J. Latacz, summing up the research of H. Mühlestein, C. J. Ruijgh and others, takes it for granted that the oral performance of hexametric poetry goes back at least to the sixteenth century BC (Mühlestein 1958: 224 fn. 20, 226; Ruijgh 1997; West 1988: 156–7; Latacz 2001: 311ff.; Latacz 1998). The conclusions are based especially on the much debated formula # λιποῦς' # ἀνδροτῆτα # καὶ # ἦβην ## 'leaving virility and youth' (see *Il.* 16.857 = 22.363), the second word ἀνδροτῆτα showing the metrically inadmissible sequence # - u-u #. Here are the main arguments in short: first, if one replaces # ἀνδροτῆτα # with the supposed proto-Greek form # *anrtāta # with a syllabic *r*, one then has a metrically perfect hexameter form with the sequence # u u - u #. Secondly, as we know from the Linear B tablets, the syllabic *r* was already altered in Mycenaean to *or* / *ro*, see *to-pe-za* = *torpeda* 'table' with the syllable *or* instead of the old syllabic *r*. In 1958, H. Mühlestein was the first to conclude that the pre-form *ἀνρτᾱτ- could be of pre-Mycenaean origin, and that *ἀνρτᾱτ- with his metrical shape # u u - # supported the idea that the dactylic hexameter was pre-Mycenaean too.

A similar problem is raised by the formula ## Μηρίωνης # (τ') # ἀτάλαντος #

Ἐνυαλίῳ # ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ ## ‘Meriones, having the same weight (importance) as the man-slaying Enyalios’ (*Il.* 2.651 = 7.166 = 17.259), in which the metric regularity can only be upheld with synizesis in the internal syllable -υα- of # Ἐνυαλίῳ # or with synaloepha between the ending of # Ἐνυαλίῳ# and the beginning of # ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ ##. However, if # ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ ## goes back to proto-Greek # *anrk^{wh}óntāi ##, then one could proceed from a pre-Mycenaean hexameter sequence # u u - - ##. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suggested as early as in 1884, instead of # ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ ## an older form # *ἀνδροφόντῃ ## to be pronounced as # ἀρο- #.

However, the proposed scenarios are not the only possible ones. Tichy 1981 has presented good arguments for the possibility that the above-mentioned # ἀνδροτῆτα # entered the epic dialect only in its actual form and that the disputed verse end formula # ἀνδροτῆτα # καὶ # ἦβην ## could well be of the shape # - u - u # - # - - ##, attesting then in a spectacular way the old shape of the half verse, which in the theory supported by Berg 1978 is supposed to be joined to another half verse at the beginning of the verse line, thus forming the proto-hexameter. In any case the whole situation is far from being clear and thus does not allow us to draw far-reaching conclusions.

3.5. # Δὺ # μῆτιν # ἀτάλαντος

The formula # Δὺ # μῆτιν # ἀτάλαντος ## (in connection with Odysseus or Hektor), ‘having insofar as wisdom is concerned the same weight (importance) as Zeus’ (see in the nominative *Il.* 2.636; in the accusative *Il.* 2.169, 407; 10, 137; 11, 200; in the vocative *Il.* 7.47) demands the hexameter sequence # u - # - - # u u - x #. We must thus postulate a long $\bar{\iota}$ in the dative singular ending of # Δὺ # and a long $\bar{\iota}$ in the second syllable of # μῆτιν # too. In the first case the dative form is based on older # *Divēi*#, as it is directly attested in Mycenaean Knossos and Pylos and as it is probably also still the case in the post-Mycenaean period. One must then assume that the epic dialect did retain this original form of the dative for reasons of meter until the eighth century BC, even if meanwhile most dialects had normally replaced older -*éi* with the more recent -*i*. In the second case, it may be that the requested syllable was measured short but that the final *n* was spoken twice, a custom which we find otherwise in inscriptions. Others suggest that # ἀτάλαντος ## replaces a proto-Greek form # *h η m-talanto-# (‘having the same weight’) and assuming that # μῆτιν # ἀτάλαντος ## was modelled at a time when it had still the shape # *mētīn* # *h η tálan $\bar{\iota}$ tos ## and then survived until the *Iliad*. The initial *h* before a vowel (developed from # *s* before vowel) still usually had the status of a consonant in Mycenaean Greek. In post-Mycenaean times *h* developed into a breath sound without metric relevance. Individual dialects like East Ionic even gave it up completely. However, for the prehistory of the form in question, it became a component of the epic dialect already several generations before Homer. The question is only when exactly this happened. The two phenomena (datives in -*ei*# and

initial # *h*- in the value of a consonant) are not restricted to the pre-Mycenaean age and can also occur in the post-Mycenaean period.

3.6. The age of *καί*

In the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, the inherited *-qe* = *-k^we* ‘and’ is the regular copula. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* we register not only the expected *τε* in the post-Mycenaean form with dental *t*- instead of the labiovelar *k^w-*, but also *καί* in more than 5,400 examples. This copula is not until now attested in Mycenaean and is therefore usually considered to be of post-Mycenaean origin. If true, the solid presence of *καί* in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would point to the fact that the composition of the monumental poems took place in the post-Mycenaean period. Furthermore, the presence of *καί* in the above-mentioned formula # *λιποῦσ’ # ἀνδροτῆτα # καὶ # ῥῆβν ##* would then give a hint that this formula too was reshaped later on. Unfortunately, it could be also that *καί* is older than usually taught, in which case the presence of *καί* would not be decisive for the dating of a text (Lüttel 1981, and review by Ruijgh 1981 [1982]; Willi: in print).

3.7. The charioteer vocabulary

Plath 1994 has shown that the charioteer terminology of the Mycenaean tablets is not the same as that in the *Iliad*, which means that the terms were renewed after 1200 BC in the Dark Ages (see also Hajnal 1998).

3.8. The influence of the daily language of the eighth century BC

Hackstein 2002 now presents a whole range of forms that are only understandable if we accept them as having been influenced by the native Ionic dialect of the singer.

4. CONCLUSION

It cannot be denied that long before 700 BC singers already sang about heroes. It is also indisputable that individual elements of the epic dialect are old and may certainly be of Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean origin. However, the proposal that the hexameter already had a fixed pre-Mycenaean form with no further modifications until Homer is uncertain.

Summing up, we have to acknowledge that in the monumental poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which consist of more than 27,000 verses, the large majority of which are metrically correct, the special metrical cases represent only a very small group. Not all preliminary stages must go back to the sixteenth century BC. As demonstrated in the case of # *Diwéi* # and # **hatálantós* #, later dates are acceptable too. The monumental poems of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are linguistic prod-

ucts of a singer who used the traditional epic dialect in the manner of a speaker of a learned second language, incorporated through a lifelong use.

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HOMER AND ORAL POETRY

Edzard Visser

The following remarks will not present new evidence on the subjects mentioned in the title; rather, they will give some definitions and summarise the development of Homeric research with regard to the questions of how Homer became classified as an oral poet and whether he really was one.

HOMER

In antiquity, Homer was the name of an individual person who composed two epics: the *Iliad*, a poem dealing with the struggle between Greeks (in Homer's language usually called *Achaioi* or *Danaoi*) and Trojans with their allies, containing almost 15,600 verses, and the *Odyssey*, dealing with the return of one of the most prominent Greek leaders Odysseus and 12,100 lines long.¹ Both epics were considered throughout antiquity as poems of superb quality. This assessment is quite remarkable, since these poems form the very beginning of European literature; however, their quality was so highly approved that they had a fundamental influence not only on ancient Greek literature,² but on European literature as a whole, either directly or indirectly, when we think of the enormous influence the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had on Roman epic poetry, especially on Virgil,³ and through Virgil on the poetic conceptions of the Renaissance era and from then onwards.

The use of the term quality is to be understood here in an Aristotelian way: poetic quality is mainly defined by the unity and coherence of structure and by the degree of insight into the human character. For the structural aspect it may be sufficient to cite a well-known sentence from Aristotle's *Poetics*: 'Many

1 It is a useless effort to try to find out whether a poet with this name ever was a real existing person not to speak of the circumstances of his life. What can be discussed in a scholarly manner are the circumstances under which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed, no more and no less. For a sensitive approach see Latacz 2003a: 32–88.

2 The later Greek poets were quite aware of this. So Aeschylus is said to have called his tragedies 'pieces from Homer's great dishes' (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 8.39).

3 The dimensions are impressively demonstrated by Knauer 1979.

tragedies can be made out of the poems of the so-called epic cycle, but only one or two out of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*' (*Poetics* 1458a35–1459b7). Especially remarkable is Homer's focusing technique when we look at his treatment of chronological structure: although the span of the Trojan War extends over at least ten years, the entire plot of the *Iliad* is in its nucleus crammed into only six days, described in 13,500 lines.⁴ Nevertheless, the *Iliad* covers the beginning of the Trojan War and the end with the destruction of the city as well. In the *Odyssey*, too, the story of Odysseus' return – a journey of altogether ten years – is reduced to a few days.

Another aspect concerning the structure of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is closely connected with Homeric depiction of characters, the Homeric psychology. In both epics the poet has not merely listed the events as the poets did who were characterised in a poem of Pollianos as αὐτὰρ ἔπιτα λέγοντες, the 'and-then-story-tellers' (*Anthologia Palatina* 11.130). He rather makes the chain of events understandable as a necessary sequence of the intellectual attitudes of the main characters such as Achilles, Agamemnon or Hector. This paper is not the place to go into further details on this topic, but Homeric scholarship is seeing more and more clearly Homer's excellent ability to describe coherent human characters (see Latacz 1999).

But beside these excellent qualities concerning structure and motivation there is a somewhat irritating aspect, most clearly expressed in the statement of the Roman poet Horace: 'from time to time good Homer falls asleep'⁵ or, more idiomatically: 'even Homer nods.' Already in the third and second century BC Homer's famous editors and commentators, whose interpretations are discernible in the corpus of Homeric scholia, noticed and tried to explain – in some parts very sensitively – these problematic passages. The nature of these problems may be illustrated here by a notorious example: in line 21 of the first book of the *Odyssey* Aegisthus, adulterer and murderer, is awarded the epithet ἀμύμων, usually translated as 'blameless'.⁶ Obviously, there is a certain discrepancy in the Homeric poems between excellence and imperfection that asks for explanation.

ORAL POETRY

We may compare the topics of oral poetry to what in the romantic era was called *Volksgeist*, that is, the total amount of poetic conceptions of a certain culture in

4 For an overview on the structure of time see J. Latacz 'Zur Struktur der Ilias', in Latacz 2000: Prolegomena, 152, 154.

5 '... quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus' (*De arte poetica*, 359).

6 The attempts of the modern Homeric scholarship to explain the meaning of this epithet within this special context are numerous (see Amory Parry 1973; Heubeck, A., West, S. and Hainsworth, J. B., *Odyssey Commentary*, vol. I: 77), but somehow it is not important whether ἀμύμων for Homer exactly meant 'blameless'. At least the ancient commentators thought it would have this meaning, and even if they are mistaken, it remains an epithet with a general positive meaning (this epithet is awarded to important heroes like Peleus, Alkinoos, Bellerophon, Teucer or Menelaos). See also Latacz 2000: Band I, 1. Gesang, fasc. 2, Kommentar, 62.

a certain period, conceptions about men and women, about love, peace and war, history and the present, god and mankind and their relations towards each other; in brief, about the beliefs and ideas of a particular culture that are worth spreading among the members of this culture. It is true that oral poetry deals with all of these subjects, but when the oral poetry reaches a certain kind of sophistication (that means, a plot focusing on a chain of events tied together by a unity of characters, time and place), the conception of *Volksggeist* has to be abandoned and we have to think of individual poets with conceptions to shape the traditional stories about men, gods and the world in an innovative way. At that stage oral poetry is not altogether different from written poetry, perhaps only looser in its verbal structure.⁷

Among the productions of oral poetry the epic genre is especially remarkable. Different from poetic productions concerning religion and the direct relations between men and gods, narrative epics show the conceptions of a certain culture in some sort of grandeur, for they do not deal with the situation of ordinary people, but with the actions of kings and heroes. This fact adds quite naturally to these poems a historical element. Different from the other characteristic genre of oral poetry, the *Märchen*, the epics have a certain real background however distorted by the constant repetitions and alterations in the course of time. Two notorious examples are the battle between the Saracens and the army of Charlemagne of Roncesvalles and the battle between the Serbs and the Turks at Kosovo Polje.⁸ Within the ancient Greek epics the siege of Troy forms the most important setting.⁹ The siege is the result of a common military venture of all Greek states; the participants in this exploit are all named in a catalogue, the notorious catalogue of ships in the Homeric *Iliad* (see below p. 00). Thus, an important aspect in understanding oral epic poetry is the question of what kind of relations exist between the real historical situation and the story embedded in this situation. Nevertheless, the main subject of oral epics is individual persons, the heroes and their exploits.

Concerning the form of oral poetry, the most important feature is the fact that these poems are not written down, but created by a singer in an act of improvisation. For him there was no anonymous recipient of the story who could read over the text again and again and compare different parts of the text with each

7 Still important on this aspect: Bowra 1930.

8 It is true that the historical account is not represented exactly within these epics, but what is important is that there is a realistic nucleus, in the case of the *Chanson de Roland* the struggle between Moorish Spain and the Christian empire of the Carolingians, in the case of south Serbian epics the battle of Kosovo in 1389 between the Serbs, commanded by king Lazar, and the Turks. For more examples see the overview in Bowra 1952: 508–36 ('Heroic poetry and history').

9 There is at present a very controversial discussion about the historicity of the Trojan War. Whereas up to 1990 a very sceptical point of view towards a Trojan War was predominant, new findings during the excavations at Troy since 1984 and new readings in the Hittite cuneiform texts may bring about some change. For a thorough discussion (in favour of a concrete historical background for the Trojan War) see Latacz 2003b.

other. Rather, the orally creating story-teller had always to take into account the fact that he would be faced with an audience who would watch him directly in the process of creation and who would show their emotions, approval and disapproval instantaneously. This situation required from the singer that he should adapt his story to the audience, and this necessity of immediate creation and adaptation leads us to the aspect of improvisation. It is not so much the improvisation of an entire story – the outlines of a certain story are mainly fixed when an oral poet starts to perform – but in certain parts he could stretch or shorten some aspects to present the story in a more or less emotional manner. Since the contents of oral poems have a specific social importance or even dignity – which is the reason why oral poetry is quite closely connected with heroic poetry – these poems have a specific metre. These metres can be simple, like the metre of the Serbo-Croatian heroic songs which consists only of a uniform change between accentuated and unaccentuated syllables, or extremely complex like the Greek hexameter.¹⁰

HOMER AND ORAL POETRY

So much for preliminary definitions.¹¹ We can now proceed to the question of the nature of the relations between Homer and oral poetry. Nowadays it is almost taken for granted that the Homeric epics belong to the genre of orally created epics, but this assessment is a rather recent one and it demands some methodical clarifications.

The scientific approach towards the interpretation of Homer started at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1795 Friedrich August Wolf published his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, a treatise written to prove that Homer's poems were full of structural illogicalities and inconsistencies. Therefore, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are to be considered as a kind of orally created poetry (since the Greeks of Homeric times did not yet know the art of writing), consisting of many short epics put together by an inferior *redactor* in the sixth century, who was not capable of recognising the logical discrepancies. With these prolegomena some sort of a scientific battle started between those Homerists who wanted to defend the unity and singular excellence of Homer and those who were following Wolf's thesis. The Homeric question was posed.

Subsequent work on Homer mainly concentrated on the question whether the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are poetic unities or a pastiche of single episodes (the question of the so-called higher criticism). In the shadow of this dominating subject some scholars began to take a closer look at the Homeric wording, resulting in

10 According to one of the most renowned experts on heroic poetry, a much more rigid and sophisticated metre than all the metres of the Russian, Yugoslav or Asiatic tartars together (Bowra 1952: 236).

11 The first definition concerning Homer is derived from ancient sources, the second one from comparative studies such as those of Bowra 1952; Gentili and Paioni 1985; Finnegan 1992.

some peculiar findings even in the elementary components of language: for example, the same word with different genders, a huge amount of repetitions, and especially almost countless instances of metrical flaws. Already in the eighteenth century Richard Bentley had made some remarkable findings on these subjects, and others like Gottfried Hermann, Kurt Witte and Karl Meister¹² – almost ignored by mainstream Homeric philology – found more. All these scholars understood that these irregularities are connected with Homeric metre and with the technique of oral verse-making, but nobody had the idea that the question of verse-making could become an almost revolutionary model in explaining and even interpreting Homeric wording.

The scholar who brought about the change was the American philologist Milman Parry (Wade-Gery 1952: 38: ‘the Darwin of Homeric studies’), who in the late 1920s wrote in Paris a dissertation called ‘L’épithète traditionnelle dans Homère’. This work contains a powerful and thorough examination of the traditional epithet in Homer with the result that the most significant word-group in the epic style, the epithet, came to be seen as of a traditional phrase, called a formula. The formula according to Parry is ‘a group of words which is regularly used under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea’. Such formulas are, e.g., πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (swift-footed Achilles), πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς (Odysseus of many counsels) or ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (Agamemnon lord of men). Forty years later one of his most prominent successors in research on Homeric language, Arie Hoekstra, described Parry’s achievement as follows: ‘In the field of Homeric Studies Parry’s foremost achievement is that he proved, definitely and irrefutably, the traditional character of several systems of noun-epithet formulae for all the chief characters’ (Hoekstra 1965: 9).

One word in this statement turned out to be crucial for Homeric studies after Parry: the word traditional. It was Parry himself who paved the way. He drew the consequences from his findings in a very influential paper in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1930 entitled ‘Studies in the epic technique of oral verse-making I’. According to Parry:

The poet, i.e. Homer, is thinking in formulas. Unlike the poets who wrote, he can put into verse only those ideas which are to be found in the phrases which are on his tongue, or at the most he will express ideas so like those of the traditional formulas that he himself would not know them apart. At no time is he seeking words for an idea which has never before found expression, so that the question of originality in style means nothing to him.¹³

12 For further information and the directions this research took, see the helpful volume edited by of the series ‘Wege der Forschung’ (Latacz 1979). The metrical irregularities are completely listed by Tsopanakis 1983.

13 Parry 1930: 146. Especially important for the inclination to reduce the singularity of the Homeric poems and to interpret these poems mainly as products of a long tradition was Lord 2001.

It took some time until this deduction was widely recognised in the Homeric scientific community, but the idea that the Homeric poems owe very much to the traditional epic style became increasingly influential. Homeric scholars recognised that before an answer could be given to the question of unity or single poems another problem had to be tackled: how much is Homeric wording influenced by oral tradition? This, as Albin Lesky, one of the most renowned Homeric scholars, put it, is the Homeric question of our times (Lesky 1971: 34).

An example may underline the importance of this question: in a work on Homeric society the historian Christoph Ulf came to the conclusion that in Homer the word *κοῦρος* means the young man not furnished with all the civil rights an older man has (Ulf 1990: 58–69). Now when we interpret this word in the way Parry did, we come to the conclusion that at least together with the genitive complement *Ἀχαιῶν* the noun *κοῦρος* has quite often a primarily metrical function, that is, to complete a line after the bucolic caesura with the adoneic scheme *κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν*. In these cases it is not important for the poet how old the persons are and which social rights are given to them. Here *κοῦροι* simply means ‘men’. So in the interpretation of Homeric verses the question of whether metrical exigencies can account for the use of a certain word has always to be taken into account.

The Homerists mainly interested in subtle text-interpretation, where the meaning of every single word counted, were overcome by a sort of desperation. A quotation from one of the most sensitive interpreters of Homer, Karl Reinhardt, in the preface of his book *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (1961), written in the late 1950s, shows the amount of despair. Here Reinhardt says: ‘If Parry’s assumption is correct, it would have been better for this book to have never been written.’

Reinhardt’s feelings demonstrate clearly the difficulties that Parry’s assertion caused. Could there be any chance of separating tradition from invention when there is almost no external evidence at all? At least the principle probably established by Aristarchus, *Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν*,¹⁴ to explain Homer out of Homer, seemed not to be applicable any longer, for in the Homeric epics in almost every line traditional phrases are mixed up with individual expressions.

There seemed to be only one possible solution for this problem: to compare the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with other improvised epics. Again, Parry himself had paved this way by travelling to Yugoslavia and by recording songs from the Serbo-Croatian *guslars*, the singers. With this step of going directly into field research Parry created a completely new kind of research in classical literature.¹⁵

But it turned out that this kind of research was not very helpful for the ques-

14 For the history of this principle see Pfeiffer 1978: 276–8.

15 Parry’s work was continued primarily by Albert Lord who gave a thorough study on oral epic-making (see Lord 2001). Other scholars like James Notopoulos, Bruno Gentili, Gregory Nagy or Ruth Finnegan have refined this picture of Greek oral poetry, and from the starting-point of the Parry-Lord theory research has widened its scope to include many other oral cultures. It is

tion it was originally created for: how much is the Homeric text dominated by tradition? It has already been noted above that the meter of the Homeric poems is more complex than that of other improvised epics. And there is another discrepancy: the *Iliad* is a poem with the siege of a city as background and displays the behaviour of different heroic characters. With this plot it differs substantially from epics in which one hero lives through many adventures, like Karadjordje or Smailagic Meho in the Serbo-Croatian heroic songs, Beowulf in the old-English epic, Cú Chulainn in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Siegfried or Sigurd in the old-Germanic and Nordic epics, Väinämöinen in the Finnish *Kalevala*¹⁶ and many others. Cecil Bowra has stressed the superior quality of Homer, but since he looked at the text as a classicist, he may have been biased in favour of Homer.¹⁷

In fact the question of tradition and invention in Homeric research came to a standstill. There were some attempts made to refine and to reduce the scale of Parry's results,¹⁸ but this kind of work did not really tackle the main problem. The real problem is whether Homer's poetical system really differed so basically from the system of written poetry. I think there is no major difference. In my opinion, Parry drew a rash conclusion when he argued that formulas were exploited by Homer as fixed units and that for this reason Homer composed his poems mainly by employing these units. For Homer, a poet skilled in the technique of verse improvisation, there indeed existed a certain given connection between epithet and noun. For a certain noun there apparently were a strictly limited number of epithets automatically present in the poet's mind. Familiarity with the oral tradition placed these epithets at Homer's disposal; accordingly, their form and number is strictly determined by the metrical exigencies of the dactylic hexameter. The coherence of noun and epithet enables the use of epithets without direct reference to the context. But the employment of a certain noun does not necessarily compel the poet to insert the epithet that is connected with that noun.

This fact concerning the relation of noun and epithet is supported by the following consideration. Assuming that a noun would always trigger in the poet's mind the addition of a certain epithet (Parry speaks of the formula as a unit), the problem as to how the remarkable variety within this word group is to be explained would remain unsolved. Actually, Achilles is not always just δῖος, but also πῶδας ὠκύς, ποδάρεκς or μέγας, and above all, in many verses of the *Iliad* his name is not accompanied by any epithet at all. One can explain this variety only by the consideration that *Homer is not thinking in formulas*, but like any other poet in the era of writing, in single words, or better, with metrical units

therefore not surprising that Marshall McLuhan in his celebrated book *The Gutenberg Galaxy* referred to Parry and Lord respectively and their descriptions of an oral culture.

16 In a strong sense the *Kalevala* has to be ruled out from the genre of oral poetry, because this work as we have it today is a compilation of Finnish myths by Elias Lönnrot, but the different stories, connected here to a whole, are undoubtedly deeply rooted in old Finnish tales.

17 Methodically important on this subject: Lord 1953 (also in Latacz 1979: 308–19); Fenik 1976.

18 Especially important is Shive 1987.

that can contain one, two, three or even more words. What makes the difference between him and all later poets (and hereby even Hesiod is to be included) is that he adds to the metrical schemes of the single words he wants to express other words like epithets, or he can substitute synonyms for them without intending to express a different essential idea. With these additions he stretches the metrical schema to a *kolon*, a metrical unit he can place easily according to the given incisions within the hexameter.¹⁹

By using this technique of verse-making Homer is indeed an oral poet, for he obviously had no problem in employing words that do not suit the context exactly. Ships in the *Iliad* are called 'swift' although they are not moving, the vicious murderer Aegisthus is 'blameless'. These are the errors or mistakes in Homer which Horace's remark on Homer nodding is hinting at. There are many more features that demonstrate how deeply the Homeric epics are rooted in the technique of improvised, and that means oral, verse-making.

These findings, however, only provide a formal criterion that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* belong to the genre of oral poetry. The above-mentioned quality of the structure as a whole is not explained by Parry's findings, nor is the degree of psychological insight, but again, to analyse the relation of structure and psychology is not the aim of this paper. Moreover, the question whether in this respect the Homeric epics are unique among the oral poems that are known to us cannot be discussed within a few pages, but has to be undertaken on a large scale and in a methodically appropriate way.²⁰

So even if it can be stated with some certainty that as far as the technique of verse-making is concerned Homer is an oral poet, this conclusion does not necessarily rule out the possibility that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed with the aid of writing. Except for those instances where there seems to be an intention to revitalise the specific meaning of a word that is usually not directly related to the context,²¹ this compositional technique had a strong influence on the wording of single verses and on scenes that occur regularly, the so-called typical scenes. So in interpreting Homer we should be extremely careful when we deal with single words or smaller scenes, but concerning the structure there are no convincing reasons that would hinder us from interpreting the epics as other written epics.²² It seems that the structure of the *Odyssey* is no less sophisticated than, for example, the structure of Virgil's *Aeneid*. So the Homeric poems seem to mark a

19 The best analysis of the principles that determine the Homeric hexameter is still H. Fränkel, 'Der homerische und der kallimachische Hexameter', in Fränkel 1960: 100–56.

20 Still an important contribution to this question is Bowra 1952, but especially in the question of structure and psychological insight he is rather short. In Homeric philology there exist some excellent studies on these topics, see the summaries by J. Latacz and U. Hölscher Latacz 1991: 379–422. For the *Iliad* only see J. Latacz in Latacz 2000: Band I: 1. Gesang, fasc. 1, Kommentar.

21 This aspect of revitalisation has been investigated most recently by de Jong 1998: 121–35.

22 This does not necessarily include the technique of writing in composing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but it is hard to conceive what other compositional technique could account for the complex structure of both epics.

stage of transition between oral verse production and completely written poetry when the technique of the improvised generation of single verses is being abandoned.

HOMER AND HISTORY

Going back to the question of the degree to which the Homeric poems are rooted in a certain historical background, we are confronted with a similar picture. Whereas Greek poetry in post-Homeric times, namely the tragic poetry of the fifth century, takes the traditional records of the early times – the myths – mainly as a setting to add magnificence to the story,²³ Homer brings in these records to create some kind of a complete world, a world of a time long past, nevertheless with obvious relations to his present.²⁴ This world has its own history – Agamemnon, the king of the capital Mycenae, for example, is a grandson of the conqueror of the Peloponnese whose name was Pelops and who came from the east – and its own culture and its own geography. Whereas the relations between mythical and real history and culture are very difficult to assess, the relation between the geography of the Homeric poems and the reality of the eighth or seventh century BC is less intricate. The main reason for this is the so-called catalogue of ships in the second book of the *Iliad*.

This passage contains the list of all the regions that sent ships to Troy and of all the leaders. We get a notion about the area of the single regions by lists of place-names: Boeotia is circumscribed by 29 place-names, Aetolia by 6 names.²⁵ There are altogether 152 names of inhabited places and 35 toponyms like Euboea, Arcadia or Crete in this catalogue.²⁶ As far as we can judge, all these place-names denote real existing settlements, although there are a certain number of place-names we cannot identify for the geometric or archaic period (the time when the *Iliad* took its final shape).²⁷ This fact has puzzled Homeric scholars and seemed to hint at a Mycenaean origin of the catalogue of ships, but there is another possible explanation such as the handing down of place-names by mythology. The Greek myths provided a certain number of names of inhabited settlements whose location was unknown later.²⁸ Even though Mycenaean inscriptions demonstrated only in a few cases that these settlements in fact existed as real cities,²⁹ it

23 However, this magnificence is not a dispensable element in the tragedies, but it is needed to make the downfall of the main person, usually a king, more impressive to the audience.

24 Especially noteworthy in this respect are the lines where the splendour of these earlier times is compared to the meagreness of the present (cf. *Il.* 5.302f.)

25 For the catalogue of ships see Visser 1997, 2003.

26 The figures are taken from Latacz 2003c: 2. Gesang, fasc. 2, Kommentar: 146.

27 Numbers in Page 1959: 120f.

28 The most notorious example is probably the place where Bellerophon was king. The myth tells here the name Ephyra, but no historical name can be equated with this name; the commentators of Homer equated Corinth with Ephyra (see Visser 1997: 158–60).

29 Namely Eleon, Hyle and Peteon; see the comment to *Iliad* 2.500 in Latacz 2003c: 158f.

seems to be likely that these names have been handed down to Homer through the myths. It is therefore very likely that in the Homeric *Iliad* the description of Greece has a background in reality, although it is a blend of recordings from a distant past and from the situation when the *Iliad* was actually composed.

Homeric geography gives us an indication to determine the position of Homer between oral and written poetry concerning historical reliability. We may clarify the position by a comparison with movies set in the Middle Ages like those on Robin Hood or Ivanhoe. When an expert on the Middle Ages watches one of these movies he will recognise immediately that there are many things to be seen that never existed in this way in the time when Richard the Lionheart was king of England.³⁰ Weapons and dresses, buildings and behaviour from quite different centuries are mingled together. Nevertheless, the movie will give a specific impression of a certain time. Somebody who has some knowledge in cultural history and watches these movies would easily recognise that this movie is supposed to be set in a specific time. Somewhat comparable is Homer's knowledge about earlier times in Greece: the different myths told him that there was once a time when the buildings were more impressive, the kings ruled over larger regions than just one polis, the relations between the rulers were much closer and the adventures were more impressive. He knew where they were supposed to live and what their exploits were. And he knew how to tell their stories in hexameter-lines. And one day he decided to use this knowledge to create a poem that showed this heroic world. The idea to do this on such a large scale was probably new, and since Homer did such a magnificent job no poet after him could ignore this new kind of poetry, and the era of oral poetry gradually came to an end. Now there was some kind of master-text other poets had to compete with; their former freedom was over. The agonistic approach towards literature formed a lot of new literary genres, the didactic poems, the lyric poems, the philosophical, even tragedy and comedy.

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30 There is a substantial difference when there is right from the beginning a plot without a real historical background like the King Arthur epics; movies with this scenario are usually a concoction from all elements that can possibly be associated with the Middle Ages.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE SEMANTICS OF ἄναξ IN HOMER

Martin Schmidt

As is well known, the Homeric epics set the stories they tell in a far-off past, in the Age of Heroes, while passing over the question of how long ago this was. We, today, assume that these poems of the eighth or seventh century BC refer to the Mycenaean Age of the second millennium BC, but we do not know what distance in time the poets imagined between their own day and that of the heroes.¹ The poets established the temporal distance *inter alia* with the help of their language. This is, as we know, a mixed language. Words and terms of the time of the poets are mixed with words and terms of the past handed down in the language of epic poetry but no longer used in everyday life. Some of these old-fashioned, archaic poetic words are explained to the listener; some, it seems, were no longer exactly understood even by the poets themselves.

This mixture of languages offered many stylistic possibilities; the poets could pull out many stops. On the one hand the old words were necessary for archaising: they provided the patina of the prehistoric past with which the stories had to be invested. A certain vagueness in describing political and social relations, even more so legal facts, had to be and was accepted, even welcomed. On the other hand these old words, because they were either not at all in everyday use or only in a limited way, could acquire a warm emotional timbre and were therefore especially useful in gaining the sympathy or antipathy of the audience for the poet's characters and in describing the feelings and emotions of these characters themselves.

Clearly they [= the poetic words] address rather the feeling and phantasy than the mind; only thus was it possible that their strangeness did not arouse rejection or aversion. They were there to strengthen the impression of the unusual, that the nature of the content was already calculated to arouse. The more semantically rational and abstract a term, the more normal the form

¹ The ten generations during which the newly acquired treasures of Odysseus will suffice to support their owner (*Od.* 14.325–19.294) may be an indication of the length of the period, imagined by the poets, between the age of the heroes and their own

of a word, the less suitable is that word to arouse concomitant feelings. Conversely a strong emotional reaction corresponds usually with a somehow blurred meaning and a linguistically surprising form . . . the arousal of feelings, awakening of tension, transposition into a sphere distant from everyday life, that is what the poet seeks to achieve with the use of poetic words.²

Before dealing with ἄναξ I will explain what this means in relation to some other words. The following is based on the results of many articles by several authors, including myself, in *Lfgre* from 1965 to the present.

1. ARCHAIC AND MODERN WORDS

ἄστυ and π(τ)όλις³

The history of these two words is in the main clear. Both words occur in Mycenaean Greek,⁴ though π(τ)όλις has so far been found only in derivatives. *Wa-tu* (=ἄστυ) denotes the *town*, including the palace. The exact meaning of the underlying **po-to-ri* (=πόλις) has yet to be clarified.⁵

In the Homeric poems ἄστυ is already an archaic word. It is discernible as an element of transmitted epic poetry. In later Greek also its use is very limited and rare. πόλις, however, is in the early Greek epic the main term for *city/town* and keeps this position throughout antiquity. So we can surmise that the audience of the epics, when they spoke of a *town*, usually spoke of a π(τ)όλις. Whether they used the word ἄστυ in their normal language we do not know. Certainly they were able to understand it in the poems: it was used often enough and needed no explanation.

Both words signify the same thing, and are often used as synonyms. But there are also clear differences in the ways they are used. ἄστυ on the one hand occurs in the hexameter only in a few positions that are apparently fixed in the poetic tra-

2 Leumann 1950: 34–5: ‘Offenbar wenden sie (*scil.* die poetischen Wörter) sich mehr an Gefühl und Phantasie als an den Verstand; nur so war es möglich, dass ihre Fremdheit nicht Ablehnung und Abwendung erweckte; sie sollten den Eindruck des Ungewöhnlichen verstärken, der schon vom Inhalt her erstrebt war. Je mehr rational-begrifflich eine Wortbedeutung, je normaler die Wortgestalt ist, um so weniger ist das Wort geeignet, Begleitgefühle zu erwecken; in Umkehrung dazu entspricht also der starken Gefühlswirkung eines Wortes meist eine unscharfe Bedeutung, eine sprachlich überraschende Form . . . Erregung der Gefühle, Erweckung einer Spannung, Versetzung in eine vom Alltag ferne Atmosphäre, das ist es, was der Dichter mit den poetischen Wörtern zu erreichen sucht.’

3 See *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* Begründet von Bruno Snell (*Lfgre*) s.v. ἄστυ (Euwals, P. G. W. and Voigt, E. M., 1976). and s.v. πόλις (Schmidt, M. 2004, with reference to relevant secondary literature).

4 On *wa-tu* see *DMic II*: 409–11, on *po-to-ri-ka-ta* (= Ptolikastas vel sim.) and *po-to-ri-jo* (= Ptolion vel sim.) *DMic II*:164.

5 See *DMic II*:164 and Deger-Jalkotzy 1995.

dition, while πόλις, alive in contemporary language, could be and was used in many more positions in the verse. On the other hand the archaic ἄστυ has more emotional power. If someone is speaking of his native *town*, where he lives, then he uses ἄστυ rather than πόλις, but if he speaks of the geographic location of a *city* or the political aspect of town-life, then the word he uses is πόλις.

Thus the different *couleurs* of these two words offered different stylistic opportunities to the poets. But they did not use these words to make a historical distinction between older and younger layers of the Heroic Age being described. Even the oldest *cities* they speak of are called π(τ)όλεις. ἄστυ is not a special term for a *city* that was particularly old.

σάκος and ἄσπίς⁶

Each of these words means *shield*. Neither of them is found in Mycenaean Greek; only in the case of σάκος is an Indo-European origin probable. From Homer onwards we can follow the history of the two words. In the epic poems σάκος is the archaic word. One can see that it was transmitted in the poetic language. Its later use is very limited and rare. ἄσπίς, however, is the main word for *shield* in the epics and holds this position in Greek throughout antiquity.⁷ Moreover, although ἄσπίς probably originally meant the *round shield* and σάκος probably the so-called *tower-shield*, both words are used synonymously in the epics and can replace each other. 'At this stage of development the two words differ only in the "feeling tone" (σάκος is more poetic and more heroic).'⁸ This becomes especially clear in two details: firstly the *round shield* made by Hephaestus for Achilles is called only σάκος; secondly the poet of the *Odyssey*, who heroises even more than the poet of the *Iliad*, uses σάκος almost exclusively. So here, too, the poets have exploited the stylistic possibilities, and the archaic σάκος, not used in everyday life, conveys the colour of the heroic age.

δμῶες, οἰκήτες, ἀμφίπολοι, δοῦλοι, ἀνδράποδα⁹

The terms for *slaves* or *servants*, too, can be divided into old and new, poetic and everyday words. The most frequent term is δμῶς, fem. δμῶή, occurring mostly in the plural δμῶες, fem. δμῶαί. The word has not, so far, been found in Mycenaean texts. It probably has an Indo-European origin, and was no longer used in

6 See *Lfgre*: s.v. ἄσπίς (Calame, C. and Mader, B. 1976); s.v. σάκος (Markwald, G. forthcoming).

7 There are also some other words for *shield*, of different origin and with different connotations (βοάγρια, βοείη, βοῦς, λαισήια, ῥινόν, ῥινός, χαλκός – see *Lfgre* s.v. ἄσπίς I, 1427, 29–30).

8 *Lfgre*: s.v. ἄσπίς I, 1427, 37–9: 'Auf dieser Entwicklungsstufe unterscheiden sie sich nur noch im "feeling tone" (σάκος ist poetischer und heroischer)'.

9 See *Lfgre*: s.v. ἀμφίπολος (Schuh. Fj. and Latacz, J., 1965); ἀνδράποδες (Erbse, H., 1967), δμῶή, δμῶς, δούλη, δούλιος, δουλοσύνη, (Nordheider, H. W., 1984); οἰκεύς (Schmidt, M., 1999).

everyday language. The case with ἀμφίπολος is similar. The word occurs in Linear B.¹⁰ In the poems it is used, almost exclusively in the plural, for *maid servants*, but outside the poems only in the religious sphere. οἰκεύς occurs rarely in Homer, and has so far not been found in Mycenaean Greek. Either it was still used in the vernacular and did not fall into disuse until after Homer, or it was already purely poetic and used in the poems instead of the everyday word οἰκέτης that was in normal use later. Although already found in Mycenaean Greek,¹¹ and later as the normal word for *slaves* in their status of being unfree, δοῦλος is even rarer than οἰκεύς in Homer, occurring only as feminine δούλη (once in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*). But the derivatives δούλιος and δουλοσύνη show with certainty that the word was current in the language spoken at the time of the poems' composition. ἀνδράποδον, the term for a *slave* as merchandise or as part of an inventory, is used only once (in the *Iliad*), and certainly belongs to everyday language. But the word is also rare later.

These data, too, can be explained in a similar way. The poets use the old-fashioned and, for their contemporaries, necessarily vague words not in order to deny or gloss over the institution of slavery. They use them, rather, on the one hand, for purposes of heroisation, necessary also in the case of servants; on the other hand they made it possible to show more clearly the poet's affectionate attitude towards his characters or the affections existing between these persons themselves. This can be seen especially clearly in the case of the ἀμφίπολοι. This old-fashioned term does not signify a group of female servants different from the δμῳαί. On the contrary, the same women usually called δμῳαί are sometimes called ἀμφίπολοι, namely if they are being described as especially close to their mistress. The activities of these *servants*, called ἀμφίπολοι, extend from carrying out normal tasks (fulfilling instructions, helping in small matters, waiting at table, nursing the children, ordinary – but never actually demeaning – housework) to sharing the mistress's (or master's) joys and sorrows. And so both the *servants* of the god Hephaestus and those, portrayed in detail, of the goddess Circe are called ἀμφίπολοι.¹²

ἄρχος, ἡγεμών, ἡγήτωρ, κοίρανος, κοσμήτωρ, ὄρχαμος, σημάτων, ταγός¹³

The terms for military *leaders* (found mainly in the *Iliad*) can also be subdivided into antiquated and modern. The poets apparently took over the terms ἄρχος, ἡγεμών and σημάτων from the vernacular; the others were transmitted in the

10 See *DMic I*: 84 s.v. a-pi-qo-ro.

11 See *DMic I*: 186 s.v. do-e-ro.

12 Only Calypso's maid servants are called δμῳαί (*Od.* 5.199), but they are mentioned only in a formula and only as κωφά πρόσωπα.

13 See *Lfgre*: s.vv. ἄρχος (Schmidt, M., 1976); ἡγεμών, ἡγήτωρ (Goossens, M., 1987); κοίρανος, κοσμήτωρ (Schmidt, M., 1991); ὄρχαμος (Van der Mije, S. R., 2000).

poetic language.¹⁴ This can be seen most clearly from the fact that the modern words are used with more variation within the verse and at the same time are not found in traditional formulas and are never used in addressing a person. The antiquated words, on the other hand, serve the purpose of heroisation (ὄρχαμος in the *Odyssey* even in the case of the servants) and offer the possibility of indicating the feelings of the poet and of his characters.

2. ἄναξ, βασιλεύς and δεσπότης¹⁵

The use of ἄναξ and βασιλεύς in relation to each other fits this pattern. Both words are found in Mycenaean Greek;¹⁶ neither of them has an undisputed Indo-European origin.¹⁷ Their meaning is explained in this volume by P. Carlier, who makes clear the main difference between them in the epic poems: ἄναξ, denoting gods and heroes, is usually a title, while βασιλεύς is used to indicate a function. From these and the post-Homeric data one can infer that βασιλεύς was alive in the everyday language of the poets, while ἄναξ was no longer used outside the religious sphere. However, outside this pattern ἄναξ is also used as a term for denoting a ‘master’, a *master* of a house, of servants/serfs and of animals (but not of things in general).¹⁸ With reference to three scenes from the *Odyssey* I shall try to explain how ἄναξ with this meaning is specially suited to expressing the feelings of the characters in the poem and to evoking those of the audience.

14 ἄρχος, in derivatives probably already in Linear B (*a-da-ra-ko* = ἄνδραρχος, see *DMic I*: 25), is alive in everyday language even after Homer; κούρανος, also probably Mycenaean (*ko-re-te* = κορητήρ, see *DMic I*: 380), in the epic poems certainly archaic, sometimes explained with ἡγεμών, later only in poetic language; κοσμήτωρ, probably Mycenaean (*ko-sa-ma-to*, see *DMic I*: 388), later only poetic and used again in Christian literature; ἡγεμών, ἡγήτωρ, of Indo-European origin and in derivatives already in Mycenaean Greek (*ku-na-ke-ta-i* = κυνηγέτης, see *DMic I*: 402), ἡγήτωρ poetic, ἡγεμών from everyday language, also used later; ὄρχαμος, probably derived from ὄρχω, not found in Mycenaean Greek though apparently transmitted only in the poetic language, later exclusively poetic.

15 See *LfgrE*: s. vv. ἄναξ (Grimm, J. 1967), βασιλεύς (Schmidt, M., 1982), δεσπότης (Voigt, E. M., 1982).

16 On *wa-na-ka* see *DMic II*: 480, on *qa-si-re-u* *DMic II*: 189; see also Palaima 1995.

17 On βασιλεύς see recently Palaima 1995: 123 n. 13; García-Ramón in: Canzik and Schneider 1996–2003 12.2 (2002): 332 (‘vorg.’); on ἄναξ see Palaima *l.c.*; Hajnal 1998: 64 ff. (with Indo-European etymology); Meier-Brügger in: Canzik and Schneider: 383–4 s.v. *wanax* (following Hajnal). I have some doubts about Hajnal’s derivation constructing an Indo-European ideology of the third millennium BC, allegedly still valid in Mycenaean Greek in the second millennium, as well as in Phrygia in the sixth century BC.

18 Of things only in so far as they belong to the house or estate, see De Jong 1993: 296 on *Od.* 21.9, 56, 62, 395 and 22.119: ‘the one and only master of the bow and, more in general, of the house and all that is stored in it’. Differently Yamagata 1997, whose examples for *master of things* either come under the meaning of *master of the house* or under a sense other than *master* (see *LfgrE*: s. v.).

The slave Eumaeus and his master

In Book XIV Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, comes to the swineherd Eumaeus. Eumaeus is introduced by the poet as the one of all Odysseus's servants who is most dutifully increasing his master's property. He is sitting in a courtyard, the wall of which he has himself built during the absence of his *master* (line 8, ἀποιχομένοιο ἄνακτος),¹⁹ and also independently of his mistress and of the senior master, the old Laertes (line 9, νόσφιν δεσποίνης καὶ Λαέρταο γέροντος). In the following verses of this book the ἄναξ of Eumaeus is mentioned time and time again.²⁰ In his very first words to the unknown beggar Eumaeus speaks of his absent ἄναξ, and he does so repeatedly in what follows, with the addition of epithets like ἀντίθεος, εὖθυμος, ἥπιος and κεδνός. Finally Eumaeus, hesitantly and only after being questioned by the beggar, pronounces the name of this ἄναξ – *Odysseus* (see line 144) – adding at once that he calls him a *beloved, good master* (ἡθεῖον [*sc.* ἄνακτα] καλέω – line 147). The beggar, too, speaks of the swineherd's ἄναξ, and the narrator, when speaking of the beggar, uses either the name or, from Eumaeus's point of view, the appellation of ἄναξ.

With this word the poet (either as narrator or through his characters) expresses the close relationship between Eumaeus and Odysseus, and the word ἄναξ, even without the addition of an adjective, has the connotation of *my (your, his) beloved master*.²¹

The maid servant Eurycleia in the foot washing scene

The use of the word ἄναξ is also of great importance in connection with the foot washing scene where Odysseus is recognised by Eurycleia; the word may even be said to be a constituent element of the scene.

After the unknown beggar has declared to Penelope that he will allow his feet to be washed only by an old, experienced maid servant, Penelope tells Eurycleia to wash them. She says: 'Wash your master's (not feet, but) equal in age' (νίψων σοῖο ἄνακτος [not πόδας, but] ὁμήλικα: *Od.* 19.358). 'For a fraction of a second, before ὁμήλικα joins the other members of its clause, we hear a construction that leads us to think that Penelope has somehow penetrated Odysseus's disguise and is revealing his secret.'²² It is the word ἄναξ, and the following mention of the

19 De Jong 1993: 293: 'even though Odysseus is away, Eumaeus continues to think of him as his master'.

20 Four times in the poet's narration, seven times in speeches of Eumaeus, twice in speeches of the beggar. At *Od.* 14.60 Eumaeus speaks of *young masters* whose rule every servant has to fear, and at 14.326 the beggar speaks of Odysseus, whom he claims to know, as an ἄναξ in the sense of 'the hero just mentioned' (see *Lfgre*: s.v. ἄναξ B3bb).

21 See De Jong 1993: 292: 'Though a natural choice, the word *anax* not seldom conveys an affective tone, especially when spoken by the faithful swineherd Eumaeus, who deplores the absence or even "death" of his master.' On the *natural choice* see below note. 34.

22 Russo on *Od.* 19.358, in 'Heubeck, Hainsworth and West 1988–1992'; see also De Jong 2001: 475.

name of Odysseus, that makes Eurycleia burst into tears over the fate of her absent master and in pity for the beggar. To the still unknown beggar, however, she does not speak of her ἄναξ but of Odysseus, whom the beggar seems to her to resemble. Then she sets about washing the beggar who already foresees that he will be immediately recognised. The narrator describes the old woman's action with the words 'she began to wash her master' (νίξε . . . ἄναχθ' ἐόν: 19.392). She recognises Odysseus's scar and, after the poet has narrated to us the whole story of this scar, Eurycleia again bursts into tears and says: 'You are Odysseus, but I did not recognise you until I felt my *master* all over' (πρὶν πάντα ἄνακτ' ἐμὸν ἀμφαφάσθαι: 19.475). Thus, in this scene too, ἄναξ is the word that expresses the affections of the character, Eurycleia, and guides the emotions of the listener.²³

The dog Argus

On the day that the beggar, together with Eumaeus, comes to the city of Ithaca and the house of Odysseus, the old dog Argus, lying on the dunghill, sees them, recognises Odysseus, wags his tail, puts back his ears, and dies (*Od.* 17.291–327). In this scene ἄναξ is again the key word. 'The periphrastic denomination ἄνακτος, "his master", in 296 and 303 reflects Argus's implicit embedded focalization and adds to the pathos of the scene.'²⁴

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In some other places too, though not everywhere when occurring in the meaning of *master*, ἄναξ has a clear emotional connotation.²⁵ This complies well with the other examples of archaic words, and it is therefore highly possible that ἄναξ, too, in this sense was for the poets and their audience an old-fashioned word. Moreover, the fact that ἄναξ in this use is found only in the epic poems (and in post-Homeric poetry dependent on epic) makes it very unlikely that ἄναξ in the sense of *master* was used in contemporary everyday language.²⁶

This view is also supported by the fact that the epic poets actually used ἄναξ in the sense *master* instead of the everyday word δεσπότης.²⁷ They did so not only

23 In the ensuing conversation, after the relief of the tension, Eurycleia addresses Odysseus as τέκνον ἐμόν, while he calls his nurse μάϊα.

24 De Jong 2001: 421, continuing: 'The narrator treats Argus almost like a human being: he is given a name, an introduction, and a solemn death formula, which in the *Iliad* is used of dying warriors'.

25 See De Jong 1993, especially emphasising the poetic irony.

26 Grimm thinks in terms of a contemporary language of slaves, see *LfgrE*: s.v. ἄναξ, introductions to B and to B3aδ.

27 See *LfgrE*: s.v. ἄναξ, introduction to B3aγ.

for metrical reasons,²⁸ but also because they disliked the use of such precise and technical words as δεσπότης or δοῦλος from the contemporary language.

The feminine δέσποινα, meaning *mistress*, metrically more convenient, is sometimes used in the *Odyssey*, but with considerable limitations. The poet as narrator and Eumaeus as character refer to Penelope as δέσποινα, but she is never addressed with this word, and it is never used when she is present.²⁹ That does not happen by mere chance; rather, the everyday δέσποινα seemed impolite in reference to the relationship between servants and mistress as the poet wanted to represent them.

ἄναξ and ἄνασσα in the sense *master/mistress* are also avoided in addressing a person. This form of address apparently sounded too much like the address to the gods, established in the religious sphere.³⁰

It is an obvious suggestion that the epic use of ἄναξ as *master* of house, servants and animals points to its original meaning, and so one might suppose that its use as a title is secondary.³¹ But I have my doubts about this view of the word's history. It is just as likely, in my opinion, that the old Mycenaean title for the supreme king, no longer current in a changed political context, was put to fresh use in the poetic language,³² and that this new meaning of ἄναξ was alive only in the epic poems and never crossed the boundary to the normal language.³³ In any

28 Certainly the nominative δεσπότης and the accusative δεσπότην could not be used in the hexameter but 'le voc. δέσποτα et le nom. Plur. δεσπότες seraient très commodes; Tyrtée a l'acc. δεσπότης, fr.5,4 [= fr.7 West] (avec α bref)' (Risch 1972: 194 [=1981: 349]). δεσπότης is transmitted in the Hesiod-Fragments (*Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*, 2509, 18), probably scanned [- oo -], but the forms δεσπότης u. δεσπότης (dative and genitive singular) also could be adapted as dactyls to the verse [scanned -oo].

29 See *Lfgre*: s.v. δέσποινα (Nordheider, H. W., 1982). Eumaeus addresses her as βασίλεια (*Od.* 17.513, 583), Eurycleia usually as τέκος once as νύμφα φίλη (4.743) and also once – in great agitation – by her name, plus τέκος (23.5).

30 I cannot explain why ἄνασσα is not used in the same way as ἄναξ, meaning *mistress*. Probably the religious element was already too strong with regard to this word. Note that none of the heroines of the Nekyia in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* bears this title.

31 Calhoun 1935 and Yamagata 1997; similarly, but more cautiously, Grimm, in *Lfgre*: s.v. ἄναξ (I, 783, 20ff.). Calhoun's main argument is the patriarchal position of Zeus as πατήρ. So ἄναξ and πατήρ to him have a very similar meaning. But that is not a sufficient argument in relation to ἄναξ, especially since the decipherment of Linear B has provided some information about the Mycenaean *wanax* (see Palaima 1995). Yamagata 1997: 2, n. 10 tries to corroborate Calhoun's arguments (speaking of original meanings and connotations) by maintaining the meaning *master* in many passages, where it is much easier to understand ἄναξ as a title (*lord*). Lévy 1987 also tries, in my opinion, too often to see in the use of ἄναξ a *lien de subordination*, and concludes that ἄναξ expresses a *domination effective fondée sur un lien personnel de dépendance*.

32 Similarly, but without the differentiation of everyday and poetic language (and with an unnecessary concession to Leumann's theory), the Latacz 2000 on A 7: Das Wort [ἄναξ] lebte weiter [scil. after the Mycenaean Age], verbliebte aber zu Herr im Sinne von Eigentümer, Besitzer (aller möglichen Besitztümer: Personen, Tiere, Sachen) und Protektor'.

33 Following Grimm, Matthiessen and Mader (*Lfgre*: s.vv. ἄναξ / ἄστυνάξ) and Lévy (1987: 303), I do not believe in Leumann's theory, accepted by Chantraine, that the name of Hector's son Ἄστυνάξ gives us a lead to the original meaning of ἄναξ as *protector* (Leumann 1950: 42ff.: *Schützer*). Yamagata 1997, however, sees her explanation of ἄναξ confirmed by Leumann's theory, and accepts every god who is called ἄναξ to be a *protector*.

case, the word was highly archaic in the sense *master* and very useful for the stylistic subtleties the poet wanted to achieve.³⁴

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34 My exposé can be understood as a supplement to and specification of the section on ἄναξ in De Jong 1993: 291–7, 306. She has shown how the poet of the *Odyssey* produces irony, pathos, emotional colouring using *periphrastic denomination* as a stylistic device. My argument here is that the other nouns used for that purpose (πόσις, ἄλοχος, πατήρ, υἱός) are really *natural choices* (p. 292) because they are terms of relationship. ἄναξ does not belong in this group and qualifies for inclusion here only because it is an archaic poetic word.

HISTORICAL APPROACHES TO HOMER

Kurt A. Raaflaub

This is an important topic – generally and to me personally. I have written on various aspects of it and taken a firm stand on the question of the ‘historicity’ of ‘Homeric society’ (in detail: Raaflaub 1998; summary: Raaflaub 1997a). I have strong allies in this endeavour, and in the last years the *communis opinio* has perhaps begun to shift in our direction.¹ But disagreement remains formidable, and that is good: without it, no progress.² At any rate, this is still very much a live issue, and so I welcome the opportunity to focus here on some important issues and on questions of principle and methodology.

As historians confronted with the majestic epics of Homer, we need to display a good deal of modesty. To be sure, the epics are set in the distant past. At least superficially, they deal with an event (and its aftermath) that was considered historical throughout antiquity – so much so that Thucydides (1.9–11) did not hesitate to apply to it the argument from probability and some of the sharpest intellects throughout antiquity competed in establishing a precise date for it (Burkert 1995; on Thucydides: Hornblower 1991: 31–7). But the epics are not really about history. Nor is the *Iliad* really about the Trojan War. History and the war merely provide the context in which, under the poet’s careful guidance, major dramas of human relations, dilemmas, failures, and successes unfold. It is these human dramas that have made the epics immortal and enabled innumerable generations over almost three millennia to identify with their protagonists. The epics represent great narrative and great literature, and if we think that they are historically important as well, we always need to remind ourselves that they were not intended to be that.

I emphasise this not only to pay my humble respects to the master of heroic epic. Rather, to historians it is essential to be fully aware of the nature and

1 I mention especially Adkins 1960, 1971; Donlan (largely collected in 1999, see Donlan 1997); Morris 1986; Ulf 1990; van Wees, *Status Warriors*; van Wees 1994, 1997; see also Olson 1995: ch. 9; Thalmann 1998.

2 I gratefully acknowledge Paul Cartledge’s persistent but generous ‘opposition’ (see also below, note 3) that has pushed me to pursue the relevant questions further than I might have done otherwise.

intention of a document they plan to interpret. Knowing that it was not produced for historical purposes should make us extra-cautious and force us to think carefully about appropriate and legitimate methods to extract historical information from it.

But first, why should historians be interested in Homer at all? Well, how could they not? How could they ignore a corpus of some 40,000 lines of Greek text – four *Oxford Classical Texts* volumes when Herodotus' and Thucydides' *Histories* occupy only two each – produced centuries before we find anything comparable in dimension, complexity, refinement, and completeness? How could they keep their eyes off texts that were in all likelihood composed in the late eighth or early seventh century BC, in a crucial period of Greek social evolution, that deal with fascinating events and offer us detailed insights into the relationships, behaviours, values, structures, experiences, and the daily life in war and peace of the society involved?

Naturally, generations of historians have been attracted by this mine of information. They have used it as a quarry to reconstruct early Greek history, some naively, some absurdly, some with considerable sophistication. They have employed Homer as a guide to the Trojan War and to Greek society – in the Bronze Age, in the Dark Ages, and in Homer's own time. Others have valiantly resisted such temptations, emphasised inconsistencies and contradictions, fantasy and exaggeration, mythical and folktale motifs, and concluded that Homer is no guide to history at all: what he offers is poetic fiction or, at best, an amalgam of elements from all kinds of periods and societies that cannot possibly be disentangled: historians, beware (see, for instance, Long 1970; Snodgrass 1974; Sherratt 1990; Thomas 1993; Osborne, *Making*: ch. 5)!³

If, as I just suggested, perhaps hubristically, the latter view is losing ground, it does not yield without strong resistance that must be taken seriously. Long gone, however, is the time of those who used Homer as a reading book on early Greek history and society and happily mined its surface evidence – as if looking for pottery fragments in an archaeological survey – or who believed that common sense was sufficient to secure reliable results.⁴ At least four developments have discredited such simple approaches: Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae and Troy that brought the Bronze Age to light and made it necessary to determine when to date Homer's world; Ventris's decipherment of Linear B that as much as the ruins themselves exposed the massive difference between the world of the tablets and that of Homer's heroes; Parry's and Lord's theories about the nature of oral poetry and the effects on the epics of continuous composition in performance; and the importation into ancient history of methods

3 Cartledge 2001: 157: 'My own view, which the mountain of recent investigation has merely reinforced, is that Homer's fictive universe remains immortal precisely because it never existed as such outside the poet's or poets' fertile imagination(s) – in much the same way as Homeric language was a *Kunstsprache* never actually spoken outside the context of an epic recital.'

4 Although in some cases it certainly did: Strasburger 1953 offers a good example.

of the social sciences, especially anthropology and comparative history.⁵ All this does not mean that the task that lies ahead has become easier; it just means, I hope, that we have established a more solid platform from which to tackle the next challenges.

Essentially, two distinct issues have always attracted the historians' attention: the event and the social aspects, the war about Troy and Homeric society.

1. THE TROJAN WAR

Lest I be drawn into the great 'New War about Troy' that has been raging in Germany, I will not embark here on a detailed discussion of the relation between the *Iliad* and history.⁶ I will only say, very briefly, that I do not believe that the epic will ever be able to serve as a guide to a historical Trojan War fought whenever in the Bronze Age between Mycenaean Greeks and Trojans, with or without their innumerable allies. My main reason is that epic poetry by nature seems incapable of serving this function.

True, ongoing excavations will further clarify the size and importance of Troy. With patient work and sober interpretation, the real dimension of Troy's lower city, the location of its harbour, and other contested issues will eventually be sorted out. True also, new finds of Linear B tablets may shed new light on the distribution of power among the Bronze Age kingdoms in 'Mycenaean' Greece and on their territories, structures and organisation; they may even permit us to resolve the Ahhiyawan puzzle (below) from the Greek rather than the Hittite/Anatolian side. Despite highly optimistic claims raised by the publishers of a large number of texts discovered in the 1990s in Thebes, however, this has not yet happened, and much painstaking and sober research still needs to be done before we know with any confidence what new insights these tablets really offer. True, furthermore, the interpretation of Hittite documents and rare scattered references in Egyptian inscriptions have thrown very interesting light on relations, diplomatic and military, between the kingdoms of the Hittites and Ahhiyawa (wherever the latter was located); they have illuminated the role of Millawanda/Miletus as a bridgehead of Ahhiyawa on the Anatolian coast (confirmed to a considerable extent by recent archaeological exploration) and that of several kingdoms in north-western Anatolia (including Wilusa) in collaborating with and

5 It illuminates the genius of M. I. Finley that he used the latter long before most others did (see Saller and Shaw's introduction in Finley 1982: ix–xxvi) and recognised, soon after Ventris' discovery (the first evidence for the Greekness of the Mycenaean documents written in Linear B was published in 1953, the first edition of *The World of Odysseus* was published in 1954), that Homer's world could not possibly be that of the Mycenaean palaces: see Finley, *World of Odysseus*:10; 1982: chs 12–14.

6 See esp. Latacz 2001; Hertel 2001; Catalogue (*Troia* 2001) and conference volume (Behr, Biegel and Castritius 2003) of the recent Troy exhibition; Cobet and Gehrke 2002; Korffmann 2002; Ulf 2003. For a report in English, see Heimlich 2002. For my own view see Raaflaub 1997/98 and 2003, with bibliography on all aspects discussed in this section.

resisting the Hittite empire.⁷ If all the proposed name identifications hold up (still a considerable if), that is, if Wilusa is Ilium, Taruisa Troy, the Danuna are the Danaoi and the Ahhiyawa the Achaeans, Alaksandus is Alexandros, Priamos Pariyamuwas, Tawagalawas Eteokles, and Attarissiyas Atresias/Atreus, then we have evidence for considerable preservation of names in the Greek epic and mythical tradition (see Heinhold-Krahmer, S. and Hajnal, I., both in Ulf 2003: 146–68, 169–73).

So far, however, with a single exception, the texts which confirm Hittite relations with Wilusa do not mention the Ahhiyawa, and those that mention the Ahhiyawa do not include Wilusa. The exception is a letter (perhaps dating to the middle of the thirteenth century) that alludes to a diplomatic or military confrontation between the Hittite king and the king of the Ahhiyawa in a matter concerning Wilusa (Güterbock 1986: 37). Whatever the nature of this matter, it was a problem between Hittites and Ahhiyawans in which Wilusa played a role because, as we know from other documents, it stood under Hittite sovereignty. In other words, we now know something about the role of Wilusa in the Hittite system of control in western Anatolia and the power struggles related to it, and we can easily imagine various scenarios in which Ahhiyawans attacked and even sacked Troy, but we do not have a shred of evidence that they in fact did so. In the layers usually considered the prime suspects (VIh, VIIa), the excavations at Hisarlik have so far neither offered clear proof of destruction by enemy conquest nor helped identify the agent of such destruction (recently Hertel 2001: 60–70; Hertel, in Ulf 2003: 85–104).

At any rate, the constellation of the Bronze Age Anatolian wars we can reconstruct from Hittite evidence has little to do with that assumed by Homer. The Hittite methods of fighting wars were very different from those the Bronze Age Greeks were able to use in their own environment and again totally different from those familiar to Homer's Greeks. Bronze Age Greek society, at least on the state and palace levels, differed enormously from early archaic society.⁸ Even if a newly discovered document were to mention a war between Mycenaeans or Ahhiyawans and Troy that ended in the latter's destruction, all it could prove would be the fact that such a war took place: this would certainly be enormously exciting and a cause for triumph in certain quarters, but it would not rehabilitate Homer as a historical source for this war.

In some cases where historical evidence survives on the subject matter of an epic song (for example, in the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Nibelungenlied*), it is clear that one or several sensational events and/or dynamic personalities lie at the

7 Starke 1997; Bryce 1998. Egypt: Haider 1988: ch. 1; Haider, in Ulf 2003: 174–92. Millawanda: Niemeier 1999. Ahhiyawa: see recently Benzi 2002; Heinhold-Krahmer, S., in Ulf 2003: 193–214.

8 Wars: Starke 1997; Niemeier 1999. Methods of fighting: Raaflaub 2003: 312–17, 319–23. The nature of Greek Bronze Age society: Chadwick 1976; Finley 1982: chs 12–13; see also Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Uchitel, A., both in Heltzer and Lipinsky 1988; Dickinson 1994; Lévy 1987.

core of the oral tradition that became the stuff of oral epic. These events and persons impressed contemporaries and posterity sufficiently to 'make the headlines', become widely known, and stimulate empathy and imagination. This may well be true for the Trojan War tradition too, but, lacking such documentary evidence, we remain incapable of reconstructing from the (preserved) end of this tradition the historical core possibly hidden in it. In an as yet unpublished paper on 'The Trojan War', Martin West presents an ingenious reconstruction: because Helen originally was a goddess, the Trojan War was a war about the return of a stolen cult image (*eidōlon*). This is as good a guess as any.

I personally believe that new documents on Wilusa (of the type we can expect from Hittite or Egyptian archives and inscriptions) would merely show that whatever happened was completely different from both Homer's dramatic narrative about the wrath of Achilles and the larger Troy story pieced together from the epic cycle and other sources. The reason is that oral traditions tend to be transformed over time, more rapidly and fundamentally on the level of social background, less rapidly but still radically on the level of facts or events. Where comparison is possible (as in the examples mentioned above), we find the events distorted beyond recognition (Finley et al. 1964: 2; see also further below). Anthropologists studying oral traditions in societies where they are still alive and important and comparatists examining the nature and function of oral epics in a wide range of societies have assembled ample evidence to confirm this (see, for instance, Henige 1982; Vansina 1985; see also further below, note 9). Our problem is that we simply cannot know which of any number of possible forms and paths the distortions inherent in such traditions took in this particular case.

Some Homerists, Joachim Latacz foremost among them, counter this by emphasising the age and special character of Greek oral epic based on the hexameter's 'straightjacket'. They claim that both were uniquely capable of transporting fossilised memories of distant events and human interactions over hundreds of years (Latacz, in *Troia* 2001: 29–30; Latacz 2001: 297ff. – for the beginnings of hexametric song in the Bronze Age see West 1988). I confess that I know of only one example in which this seems to be the case to a considerable degree, and that is Indian epic such as the *Mahabharata*. But the reasons for the long-term oral preservation of epic (and prose) texts, the context and function of their performance, and the social role of performers in ancient India were, as far as I know, radically different from what they were in Greece, where, for example, no comparable role of religion is attested (see, for instance, Smith 1980; Rocher 1986).

I suggest that much more specific work needs to be done here. The historian challenges the philologist to identify the entire range of such fossilised elements in the epics and to examine comprehensively their influence on the preservation of the story. In an analytical summary of seminars held at the University of London in the late 1980s, undertaking a broadly comparative study of many epic traditions, A. T. Hatto observes that fossilised words and phrases exist in many epic traditions; even if they are no longer understandable, they lend authority to

the story, but they have no visible impact on it and are incapable of preventing or slowing down the typical processes of transformation on all levels. If we are to believe that the Greek hexameter creates different conditions in this respect we need stronger and clearer evidence to prove it (Hatto 1980, vol. 2: 207–12; on the hexameter see also I. Hajnal, in Ulf 2003: 217–31).

My second challenge addresses the comparatists. The *Chanson de Roland* turns history upside down and creates a crusader attitude where none was warranted. The *Nibelungenlied* combines protagonists who were irreconcilably separated by place and time. Serbo-Croatian epics dwell on a great national event, the battle of Kosovo, but populate it with figures who were never there, and with a traitor who was none. These examples are well known. What we need is a much broader comparative investigation that examines systematically and comprehensively how historical events and personalities as well as social conditions (in the widest sense of the word) fare in the transmission of oral epics, how the world the singer describes in his songs relates to the past and present, and how this differs from what anthropologists have found out about oral traditions not shaped by poetic performance and transmission (see Henige 1982; Vansina 1985). Hatto's survey just mentioned includes a brief section on history, offering some valuable insights, but this is no more than a beginning. If continuing work were able to produce a series of parameters, a broad but limited band of common developments encompassing many variations, we would have a better base for the evaluation of individual cases.⁹

My third challenge concerns stories told and songs performed in Homer's epics. We hear in the *Odyssey* that people always want to hear the latest song (*Od.* 1.350–2), and the singer is praised for describing events 'as if you had been there yourself or heard it from one who was' (*Od.* 8.488–92). When Odysseus arrives in Alcinous's palace, the Trojan War and the sad returns of the leading Achaeans, very recent events, have become subjects of fame and song. In the *Iliad* (books 9 and 11) old Phoenix and old Nestor tell stories about 'old' events that, however, lie back only one generation and deal with heroics in raids and wars the nature of which would have been thoroughly familiar to Homer's audiences. This raises two questions.

The first has to do with the content of these songs. If recent events feed such songs and the audience is interested in the most recent songs, should we not expect that even a song on a Trojan War, whenever it took place and however famous it once was, would soon have been overshadowed and replaced by more recent events, closer to the audiences' interests and passions – or, at least, that it would have become merely a shell, like the battle of Kosovo, to be filled *ad libitum* with persons, actions, and dilemmas that fascinated ever-changing audiences? Moreover, given this possibility, how would such a song have fared in the course

9 Hatto 1980, vol. 2: 184–95 ('Functions'), and 196–214 ('Time and the Times'); see also Oinas 1978. I have pursued some of these questions elsewhere (Raaflaub 2005a).

of the massive transformation processes that thoroughly affected Greek society at the end of the Bronze Age, during the tribulations of the Dark Ages, and at the beginning of the Archaic Period?¹⁰

The other question concerns the dimension and social function of such songs in Homeric society. They deal with recent war heroics, adventures abroad, and with a divine love affair, exposed to ridicule and ‘Homeric laughter’. They are relatively brief and self-contained, explicitly designed to entertain and offer relief from tension and sadness. If some of the stories told by heroes (such as Nestor’s in *Il.* 11.669–761 or Phoenix’s during the failed attempt to reconcile Achilles in *Il.* 9.527–99) provided material for epic songs as well, such songs also had a moral or educational purpose. Nothing suggests, however, that Homeric society was familiar with songs of the size and complexity characteristic of Homer’s own compositions. This is no new insight, but if, as I believe, Homeric society is to be dated within living memory of the poet and his audiences, it may be significant, suggesting that Greek epic experienced an enormous expansion in size and sophistication within two or three generations before Homer. This development (like other recent innovations, mentioned below) was perhaps consciously ignored in Homer’s own epics in order to preserve the illusion of describing an ancient society. It could in turn be connected with a series of arguments suggesting that the whole concept of a war between Mycenaeans and Trojans, located in a heroic age, and the entire outlook that places this war in a panhellenic and the *nostoi* in a wide Mediterranean context reflect recent developments, typical of the eighth century. I will not detail these arguments here; they are based on insights about the formation of myths and traditions that purport to be historical, on the evolution of historical memory and consciousness, and on the emergence of panhellenism. Although discussed thoroughly by Barbara Patzek ten years ago, they have so far been ignored by those who advocate a Trojan War tradition going back to the Greek Bronze Age (Patzek 1992, summarised in Raaflaub 1997/98: 398–401 and Raaflaub 2003: 327–9; see also Patzek, in Ulf 2003: 245–61).

2. HOMERIC SOCIETY

I have now mentioned Homeric Society, and this brings me to the second issue scholars have focused on: the social background or environment in and against which the heroic protagonists excel and suffer. In the last quarter century, earlier path-breaking work by Moses Finley in *The World of Odysseus* has been continued, elaborated upon, modified, and sometimes corrected by several scholars. Substantial progress has been achieved, but much work remains to be done.¹¹

Let me summarise briefly where I think we stand today. The ‘amalgam theory’, mentioned before, has lost ground. Bronze or Dark Age as well as non-Greek

10 I have tried to sketch this in Raaflaub 2003: 317–19, 324–7.

11 See bibliography cited in n 1 above and Raaflaub 1997a, 1998; see further Raaflaub 1993: 46–59; 1997b (concerning Finley’s view of the polis and politics in Homer).

elements in the depiction of social and material culture are not very frequent, scattered, and in most cases easily identifiable as such. This seems to me to remain true despite Ione Shear's recent comprehensive and impressive attempt to prove the contrary. Examples include, on the one side, bronze weapons, the boar's tusk helmet, and the use (or misuse) of chariots in battle; on the other perhaps Priam's family and palace and the use of siege machines on wheels reflected in the myth of the Trojan Horse (Shear 2000; Deger-Jalkotzy 1979; Morris 1995). The same is true for elements of fantasy (especially in Odysseus's tales of adventures, the description of Alcinous' palace, [but see Cook 2004] or human-divine interaction) and exaggeration (such as the weight and size of the heroes' weapons, their strength and endurance, or numbers and time frames). All this serves the purpose of 'epic distancing' and creating the aura of a heroic society. Moreover, the poet takes care to omit recent innovations, which we suspect must have been known to him (such as writing, riding, the role of mercenaries, the formalisation of institutions, and perhaps voting and elections) – again in an effort to endow the society he describes with a certain 'patina' of age and distinction. Otherwise, however, and this concerns the vast majority of the evidence, the description of Homeric society is consistent enough to reflect a society to which we can assign a place in Greek social evolution. I have argued for this in detail elsewhere and tried to show that clear lines of development lead from this society and its institutions to those attested in the mid- to late-seventh century in various Greek poleis (Raaflaub 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2003).

One of the major problems we are facing when trying to evaluate Homer's social picture is that we lack independent confirmation. True, Hesiod was more or less a contemporary, but his concerns in *Works and Days* (the independent farmer's life and his relation to the elite and polis) and social or political allusions in the *Theogony* (the community's primary values as reflected in the names of Zeus's wives and offspring, or the methods by which Zeus establishes his just rule among the gods) complement Homer's picture rather than overlapping with it (Raaflaub 1989: 19–24). The lyric poets are several decades younger, reflecting a noticeably later stage in social and political development. Hence we must rely on interpreting the epics themselves – and beware of subjectivity. It is therefore crucial that we work with clear and explicit methodologies so that our discussions can focus not only on the results of our interpretation but also on the methods we have used to reach them. Let me give a few examples.

First, while placing the actions and interactions of the heroes in the foreground, the poet mentions a great deal in passing (in asides, explanatory remarks, and brief etiological stories) that seems to assume the audience's familiarity. Such differentiation between things emphasised and taken for granted, foregrounded and 'backgrounded', has enabled me, for example, to piece together, from various stories and incidental remarks, a fairly complete picture of how Homeric society conducts its 'foreign relations'. While Finley postulated that it was all done through personal relations (*xenia*) of elite leaders, enough clues survive to demonstrate that the council of elders and the assembly of warriors were involved as well; foreign

relations thus were a communal affair. By the same method it is possible to elucidate the role of the polis in Homeric society and to establish a strong argument for the communal importance of public debate and decision making. This in turn suggests, contrary to previous assumptions, that the assembly played a crucial communal role – despite its well-known deficiencies, which, incidentally, it shared with the assemblies of many much later ancient states (see above, note 11). I suspect that further investigations along those lines could yield other useful results.

Second, whether or not writing was involved in the composition of the extant epics, they were based on a long tradition of oral composition in performance. This type of performance presupposes a close interactive relationship between audience and poet. The singer adjusts to the audience's reactions, moods, and expectations, and the audience follows along the line of his song, seeing events unfold from his perspective. At any given moment of the story, I submit, the listeners are with the poet there and only there. Most of them will already know the outline of the story – such familiarity, in fact, is a crucial condition of oral poetry – and they will remember the main developments preceding the present point in the performance, but they will have no time and inclination to think about inconsistencies and contradictions in detail – the very stuff modern scholars, flipping forward and backward through books, tend to focus on. Inconsistencies in a tradition based on composition in performance, then, are relatively insignificant, as long as they do not blatantly violate the audience's expectations. Accordingly, we can make better sense of the poet's description if we try to understand his narrative technique and, like the ancient audiences, follow his presentation from moment to moment. Hans van Wees has done this convincingly by distinguishing in battle descriptions between birds' eye views or panoramic perspectives, overlooking the entire army or battlefield, and close-up views that focus on individual duels (van Wees 1994, 1997). This technique allows the poet to zero in on the protagonists' deeds without letting the audience lose sight of the important fact that these deeds are part of a much larger whole: a battle consisting of innumerable duels along an extended battle line.

Third, as Hermann Strasburger once put it, audiences would have no problems in accepting the heroes' superhuman feats and endurance, but they would insist on realism in matters of everyday life: how things were done (for instance, a horse was hitched to a chariot), and how people interacted with each other, privately and communally. Such realism was needed to enable the listeners to identify with the main problems and dilemmas played out before them on the heroic level, without being distracted by practical matters.¹² Applying this principle, we should assume, for example, that audiences would be willing to accept the heroes' *aristeiai* (extended and phenomenal solo performances in battle) that surpassed anything even the bravest fighters they knew had ever accomplished (like chasing an entire army and mowing down opposing fighters in droves), as long as the modes

12 Strasburger 1953: 105 'The horses need their fodder'.

of fighting and the form of battle essentially corresponded to what they were familiar with from their own experience. In other words, from the audiences' perspective and expectation, the epic heroes usually did not differ from ordinary humans in how they did things; they only did them with much more strength, endurance, and intensity. This principle again allows us to lift heroic exaggeration off the picture and to reconstruct the audiences' real-life experiences. The result (mass fighting in pretty dense battle formations, a distant forerunner of what would become the hoplite phalanx) has been firmly established by Latacz's, van Wees's and my own research; it is confirmed by evidence long recognised as close to the poet's time (such as the similes), by other features of the battle description, and by explicit comments, again made in passing. By now this is accepted even by former sceptics such as Anthony Snodgrass (Latacz 1977; van Wees 1994, 1997; Raaflaub 1997c and 2005b; Snodgrass 1993).¹³

Fourth, the application, with due caution, of insights from other disciplines has yielded remarkable results. From the perspective of anthropology, Walter Donlan has illuminated not only social terminology and human relations but also specific stories that have long puzzled scholars: the unequal exchange of armour between Glaucus and Diomedes or Achilles' and Agamemnon's duel with gifts. Egon Flaig has used political theory to elucidate in unexpected but compelling ways not only the Spartan method of voting by shouting but also some of the principles at work in epic assemblies. One of the most fascinating examples of what we can learn through such approaches are Jonathan Shay's and Larry Tritle's studies (based on personal experience and intensive work with war veterans) that demonstrate beyond any doubt that the poet (and his listeners) were deeply and troublingly familiar with the impact of war on the human psyche and behaviour (Donlan 1999: 267–82, 321–44; Flaig 1993, 1994, 1997; see also Hölkeskamp 1997; Shay 1994; Tritle 1997; 2000).

Finally, it helps to ask where specific ideas might have originated or what models the poet may have used in his description. The idea of a panhellenic enterprise could have been passed down from the Bronze Age if the Bronze Age had developed a panhellenic perspective (which we do not know) and if it survived through the Dark Ages (which I find unlikely). It could also be the result of recent developments in the time of Homer, for which we do have independent confirmation in the emergence of panhellenic games, regional leagues, and the phenomenon of panhellenism itself, for which the epics themselves are a powerful testimony (Morgan, *Oracles*; Tausend 1992; Ulf 1997; Nagy 1979, 1990: chs 1–3). We might thus try to understand the epics consciously by adopting their presumed late eighth- or early seventh-century perspective. As is amply confirmed by independent evidence, this period was used to raids by warrior bands and the beginning of warfare between neighbouring poleis about control of land. We understand that

13 Cartledge 2001 remains sceptical. How the chariots fit into the picture remains a problem; very little seems historical, most of it 'heroic elaboration' based on vague and distant memories.

(whatever the historical core of the Trojan War story) the *idea* of a panhellenic expedition, led by a Mycenaean king, across the Aegean to conquer Troy, a great city defended by a pan-Eastern coalition, could have been suggested by a combination of recent trends such as the emerging concepts of heroes and a heroic age, historical consciousness, and panhellenism, and the acquaintance with the massive ruins of Mycenae and Troy, the greatest known at the time (Hampl 1975). But, I submit, to both poets and audiences of this period, used to much more limited actions and dimensions, it would have been very difficult to imagine the *concrete details* of such an enormous undertaking. Hence to fill in the 'heroic frame', the poet seems to have adopted models with which his time was thoroughly familiar. One is an expedition undertaken for the purpose of acquiring plunder or exacting revenge by a warrior band under the leadership of one or several elite leaders. Expanded by one dimension, that of the Mycenaean overlord, and blown up to gigantic dimensions, this concept fits the Achaean naval expedition in the epics perfectly well. But this army eventually turns its bridgehead at the edge of the Trojan plain into a fortified camp. Thereby it is assimilated to the central settlement of a polis. True, it is an improvised one, limited to the time of the war, and unusual because of the absence of families, but even much later the polis was perceived as movable and defined as a community of men, and otherwise this one has all the characteristics of such a settlement: streets and alleys, division into quarters, squares for sacrifices and rituals, a market place, an agora for assemblies and other communal events, walls, and gates. The war between 'Achaes' and Troy thus is assimilated to a bitter conflict between two poleis at both ends of a fertile plain – a model well attested from Homer's time. By adopting such models, the heroic war became imaginable and manageable.¹⁴

I should emphasise that these are just a few of the approaches that have proved productive in the difficult task of interpreting the epics historically. They promise more results and should be pursued further. Other methods are no doubt available and equally promising. I think that on this level, too, comparison with other heroic epics could help solidify past and future results – or make us more critically aware of dangers and pitfalls. Hence, as much as we have achieved already, we are still at the beginning and much exciting work remains to be done.

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14 Raaflaub 1993: 47–8, with reference to movable poleis; on the latter see also Herodotus 1.163–8, 170.2; 8.61–2. On polis as a community of men see *Alc.* 426 Campbell; Herodotus 8.61; Thucydides 7.77.7.

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Part VI

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GREEK REGIONS
AND BEYOND

THE PALACE OF IOLKOS AND ITS END

Vassiliki Adrimi-Sismani

Excavation at Dimini (Thessaly) started in 1977 to the east of the Neolithic settlement, in the alluvial plain at the foot of the mound (Figure 25.1), where architectural remains of the Late Bronze Age were brought to light (Adrimi-Sismani 2000a). These buildings were regarded as important because they were associated from the beginning with the well-known tholos tombs, excavated in Dimini at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

In addition, during the last twenty years many rescue excavations have taken place in the plain where strata dated from the Early Bronze Age to the LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early were discovered. According to the results of the recent excavations, we could argue today that Dimini was not abandoned at the end of the Neolithic period, as we thought before, but was continuously inhabited into the Bronze Age. During the Early Bronze Age habitation is traced in the plain located to the east of the Neolithic settlement. The latter was founded towards the sea after a geological event. According to Zängger (1991) this event can be dated to the fourth millennium BC. The more recent excavations uncovered in the deeper strata houses dated to the Middle Bronze Age, but mostly houses dated to the Late Bronze Age, which were part of a large Mycenaean settlement.

The architectural remains found just below the surface uncovered the layout of the Mycenaean settlement during its last phase of occupation, while the pottery found associated with it is of a late LH IIIB or LH IIIC Early style. The excavations showed that the Mycenaean settlement at Dimini was founded at the end of the fifteenth century and flourished during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Very few architectural remains are dated to the early Mycenaean period (LH I and II) and are associated with the Matt-Painted Polychrome ware of the

Since 1997 the following archaeologists have been working at the excavations on Dimini: Alexandrou Stamatia, Andreou Antigone, Pantou Panagiota, Patrikiadou Efi, Rousioti Dimitra, Chrisopoulou Helen as well as the conservators: Dionysiou Manolis, Papanastasoulis Thanasis, Staikou Zoi, the drawers: Rini Eleftheria, Mpizeni Paraskevi and the architect Georgiou Rea. The Institute for Aegean Prehistory funded the library at the Archaeological site at Dimini and was responsible for photographing the architectural remains and the small finds.

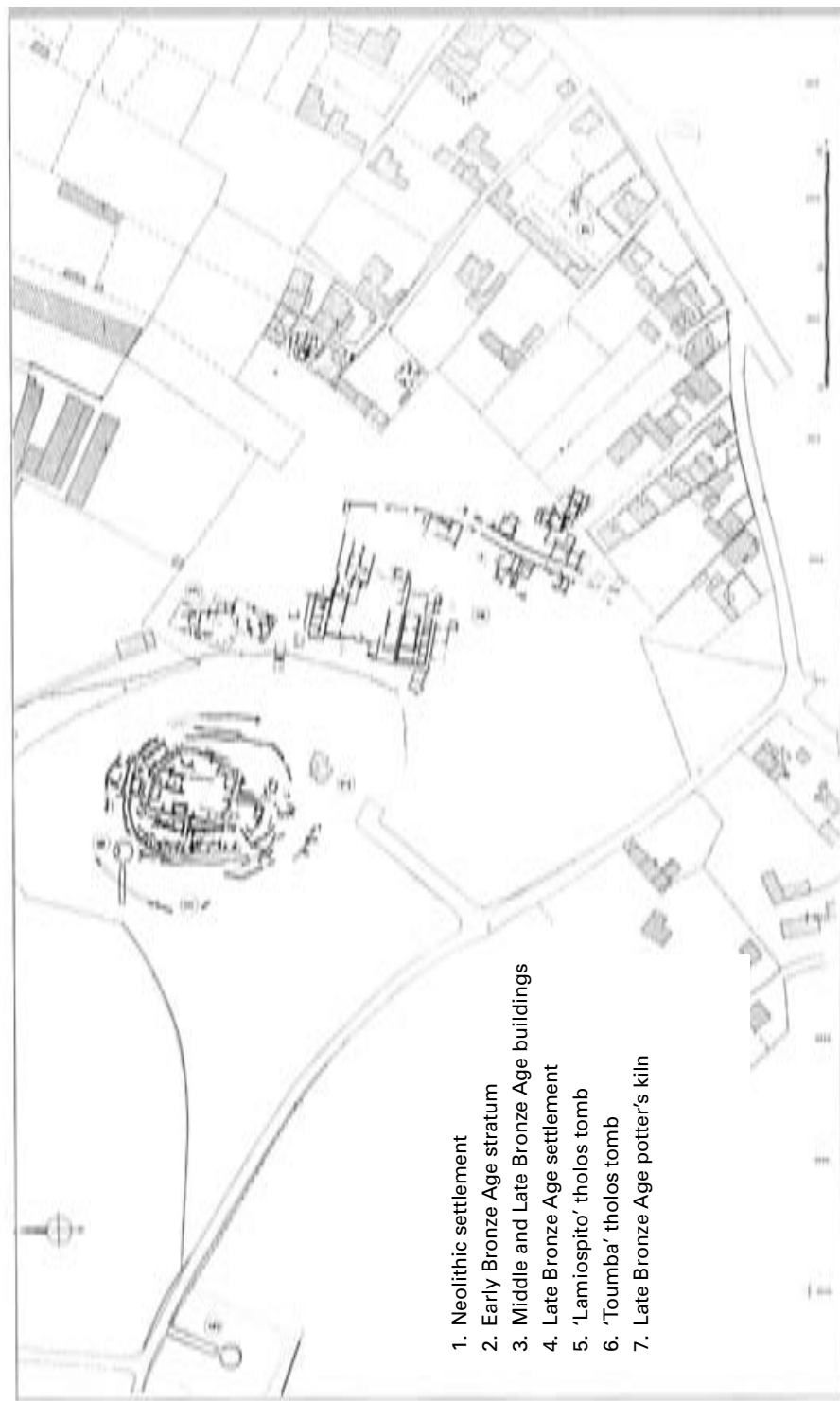


Figure 25.1 Plan of the archaeological site at Dimini

Middle Bronze Age style which was continuously in use. The LH IIIA and LH IIIB–LH IIIC Early phases are well represented by the architectural remains.

Eleven blocks of houses dated to the Mycenaean period were excavated from 1977 to 1997. In addition, a large potter's kiln (diameter 3.80 m) was excavated at the eastern limits of the settlement, dated to LH IIB, which corresponds with the earliest phase of habitation in the settlement (Adrimi-Sismani 1990; 1994: 27; 1999). In particular, five houses were excavated first with a clearly domestic function, built to the west and east of a central road (Adrimi-Sismani 1992: 272–8). The road is 4.50 m wide and at least 95 m long; it is paved and had a substratum of pebbles. It was flanked by walls with no openings. All the houses are of rectangular shape and have the same orientation, which is parallel to the orientation of the road. The houses, with stone socle and mud-brick superstructure, were comprised of several rooms around courtyards where wells were also located. One of the most regularly planned houses had a main room with a hearth and two smaller rooms at the back. A fenced corner in one of the rooms of this house contained a bull figurine and a possible altar, suggesting the existence of a domestic shrine. Several rooms were used for storage and as specialised working areas. All the houses contain clay baths and in several cases evidence of the drainage system was uncovered. Additions to and renovations of the houses can be traced in two main architectural phases dated to the fourteenth century (LH IIIA2) and the thirteenth century (LH IIIB2–IIIC Early).

At the end of the thirteenth century (LH IIIB2 period) the Mycenaean settlement had a clear urban plan. The layout indicates a complex, well-organised community with central planning and craft specialisation. At present, Dimini offers the most complete picture of a Late Bronze Age community, unique in Thessaly. The flourishing of the settlement in the LH IIIB2 period can be shown by the expansion of the habitation area and the addition of new rooms to the houses. This also suggests an increase of the population. How large the population was, however, is at present difficult to estimate, nor is it possible to say how large the settlement was.

Since 1997 electromagnetic research has also been conducted at Dimini (Sarris 2001). The aim of this project was to locate the Mycenaean settlement and to find out the extent of the central road. The result of the electromagnetic research was a group of maps which revealed the existence of architectural remains to the south and to the east, covering a great part of the plain, at least ten hectares. Excavations during the last five years proved the accuracy of the geophysical research and uncovered an important building complex. The complex consists of two Megaron-type buildings, namely Megaron A and Megaron B and a central court (Adrimi-Sismani 2002, fig. 4). This large building complex also had a number of workshops, storage rooms and habitation rooms. It is unique in Thessaly, as far as its dimensions and function are concerned and it has been interpreted as an administrative centre.

The construction of the large building complex on the slope of the hill, in a less prominent location, is quite interesting. This position differentiates Dimini from

other important Mycenaean settlements, since no traces of Mycenaean remains were uncovered on the hill itself. So the argument that the Mycenaean Megaron should have been on the top of the hill has no basis in the case of Dimini, since no architectural remains were uncovered on the hill, the size of which is not adequate for a large administrative complex.

Megaron A (Figure 25.2) consists of two wings of rooms with a corridor between them (Adrimi-Sismani 2000b). To the west and the south of it, a group of store rooms was built which were connected to the Megaron A through a long corridor. An intact clay spout seems to have been placed originally at the end of the sloping roof of the building.

The north wing of Megaron A consists of three large rooms and an open court with seven columns forming a peristyle. Access to this court is possible through a small room which had a floor covered with white lime plaster and a wooden bench across the two walls. In the columned court a chimney has been found, but this was not associated with a hearth (Blegen and Rawson 1966: pl. 271.7, 8; Tournavitou 1999: 836; *Nichoria II*, 464: P3872). The main access is on the road to the east of Megaron A, where a *propylon* has been discovered recently. The space between Megaron A and the *propylon* has not been completely investigated. The court with the peristyle in Megaron A lies right next to Rooms 6 and 8, which had a floor and walls covered with white lime plaster at the time of their destruction. Room 8 seems to be the centre of Megaron A. At the centre of this room is located a rectangular clay hearth with an edge. The construction of this room is quite carefully made and the walls are one metre wide.

The south wing of Megaron A consists of ten small rooms which were used for storage and for workshops. It should be noted that on the floor of the corridor, just outside workshop Room 9, six stone moulds have been found suitable for the production of metal jewellery and tools. Together with the moulds were found stone and bone tools and small objects which were used for metalworking (Adrimi-Sismani 2003a). Extremely interesting is the discovery of a double-faced mould which was used exclusively for making beads and rings (Reinholdt 1987: 8–10, pl. 2e). All these finds suggest that some of these rooms in the south wing were used also as workshops. It should be noted, however, that no traces of fire, hearths or other installations related to smelting have been uncovered in any of these rooms. It is possible that either the large rooms A and B to the south or the open courts were used for smelting purposes. Among the most interesting finds from Megaron A is a stone object inscribed with Linear B script which was discovered in the workshop, Room 19 (Adrimi-Sismani and Godart, forthcoming). Finally, a trial trench excavated in the corridor of the Megaron A uncovered traces of an earlier building below the Megaron which had the same orientation and carefully made walls dated to LH IIIA2.

Megaron A and its storage rooms and workshops were destroyed at the end of LH III B2 and the beginning of LH IIIC Early. A certain cause forced the collapse of the plaster on the wall: storage Rooms A and B as well as the small rooms



Figure 25.2 Plan of the Mycenaean settlement at Dimini with find spots of the pseudo-Minyan and the hand-made burnished ware

in the south wing were found full of debris, containing wall plaster and quantities of pottery. The painted pottery of this debris is dated to LH IIIB2–IIIC Early period (Figure 25.3) and is comparable with pottery from the Argolid, but at the same time it also has many local characteristics. The rest of the rooms and especially the large rooms of the west wing, as well as the court with the peristyle were cleared of the plaster and re-occupied after the destruction. The inhabitants who lived for a short period in the ruins made a number of architectural changes. They built a wall eastwards and created Room 6, and they opened a door to the corridor in order to use Storerooms 4 and 5. Furthermore they constructed a hearth in the same room and repaired part of the floor plaster in Room 8 with white plaster of inferior quality. Finally they built vertical walls in the space between

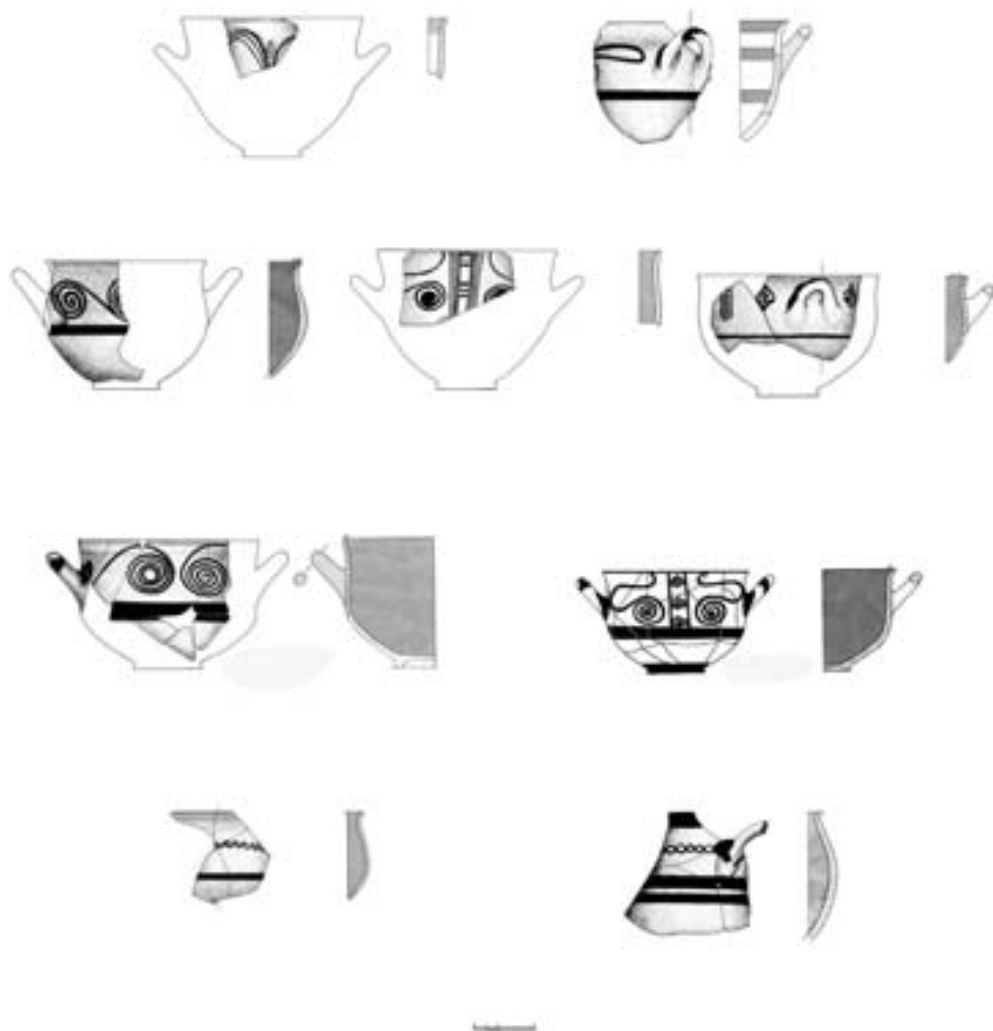


Figure 25.3 Deep bowls (FS 284) from the destruction levels

Megaron A and the *propylon* in the central road and restricted access to the court. These repairs are at present being studied. We are trying to find out whether they were made by the previous inhabitants of the building or by new arrivals. A change in the population is suggested by the discovery of an interesting class of pottery found only in the rooms which were re-occupied. In rooms where no such re-occupation took place after the destruction, no such pottery was found (Figures 25.4 and 25.5). The pottery is of the so-called Grey pseudo-Minyan wheel-made polished style (Adrimi-Sismani 2002: 100–1, fig. 14). This ware was found together with hand-made burnished pots which have vase types so far only found in Thessaly. What is interesting, however, is that they are not similar to the hand-made cooking pots produced locally during all the phases of the Mycenaean period (Figures 25.6 and 25.7). In addition, typical painted Mycenaean pottery was also discovered dated to the LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early periods.

Megaron A along with its storerooms and workshops is connected through a large court with another building complex, Megaron B. Megaron B has the same orientation as Megaron A and was destroyed in the same period as Megaron A (Adrimi-Sismani 2003b). In Megaron B an intense fire caused the collapse of its roof. The whole building has a destruction stratum consisting of carbonised woods, mud-bricks and, clay plaster. Large quantities of LH IIIB2–LH IIIC



Figure 25.4 Pseudo-Minyan ware from Megaron A



Figure 25.5 Open shapes of the Pseudo-Minyan ware

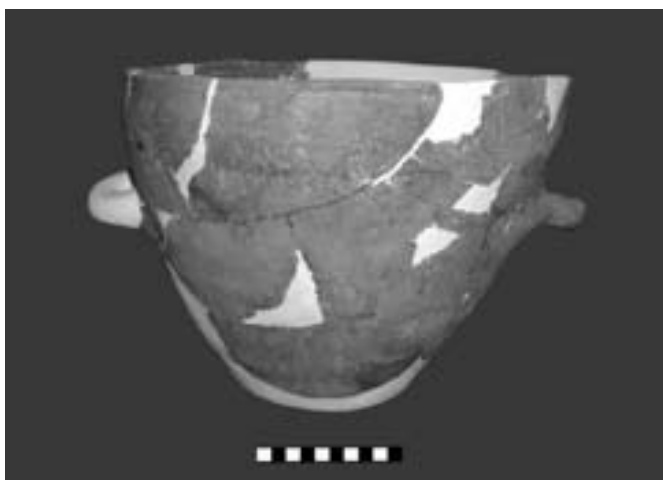


Figure 25.6 Hand-made burnished ware from Megaron A

Early pottery were found below this destruction level. Most of the pots, which preserved traces of burning, were uncovered intact on the floors, especially in the storage rooms. A large intact collar-necked jar (FS 64) – mended from many sherds – is one of the examples which could be safely dated to the LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early period (*Perati*, pl. 76c; Renfrew 1985: 86; Mountjoy 1994: 144–5). It is decorated with a horizontal wavy line between the two large handles and had three low feet.



Figure 25.7 Pseudo-Minyan ware from Megaron A

The main part of Megaron B consists of the *aithousa*, *prodomos* and *domos*. The main entrance is located to the east, on the central road which crosses through the settlement. At the center of *prodomos*, a large clay H-shaped altar was found; it had an elliptical low platform to the east, covered with clay (Adrimi-Sismani 2002: 102, figs 18–19). Behind the altar were discovered two triangular mud-bricks with circular holes. A stone base was found in front of the altar in the central axis of the room, which was perhaps used as an offering table. The fact that the road leads directly to the altar reminds us of the procession scenes towards an altar decorated with branches found on frescoes and rings from Mycenae (Mylonas 1977: 29–30, 53). In the case of Megaron B the altar seems to have been decorated with branches or corn ears which could have been placed in the holes. The discovery of a large intact painted mug in front of the altar suggests that libations took place on it. The *prodomos* links to the south with three small rooms, in one of which a stone bench was discovered.

The presence of the altar in the *prodomos* of Megaron B is unique in Mycenaean Thessaly and suggests the existence of a well-organised cult centre. Thus the discovery of such an important cult centre clearly shows that well-organised religious practices – mainly processions and libation – took place at Dimini. Just behind the *prodomos*, the *domos* is located; access to it was possible only through the large court between the two Megara and Room 3. On the floor of Room 3 was uncovered the collar-necked jar mentioned above, as well as

carbonised wood which was identified by Kuniholm as olive, oak and pine. In this room was also found a large lead vessel, melted due to the severe fire, which was placed in front of the door leading to the storage rooms. Next to it was located a large tripod cooking pot. It appears that the remaining small portable objects were removed from the rooms, since there might have been time to do so before the destruction.

Outside the south entrance to Room 3 there was one more important find: a large limestone slab with hollowed surface was placed on the ground and next to it a group of important finds related to cult and religious offerings. In particular in front of the slab were found: a kylix sherd inscribed with Linear B script; a miniature mug; an *alabastron*; a sherd with pictorial style decoration; sherds from at least two *rhyta*; a gem; nine female terracotta figurines; six small bovine figurines; a terracotta miniature throne with a seated figurine; bronze pins.

To the north of Megaron B is located a wing of storage rooms which is connected to the central part of the Megaron by a long corridor. This corridor probably leads to a wooden staircase and a second floor. The storage rooms contained a large quantity of pottery and clay storage facilities. Among them were found the following: a stirrup jar for the storage of oil; a painted *rhyton*; a bone comb; a Canaanite amphora with potter marks on the handles; a stone tripod mortar (Adrimi-Sismani 2002: 103–4, figs 20–5). Apart from large quantities of pots, these storage rooms also contained carbonised seeds of olives, cereals and grapes, which confirm that olives, olive oil, cereals and wine were part of the diet of the people of Dimini. Finally, below the magazines of Megaron B and the court with the *peristyle* of Megaron A, we found evidence of a central drainage system.

The excavations in Megaron A and B are still in progress. According to the present data the whole building complex was destroyed by an unknown cause, which was responsible for the collapse of the white lime plaster in Megaron A and for the fire in Megaron B. The destruction of the two Megara is contemporary and according to the Radiocarbon dates given by the Democritus laboratory in Athens it took place between 1292 and 1132. According to the study of the pottery the destruction took place at the transitional phase LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early. The pottery below the destruction layer is a closed deposit and its study will give us a better understanding of the production of Mycenaean pottery in Thessaly during this period. In addition, only in Megaron A is there evidence of re-occupation of the building complex. The pottery found on the floors of the re-occupied rooms has been compared with the pottery from the rooms which were not re-occupied and from the debris of Megaron B. The first conclusion from this comparison is that there are no chronological differentiations between the two Megara based on the pottery dated before the destruction. The careful study of the pottery proved that the re-occupation of a part of Megaron A took place on a relatively small scale just after the destruction and that it lasted for a short period of time within the LH IIIC Early period (Adrimi-Sismani 2004). So after

a short period living among ruins the inhabitants of Dimini, although they partly renovated some buildings, finally abandoned the site in the LH IIIC Early period.

The only pottery groups which are different are the Grey pseudo-Minyan and the hand-made burnished wares, found in those rooms of Megaron A which were re-occupied, as well as the eastern room of Megaron B (Figure 25.8). The same kind of pottery was found in the open courts (Figures 25.9 and 25.10), and such wares were also found in selective houses within the settlement (Figures 25.11 and 25.12). At present, we do not know whether this pottery was imported or locally made but clay analysis will perhaps give us an answer.

The new finds from Dimini have brought up again the discussion about the origin of both the pseudo-Minyan and hand-made wares discussed first by French and then by Rutter (French 1969; Rutter 1990). Kilian argued that the pseudo-Minyan ware is dated to the LH IIIC Early period and that it was produced along with the hand-made burnished ware in many Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland (Kilian 1988: figs 8aB, 8bB). Small on the other hand (1990; 1997) argued that the hand-made burnished ware was the result of a change in agricultural management that took place in the LH IIIC period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system.

We should also mention that both pseudo-Minyan and hand-made burnished wares are absent from the nearby settlement at Pevkakia in the Pagasitikos Bay, which has been identified with the harbour of Iolkos. The excavations conducted



Figure 25.8 Hand-made burnished ware from Megaron B



Figure 25.9 Hand-made burnished ware

by Milojevic, Theodoris and Efstathiou showed that Pevkakia was contemporary with the settlement of Dimini, and was destroyed and abandoned in the transitional phase from LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early (Efstathiou-Batzidou 1994).

Kilian has found, however, both types of pottery at the settlement of Palia/Kastro, which is situated near Volos. Palia/Kastro was founded at the end of the fifteenth century and was continuously inhabited throughout the Mycenaean period. Kilian argued that pseudo-Minyan wares were produced in Mycenaean shapes at the site. The settlement at Palia/Kastro was identified with Iolkos by the first excavators, but during the LH IIIA and IIIB period the site does not appear to have been an administrative centre. It is only after the destruction of both Dimini and Pevkakia and from the LH IIIC Middle onwards that the settlement at Palia/Kastro took control of the area (Efstathiou-Batzidou 1998, 1999; Malakassioti and Efstathiou-Batzidou 2002).

According to the recent excavations, however, it is only Dimini which during the LH IIIA and LH IIIB periods seems to have been an administrative centre: the site as we have seen had a large building complex, two tholos tombs and evi-

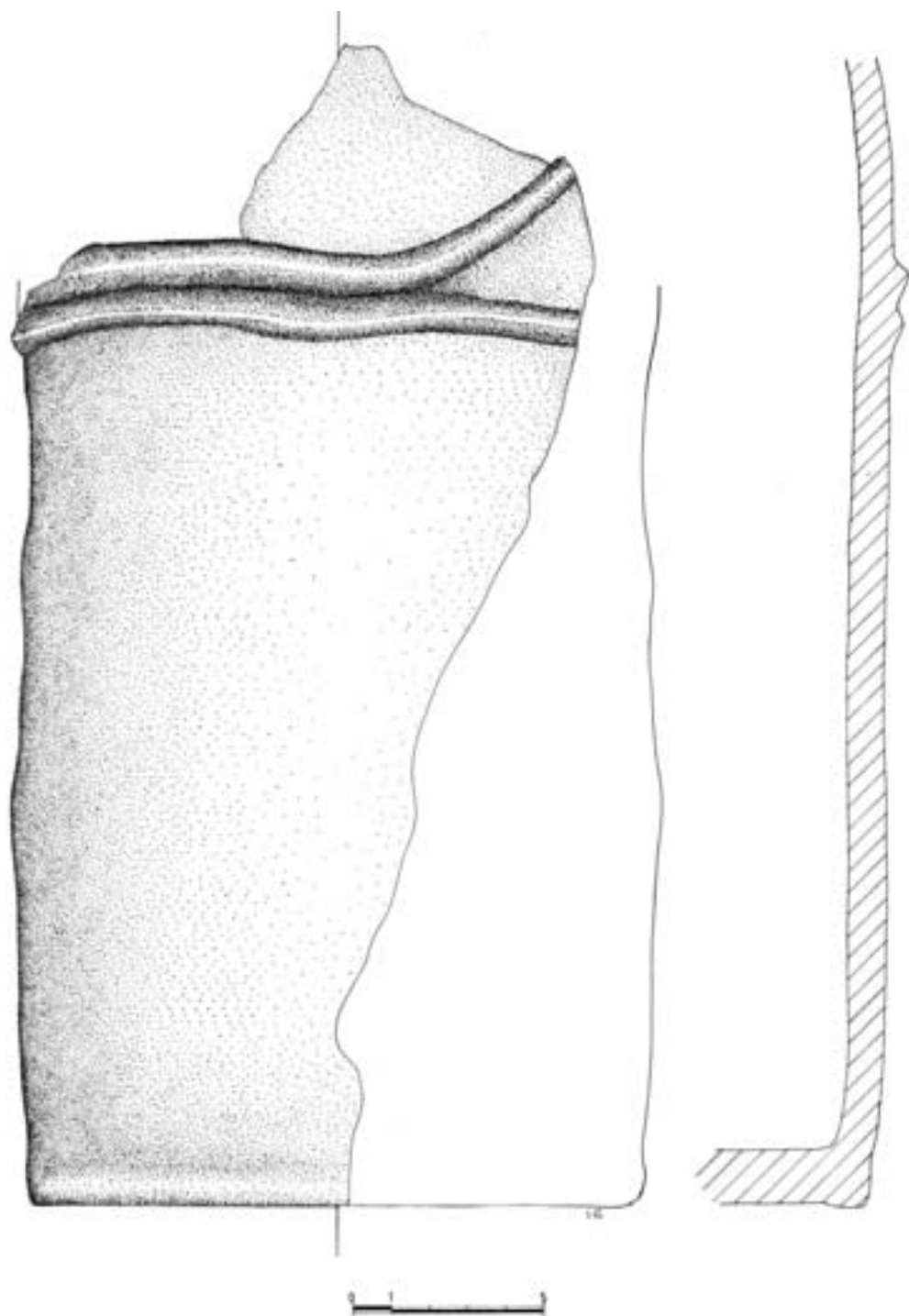


Figure 25.10 Hand-made burnished ware



Figure 25.11 Hand-made burnished ware from House Z

dence of both Linear B script and of an official cult. This northern administrative centre of Mycenaean Greece was also destroyed at the end of LH IIIB and the beginning of LH IIIC period, as was the case with the other Mycenaean palaces in the Peloponnese. The cause of destruction of the administrative centre at Dimini cannot be attributed to an earthquake but future research might provide us with an answer to the question.

The existence of an earlier building dated to LH IIIA2 with orientation similar to that of Megaron A and the two tholos tombs suggests that an elite group was established at Dimini as early as the fourteenth century. These local rulers, whose power was greatly increased in the course of the thirteenth century BC, were playing a significant role in cult practices and religious processions, which ended at the sacred altar of Megaron B. In addition, it seems that they had their own 'royal craftsmen' who were serving both their needs and other professional demands. They were also supervising craftsmen working for the administrative centre. Possibly when their access to raw materials was limited they did not hesitate to organise great overseas expeditions in order to acquire them.

Thus, the Mycenaean settlement at Dimini could be identified with the legendary



Figure 25.12 Pseudo-Minyan ware from House Γ

Iolkos, the well-built and spacious town of Homer. The town that was the birthplace of Aiolides, and the point of departure for the first famous overseas expedition of Jason and Argonauts in quest of the unexplored areas of the Black Sea.

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EARLY IRON AGE ELITE BURIALS IN EAST LOKRIS

Fanouria Dakoronia

Until recently the history of East Lokris was not well known. The ancient history of the region was based either on the ancient sources or on the visible ancient remains which were of uncertain date and significance. During the last twenty-five years, however, the activities of the 14th Ephorate of Antiquities – consisting mostly of rescue excavations conducted under the direction of the author – have brought to light much new evidence for the history of the region. It is noticeable that some of the most remarkable discoveries made in the area belong to the LBA and the EIA.

East Lokris is the coastal area of central Greece extending from Thermopylae to Halae, sharing boundaries to the south-east with Boeotia, to the west with Phokis and to the north with the Spercheios Valley where the Malians were located (Strabo 9. 406–7; 9. 425–6; Dakoronia 1996: 1167–73). East Lokris also lies opposite Euboea and according to Homer was the homeland of the two famous heroes, Patroclus and Aias the Lesser (*Iliad* 2. 527–35). Although Homer refers to the eight cities which took part in the expedition against Troy, it appears that he ignores the West Lokrians.

East Lokrians were known in the ancient literary sources as Opountians, named after the capital of the Lokrians. They are also known as Epiknemidians or Hypoknemidians, adjectives defining the inhabitants of the area of the lowlands and hills around Knemis, a mountainous chain extending along the west and southwest border of East Lokris.

The main plain of East Lokris is the Opountian, which is now known as the plain of Atalante and where the majority of the rescue excavations took place. This plain is densely populated, and thus a number of public works, constructions of buildings, and agricultural activities are carried out in the area.

East Lokris lies on the main road from the north to the south of Greece and at a strategic position for communication both by land and by sea. This location dictated, and still does, the fate of the inhabitants of the area. Friends and allies, enemies and conquerors have passed through East Lokris throughout its history and with them various fashions and ideas. So the cultural products as well as the way of life of the Lokrians display characteristics of other cultural areas of

Greece, for example Thessaly, Euboea, Attica, Boeotia, and Corinth. All these influenced to a certain extent the cultural production of the Lokrians who, however, at the same time kept many of their own tastes and idiosyncrasies, reflected in their activities and customs (Dakoronia 2002: 22–3).

Early Iron Age burial plots have been excavated in the area and allow us to define better the character and the nature of the culture enjoyed by the Lokrians during this period. In this chapter, however, I discuss only the burial plots found at Atalante. This is because they provide us with the most obvious cases of elite burials which are in fact the topic of this contribution.

Before discussing the Early Iron Age burial plots at Atalante, it is important to note that a number of Late Bronze Age sites – both cemeteries and settlements – have also been found in excavations in East Lokris. The finds from these excavations illustrate that East Lokris was part of the Mycenaean World. Remarkably, however, among the numerous graves of the period one cannot distinguish even a single burial which might be characterised as an elite burial, or even one of a high social status. In the graves of the Late Bronze Age, apart from vases which occur in sufficient numbers but in a limited range, all other burial gifts are either absent or rare. For example, gold and other precious metals are absent, while bronze artefacts are scarcely found. So far only one pin, one bronze ring with spiral ends, a tweezer and two small knives have been discovered. Neither weapons nor bronze vessels have been found together with Late Bronze Age burials. Seals and figurines are also very few, while jewellery consists of a couple of beads, one made of amber. There are some steatite spindles, but these cannot be taken as prestige goods. It appears then from these finds that the Lokrians of the period enjoyed some kind of equality in their society.

When we turn to the Early Iron Age, however, the picture is totally different. The two cemeteries discussed in this paper were found in two plots during rescue excavations conducted prior to the construction of modern buildings.¹ The plots were found a short distance from each other and are located in the southwest part of the modern town of Atalante. This implies that they belonged to the same extensive cemetery which was located outside the city walls of the ancient town.² Excavations conducted in the last twenty-five years also support the view that modern Atalante occupies the area of an important ancient town. According to ancient authors the only important town in East Lokris was Opous (Dakoronia 1993: 120; Fossey 1990: 68–74).

At the plot of Karagiorgos (Figure 26.1 and Table 26.1) ten graves were excavated, of which seven were in cist tombs of the standard type, one was a pithos burial and two were sarcophagi made of limestone (Dakoronia 1985: 165–7). The

1 Another Early Iron Age cemetery has also been investigated at Tragana, south of Atalante (Onasoglou 1981).

2 Part of the archaic city wall of the ancient town was excavated some 100 metres north of the cemeteries and it has been suggested that the Iron Age fortification might have been there too (Dakoronia 1988: 222; Bouyia 2001: 67–75).

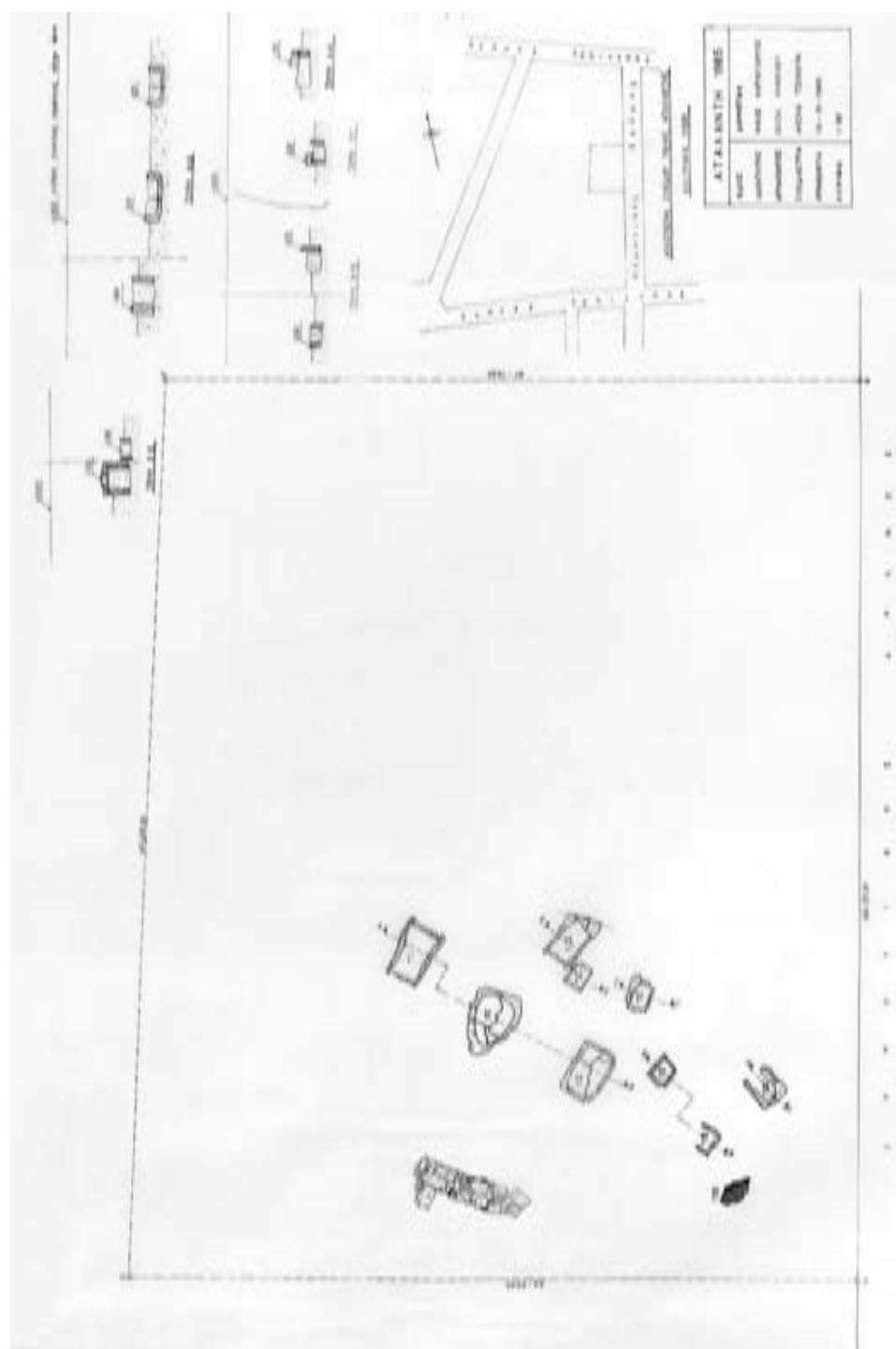


Figure 26.1 The graves in Karagiorgos plot

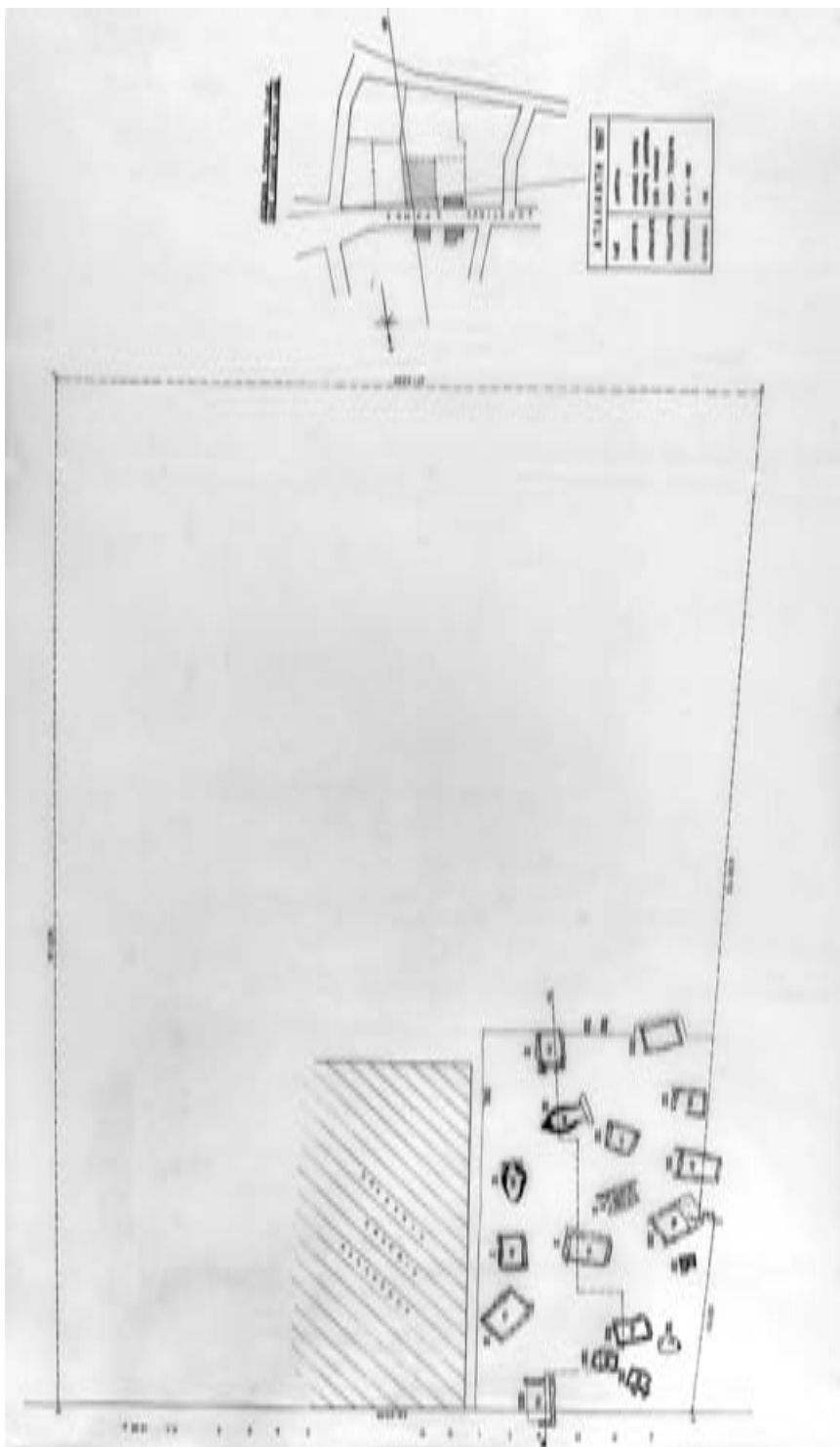


Figure 26.2 The graves in Gouras plot

Table 26.1 Karagiorgos Plot

Burial gifts	Karagiorgos lot									
	Grave I	Grave II	Grave III	Grave IV	Grave V	Grave VI	Grave VII	Grave VIII	Grave IX	Grave X
cup wheel-made	X			X				XX		X
cup hand-made										
oenochoe wheel-made	X	XXXX	XX						XXXX	
oenochoe hand-made	XXX							X		
alabastron	X	X		X						
flask		X								
skyphos		X	XX		X				X	
pyxis			X						X	
krater		X								
jug wheel-made										
jug hand-made							X			
hydria wheel-made										
hydria hand-made										X
amphora										
spearhead	X									
knife		X								
sword		X								
shield-boss		X								
bronze bowl		X	X							
bronze ring	XXX	XXXXX	XXXXXXX					XX	X	
pin	X		XX					X		
fibula										
sceptre		X?								
necklace (beads)									X	
golden spiral			XX							
steatite spindle			X							
iron sickle			X							
rock crystal bead			X							

Table 26.2 Gouras Plot

Burial gifts	Grave I	Grave VI	Gouras lot				Grave IX	Grave X	Grave XII	Grave XIII
			Grave VII	Grave VIII						
cup wheel-made							X	XX	X	X
cup hand-made	X			X			X	XXXXXXXX		X
oenochoe wheel-made		X		X					X	
oenochoe hand-made							X			
alabastron										
flask										
skyphos				X						
pyxis										
krater										
jug wheel-made						X		XX		X
jug hand-made								X		
hydria wheel-made										
hydria hand-made										
amphora							X			
spearhead										
arrowhead										
knife										
sword										
shield-boss										
bronze bowl			X							
bronze ring			X	XX						
pin			XXX	XX					X	
fibula			XXXXX					XX		

Table 26.2 (continued)

Table 26.2 (continued)

Burial gifts	Gouras lot							
	Grave XIV	Grave XV	Grave XVI	Grave XVII	Grave XVIII	Grave XIX	Grave XXII	Grave XXIII
cup wheel-made	XX	XX	X	XXX	X	XXXX		XX
cup hand-made						X		
oenochoe wheel-made	X					X		XX
oenochoe hand-made		X			X	XXX	X	
alabastron					X			
flask								
skyphos						X		X
pyxis								X
krater								
jug wheel-made	XX							
jug hand-made	XX	X						
hydria wheel-made								
hydria hand-made								
amphora								
spearhead	X	X		X	X			
arrowhead								
knife	X							X
sword								
shield-boss								
bronze bowl								
bronze ring								X
pin								
fibula								XXX

Table 26.2 (continued)

Burial gifts	Grave XIV	Grave XV	Gouras lot				Grave XXII	Grave XXIII
			Grave XVI	Grave XVII	Grave XVIII	Grave XIX		
sceptre								X
diadem								X
pendant								X
necklace (beads)				XX				XX
golden spiral								XXXX
steatite spindle								
obsidian blade	X							
rock crystal bead								
bracelets				XXX				XX
bronze spiral								X
seeds		X	X					
stone bead				X				

Table 26.2 (continued)

Burial gifts	Gouras lot								
	Grave XXIV	Grave XXV	Grave XVII	Grave XVIII	Grave XXX	Grave XXXI	Grave XXXII	Grave XXXIII	
cup wheel-made				X	X		X		
cup hand-made		X				X			
oenochoe wheel-made	X					X	X		
oenochoe hand-made					X	X			
alabastron									
flask									
skyphos	X							X	
pyxis	X								
krater									
jug wheel-made									
jug hand-made							X		
hydria wheel-made									
hydria hand-made									
amphora									
spearhead									
arrowhead									
knife							X		
sword									
shield-boss									
bronze bowl									
bronze ring	XX		X						
pin	XX		X					XX	
fibula									

Table 26.2 (continued)

Burial gifts	Gouras lot					
	Grave XXIV	Grave XXV	Grave XVII	Grave XVIII	Grave XXX	Grave XXXI
sceptre						
diadem						
pendant						
necklace (beads)						
golden spiral						
steatite spindle						
obsidian blade						
rock crystal bead						
bracelets						
bronze spiral						
seeds						
stone bead						

other burial plot was found in the Gouras property (Figure 26.2 and Table 26.2), where thirty-three graves were located (Dakoronia 1987: 226–8). Seventeen of them were cist tombs, fourteen were burials in pithoi or large vases and two were simple, pit burials. Adult and child burials were indifferently buried in cist tombs or in pithoi. Richly furnished burials were attested both in cist tombs and in pithoi but those considered to belong to members of the elite were deposited either in cist tombs or in the sarcophagi. All cist tombs were of small dimensions, and the dead were deposited in a strongly contracted position. The same practice was also applied for the pithos-burials. The orientation of the graves was generally east-west and the dead were buried with the head to the west.³

Cist tombs and pithos burials cannot be distinguished chronologically. The burials were found at almost the same level. Occasionally a cist tomb was found higher than or just above a pithos or a pot burial and vice versa. This implies that both practices were used simultaneously. The graves can be dated from the end of the tenth to the middle of the ninth century BC.

The most popular offering in the graves is pottery; some burials were given a number of vases, others only one or two. The most common vases found in almost



Figure 26.3 Monochrome painted jugs (Gouras plot, Grave XXXVI)

³ It is noticeable that a contracted position for the dead was a common practice in East Lokris from the Middle Bronze and through the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. It was also practised as late as the classical period. Such a position was the rule even when the dimensions of the grave permitted the extended position of the body, as for example in the Mycenaean chamber tombs (Dakoronia 1979: 58).



Figure 26.4 Monochrome alabastron (Karagiorgos plot, Grave I)

all the graves were the cup and the oenochoe with a trefoil mouth. Equally popular is the jug, especially the version with a cylindrical body and black glazed decoration (Figure 26.3). Cups are always found together as a set with either an oenochoe or a jug. Another popular shape is the skyphos. A common shape is also the alabastron or handleless jar (Figure 26.4). This shape occurs in either a wheel-made version, which is painted monochrome, or it can be hand-made. This shape appears to be both of local inspiration and production. Amphorae are rare and only two examples were found; the larger one was found outside a cist tomb, the smaller was deposited in a cist tomb.

Pyxides are well represented, and they were found either with or without a lid. Two of them are of large dimensions (Figure 26.5). In one case a pyxis was found containing bronze beads (Figure 26.6). It is also interesting to note that kraters and large sized skyphoi were found outside a cist tomb. Two lentoid flasks with painted decoration were also found in cist tombs (Figure 26.7). Both flasks were found in graves associated with weapons. The scarcity of lekythoi is intriguing. Interestingly, a third of the total number of vases is hand-made; all are of good quality hard clay with few enclosures. Their shapes are mostly cups, oenochoi,



Figure 26.5 Pyxis with lid (Gouras plot, Grave XXIX)



Figure 26.6 Pyxis with bronze beads inside (Karagiorgos plot, Grave IX)



Figure 26.7 Flask (Karagiorgos plot, Grave II)

and jugs. The vases found outside the graves suggest that funerary rituals had taken place: perhaps some kind of libations in which the cups and the jugs were used or other ceremonies involving the kraters and the amphorae.

Another characteristic of the Lokrian cemeteries of the period is the abundance of metal artefacts. Almost every grave of any type contained at least one offering made of metal, usually bronze. The most popular offerings are dress-fasteners, such as pins and fibulae. Bronze rings were also found in the graves together with bronze or gold spirals, bronze bracelets and pendants. Necklaces were also offered to the dead; they were made either of bronze, glass or faience beads. Bronze bowls were found in three of the graves. Three graves contained an iron spearhead or arrowhead; another three contained one iron knife each. One grave had an iron spearhead together with an iron knife. Weapons, exclusively of

iron, were deposited indifferently in cist or in pithos-burials, so it is clear that the type of the grave does not indicate the status of the dead. Curiously in two graves obsidian blades accompanied the dead. In five graves cereals were collected during the excavation, an indication either of a ritual or of a deposition of gifts of organic materials.

Three out of forty-three graves appear to belong to burials of a high social status because of the type of the grave and/or the burial gifts. One of them, grave II found in the Karagiorgos plot, belonged to a man who was fifty-four years old. He was buried in an unusual, egg-shaped sarcophagus made of limestone (Figure 26.8). Perhaps this was an expensive imitation of a pithos. The dead man was buried contracted and was given an iron sword, an iron knife and a shield with a bronze shield-boss (Figure 26.9).⁴ In the same burials a bronze bowl, four oenochoai, a skyphos, a cup and a flask were also found. The dead man was also given five bronze rings. Near his arm a thick and heavy artefact with a spherical head and made of iron was found (Figure 26.10). This object cannot be a dress-pin but it can be interpreted either as a tool or a sceptre (Kourou 1994: 203–27). Outside the grave a big skyphos was collected, an indication perhaps of a ritual which took place after burial. This dead man was obviously a warrior.

Another sarcophagus, burial III which was found close by in the same plot, contained the skeleton of a fifty-year-old woman. She was also buried in a contracted position with her head to the west, in a sarcophagus that was also made of limestone and was rectangular in shape with rounded corners. The burial was accompanied by two oenochoai, two skyphoi, a pyxis, a bronze bowl and an iron sickle (Andronikos 1969: 266–8, fig. 104). She had two iron pins with bronze heads on her shoulders, nine bronze rings on her fingers, similar to those of the man, and a pair of golden earrings. A bead of rock crystal and a steatite spindle were perhaps heirlooms. These might have served as amulets.

The quantity and the quality of the burial gifts, together with the type of the grave – a sarcophagus, which was more expensive than a simple cist tomb – suggest that the buried woman, perhaps the wife or a close relative of the warrior buried nearby, enjoyed a high social status.

The third burial was deposited in a cist grave, grave XXIII in the Gouras plot, which contained the skeleton of a dead person buried also in a contracted position. The gender of this burial is still unidentified but the quantity and the types of the burial gifts are indicative. The body was accompanied by a trefoil mouthed jug, a pyxis, a cup, a skyphos, a small oenochoe, a miniature cup, and an iron knife. He or she wore two bronze bracelets, three bronze rings, one bronze and four golden spirals, a necklace of faience beads, a necklace of bronze beads, a glass bead and a bronze pendant of a rare form resembling a club (Figure 26.11). Such pendants have been found in shrines, especially in Thessaly (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979: 57–9, nos 348–53 and pl. 21). On the chest and the shoulders of

4 For the so-called Naue II type, see Snodgrass 1964: 93–113; Andronikos 1969: 261–5.



Figure 26.8 Limestone sarcophagus (Karagiorgos plot, Grave II)



Figure 26.9 Bronze shield-boss from a grave in Karagiorgos plot



Figure 26.10 Bronze object (? sceptre) (Karagiorgos plot, Grave II)

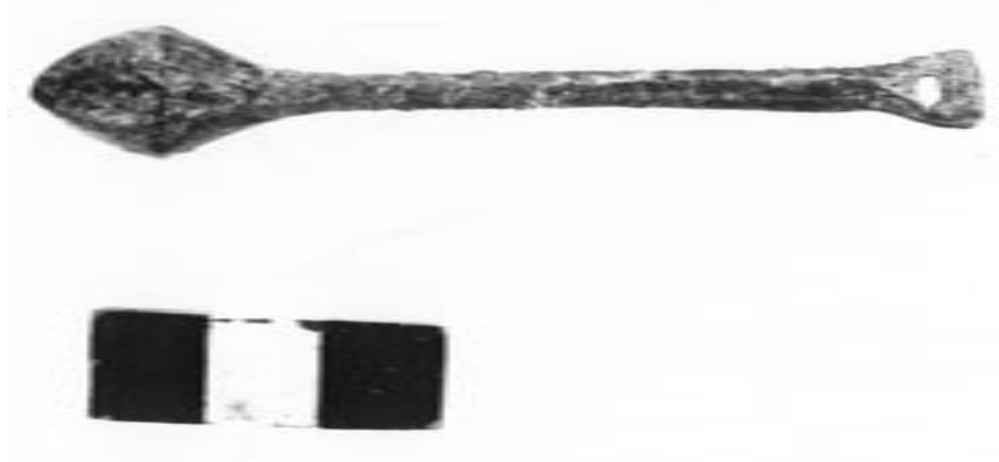


Figure 26.11 Bronze pendant (Gouras plot, Grave XXIII)

the body, one bronze spectacle fibula and two smaller bronze fibulae were found, as well as a pair of iron pins with bronze beads and another, more simple, iron pin with a bulbous head.

An unusual and indicative object accompanied this body: a unique bronze diadem with a double axe (Figure 26.12) worn on the head.⁵ This diadem was not the only unusual artefact in the grave. Along the right arm of the body an enigmatic object was found: a bronze cylindrical stab crowned by a heavy cast bronze ring (Figure 26.13). Since the object has no holes it cannot be interpreted as musical instrument (perhaps an aulos). The only possible interpretation is that this was also a sceptre, perhaps of organic material (wood) with bronze sheathing (Kourou 1994: note 13).

It is not possible to argue that the reason that these three burials are considered to be of an elite status is because of the number of vases given to them (Coldstream 1989: 330–1). For example, another grave in the cemetery contained almost twice the number of vases. The presence of the golden spirals also cannot indicate elite status (Coldstream 1989: 329, n.18), because two golden spirals were found in another burial together with three vases, two bronze rings and a pair of iron pins with bronze beads. These gifts are common in the graves of the cemetery. We might consider that perhaps the offering of weapons can be a criterion of elite burials. But again, this cannot be the case because there are a number of burials with one spearhead or only one arrowhead or an iron knife and with vases associated with them, some of which might even be hand-made. I think that the occurrence of a spearhead or a knife associated with a burial indicates that the individual was a member of a military rank, which formed of course an

5 For similar diadems see Andronikos 1969: 251–4.



Figure 26.12 Bronze diadem with double axe (Gouras plot, Grave XXIII)



Figure 26.13 Bronze object (? sceptre) (Gouras plot, Grave XXIII)

important component of the society but which was not necessarily part of its ruling class.

Bronze vessels in the case of Atalante are shown to be somehow related to the status of the dead since two of the graves described above contained one bronze bowl each (Coldstream 1989: 328). A third bronze bowl was found in a cist grave which contained no pottery. The body, probably that of a woman, was furnished with a fairly good number of ornaments, such as two bronze bracelets, one bronze ring, one bronze spiral, a necklace with bronze beads, two bronze fibulae, one bronze fibula with four spirals of northern type (Kilian 1975: 149–50, no. 1715), two bronze pins and one of iron. There is no doubt that the woman belonged to a rich family. Social status and wealth may have been closely associated but wealth does not always presuppose that the dead belonged to the ruling class, especially when the burial is a woman (Keswani 1988: 245).

The location of the three graves described above was not distinguishable among the others of the cemetery. They were not marked by markers or tumuli or enclosures nor were they placed on a higher level but among the other less rich graves. For these reasons one might argue that these burials were considered 'primus inter pares'. Exceptional are, however, the burials in the two sarcophagi. These two graves show careful elaboration, which is an indication of the high status of the dead, as at other sites such as Lefkandi.

In the graves at Atalante, one can observe a combination of characteristics that until now many scholars have interpreted as indications of status. If this is the case, then half of the graves found in the two cemeteries should be considered as elite burials. I believe, however, that the finds show simply that the society of the period enjoyed a hierarchy and a diversity of social stratification (Rupp 1989: 358).

What then differentiates the three graves chosen as examples of elite burials from the others in the cemetery? First is the accumulation in one grave of many indexes, such as vases, military equipment, jewellery, gold, bronze vessels, dress ornaments, elaborated form of the grave; secondly the presence of rare objects of symbolic character such as the diadem, the sceptres, the sword and the shield, which are considered to be exceptional burial gifts (Snodgrass 1988: 345–6). We can also add that in the area of Atalante, among the seventy Early Iron Age graves, only one sword and one shield were found.

It has become clear from the above discussion that a number of parameters, such as the presence of heirlooms, gold or the elaborated type of the grave do not *a priori* mark a grave as that of a member of the elite. Only when these are combined do they define the burial as an elite burial. If this is indeed the case, then in East Lokris a burial can be considered to be that of an elite member only if he or she combines quantity and quality of finds together with the added symbolic value given to the various offerings.

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ATHENS AND LEFKANDI: A TALE OF TWO SITES

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In terms of the sources of our knowledge of them, ancient Athens and Lefkandi might be said to occupy the extremes of a continuum. In the case of Athens, we have more information from literary sources than for any other Greek city. Lefkandi, however, is unknown to the literary sources, to the point where we do not even know its ancient name,¹ and it was only discovered in the 1960s by a British survey of Euboea.² It is, however, archaeology and not the ancient sources which give us more reliable information about the early history of both Athens and Lefkandi,³ and indeed, archaeological discoveries provide enough evidence to suggest that both sites were occupied through out the Bronze Age. Although they both continued to play an important role in the Early Iron Age, Lefkandi appears to have lost its prominent position at the end of the eighth century, while Athens continued to be a focal site up to the modern day. This continuous occupation of Athens, however, deprives us of a complete archaeological picture of its early history. Apart from the systematic excavations in the Kerameikos and the Agora, the rest of the town has been investigated only by rescue excavations from which we rarely have fully published reports. Moreover, the Athenian Acropolis had to experience not only continuous occupation but also several cleaning operations after destructions or rearrangements, and even the occasional bombardment, throughout its long history of use.

1 For the ancient name of the site see Popham in *Lefkandi I*: 423–7 and discussion in Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 203–4.

2 The site was excavated after a survey conducted by Hugh Sackett, Mervyn Popham and others (Sackett et al. 1966). The location of the site next to the Lelantine plain and between the two well-known ancient cities of Eretria and Chalkis suggested to the first excavators that it must be of some importance. I believe, however, that it is fair to say that they would have never anticipated its significance for the history of early Greece.

3 In this chapter I am not going to use later literary sources in order to reconstruct the early stage in the history of the two sites but only archaeological material. So questions related to the synoikismos or the autochthony of the Athenians or possible scenarios for the end of Lefkandi related to the Lelantine war will be left out.

ATHENS TO THE END OF THE LH IIB

It is generally believed that there was a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis but the only evidence for its existence is a column base and possibly some steps which according to Iakovidis have proportions and workmanship comparable to those found in the west staircase of Mycenae and other palaces (Iakovidis 1962: 173–8; 1983: 86).⁴ However, despite later building activities, one would have thought that if there was an ‘imposing megaron complex’ on the Acropolis, then more evidence of it might have survived. The exact position of the assumed palace is also uncertain (Iakovidis 1983: 86–8).⁵

But apart from the remains on the Acropolis – or the lack of them – a number of chamber tombs and domestic deposits, mostly in the form of wells and rubbish dumps, provide more evidence of LH Athens. These have been located in three areas: to the north, to the south, and to the east of the Acropolis.⁶

To the north tombs and wells were located in the north slope of the Areopagus and in the area of the later Agora. Tombs were built there in LH IIB. The wealthiest are dated to the LH IIIA1 phase and were located in the north slope of the Areopagus and the Kolonos Agoraios (Immerwahr 1971: 98; Mountjoy 1995: 29; *Regional Mycenaean*: 493). Another cluster of burials was located in the east side of the Agora beneath the Stoa of Attalos (Immerwahr 1971: 98–9; Townsend 1995: 9).⁷ During the next stage – LH IIIA2 – more tombs were built in this area but with fewer burials deposited in them.⁸ In addition a rubbish dump is dated to this stage. It was found close to the later north-east Stoa (Immerwahr 1971: 248–50).

4 The earliest remains found on the Acropolis are dated to LH I by Iakovidis – following Kavvadias and Holland, who excavated them. These remains consisted of walls found north of the Erechtheion (Iakovidis 1962: 69–70, fig. 5; 1983: 75, fig. 9).

5 Considering the date of the construction of the palace, Mountjoy (1995: 23–4) re-examined the slight evidence for the construction of the five retaining walls which were built to accommodate Mycenaean buildings. First, it is noticeable that such material was found in connection with the construction of the terraces and not buildings. This material consists of four groups of sherds initially published by Iakovidis (1962: 240–3) but now lost. Mountjoy dated them from photographs to the LH IIIA1–A2 phase and not to the early LH IIB, a date suggested by Iakovidis. She then argued that the terraces and the palace were built during LH IIIA1–A2, a date which she believed fits better with sequences in other Mycenaean citadels. It is obvious, however, that any discussion of the terraces and the possible palace is based on meagre evidence.

6 Both Pantelidou (1975) and Mountjoy (1995; *Regional Mycenaean*) give good summaries of the evidence during the LH period.

7 Another tomb was found near the Hill of the Nymphs and west of the area of the later Agora; the tomb is located close to others excavated in the area and Immerwahr suggested that they probably belong to the same cemetery (Immerwahr 1971: 178; Pantelidou 1975: 51–3; Mountjoy 1995: 31). More tombs came to light in the more recent excavations conducted by Camp (2003: 254–73) under the Classical Building II to the north-east of the Stoa Poikile. They are dated mostly to LH IIIA1 which is the period of the richest burials found within the area of the later Agora and the north slope of the Areopagus.

8 Mountjoy has redated some of the pottery in tombs which have been considered by Immerwahr to belong to LH IIIA2, see discussion in Mountjoy 1995: 37–8.

In the next LH IIIB phase, fewer tombs were found in the area of the later Agora, but interestingly more wells or dump deposits were opened during this period (Immerwahr 1971: 254–61; Mountjoy 1995: 47).⁹

Moving to the south of the Acropolis, first we note the material found in five wells on the south slope which are dated to LH IIIA1 by Mountjoy (1981; 1995: 25–8). She suggested that these deposits were either generated by some sort of cleaning operation which took place in the supposed palace on the Acropolis or more probably from houses built on the south slope. Further to the south, two more wells have been found; these had a long period of use from the LH IIB to the LH IIIB. They too belong to domestic dumps (Pantelidou 1975: 123–6).¹⁰ To the west of this area, a cluster of chamber tombs was found dated to LH IIIA1,¹¹ while further to the west and on the east slope of the Mouseion Hill, another chamber tomb has been excavated and dated to the LH IIIA period.¹²

Further to the south of where these tombs and wells were cut, another important cemetery has been excavated. It is located in the south slope of the Philopappos hill and on the north bank of the Ilissos River; some of the largest in size and richest chamber tombs were found there. Burials started as early as LH IIA1 and continued into the LH IIIC Middle period. The same area was used for burials during the SM and EIA too. This burial ground must have been one of the most important Athenian cemeteries, belonging to a wealthy community which lived in the vicinity.¹³

Another burial ground has been investigated in the south and south-eastern area of the Acropolis.¹⁴ Excavations there revealed tombs dated from the LH IIB to the LH IIIA1. Interestingly this is another area which was occupied also in the EIA.¹⁵

Lastly, to the east of the Acropolis and in the area of Hadrian's Gate and the Olympieion, a number of deposits have been found and dated from the LH IIA to the LH IIIB (Pantelidou 1975: 140–1; Mountjoy 1995: 17). These are domestic deposits and they must have come from a settlement which was probably located on the northern banks of the Ilissos River.

9 Sherds, but no other remains, from this period were found on the north slope under later LH IIIB/C houses. They might have come down from the Acropolis but equally they might be from earlier occupation of the slope (see Mountjoy 1995: 28).

10 These are Pantelidou's Wells 2 and 3 found in Kavalloti Street.

11 For a full discussion of the material see, Pantelidou 1975: 57–66; Mountjoy 1995: 32.

12 The tomb was found robbed but see discussion in Pantelidou 1975: 54–7.

13 Most of these tombs were found in rescue excavations along Dimitrakopoulou Street and others in Aglaourou Street (Pantelidou 1975: 71–112; Onasoglou 1979; Mountjoy 1995: 17, 32–5, 46, 61).

14 This is the area roughly around the Makrigiannis complex – the site of the new Acropolis museum. Several LH and EIA tombs were found in the area. More tombs and deposits were found there during the construction of the Metro, see Parlama and Stampolidis 2000: 40–3, 51–2.

15 Most of the tombs are from rescue excavations and have been discussed in Pantelidou 1975: 66–9 and Mountjoy 1995: 21, 32–3.

Thus in these three main areas around the Acropolis we have evidence of chamber tombs and some indications of domestic occupation in the discovery of wells and dump deposits. What we do not have from Athens, however, are any tholos tombs.¹⁶ Recent discussion has shown that this does not necessarily imply the absence of palatial organisation (Darcque 1987). So we cannot argue that because we do not have them that there was no palace on the Acropolis. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suggest that the evidence itself on the rock is insufficient and so we cannot claim without any doubt that there was one. There might equally have been a mansion such as in Menelaion in Laconia or megaron style complexes such as on Gla in the Kopais.

We may, however, agree with Pantelidou and others (1975: 223–4; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 485–7) that since at least the beginning of the LH period Athens was made up of three or more settlements. We can assign chamber tombs to each of them and, where we have found them, the domestic wells and pits. The sheer distances between the various cemeteries and wells indicate that these could not have belonged to one community. Whether, however, these communities were unified under a wanax, who had his seat on the Acropolis, or whether the fortifications on the Acropolis were built in times of danger, remains in my view uncertain.¹⁷

It is the fortification wall which provides us with the most substantial remains on the Acropolis. This was most probably constructed towards the end of LH IIIB (Iakovidis 1962: 205–6; 1983: 80).¹⁸ The enceinte followed the entire brow of the Acropolis and had its main entrance to the west (Iakovidis 1962: 166–73).¹⁹ The reconstruction of the main west entrance to the citadel has occupied the efforts of many generations of archaeologists.²⁰ The debate has

16 There are a number of them known in Attica, in Thorikos, Menidi, Spata and Marathon. For short descriptions of LH sites in Attica, see Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 485–9. For the lack of tholos tombs in Athens, see discussion in Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 56, 78; Mee and Cavanagh 1990: 259–41.

17 It is hard to know which one of these cemeteries was the burying place of those who lived on the Acropolis. A possible cemetery is the one on the north slope of the Areopagus but this cemetery has fewer burials after LH IIIA2. See discussion by Mountjoy and Immerwahr above and Camp 2003: 254.

18 The dating of the fortification wall is based on pottery found in three locations: in the south-east of the museum, near the bastion of the temple of Nike, and under the foundation of the north part of the wall above the north-west terrace (Iakovidis 1962: 244; Mountjoy 1995: 40–1).

19 Another surviving part of the fortification wall is in the north. At this point there was another entrance with a north-east ascent leading to the north slope of the Acropolis. It has been suggested that this ascent was blocked when the fortification wall was built in LH IIIB (Broneer 1933: 351–6; Iakovidis 1983: 81–2). For the construction date of the stairway see now Gauss 2003: 98. See below for further discussion relating to this area during the LH IIIC.

20 See Wright (1994), Mark (1993) and Eiteljorg (1993) for the history of the research and for interpretation and reconstructions of the west entrance. Wright proposed that there was an earlier defence system at the western gate consisting of a bastion and a terrace and that the west approach to the citadel was further improved with an overlapping gate system in the later LH IIIB following similar ways of improving defensive systems found in other citadels during this period (1994: 348).

been mostly focused on whether the gate had monumental scale and on whether the bastion (underneath the later temple of Athena Nike) was an integral part of both its appearance and defence²¹ or whether the west entrance was reinforced and improved during the later part of the LH IIIB, as was the case on other Mycenaean citadels. During the same period steps were taken to secure the water supply on the Acropolis. This was achieved by constructing a stairway on the north slope of the Acropolis which led down to a natural fissure in the rock and reached an underground spring. Such a resourcefully constructed underground fountain reminds us of similar efforts which were made at Mycenae and Tiryns (Broneer 1939: 317, 326–46). Broneer argued (1939: 417–29) that the stairway was constructed at the same time as the fortification wall at the end of the LH IIIB. The pottery found in the fissure is dated to the LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Early. Scholars agree with the excavator that the staircase was used only for one generation (some twenty-five years) and then it was abandoned and used as a dump since pottery of the LH IIIC Middle period was also found in it.²²

So it is apparent that by the end of the LH IIIB fortification walls and the Fountain House show that the inhabitants of Athens took similar decisions to defend their Acropolis like those in other Mycenaean citadels.²³

The abandonment of the Fountain House early in LH IIIC brings us to the period which coincides with the end of the palatial era in other Mycenaean centres and probably in Athens too.

ATHENS IN LH IIIC

On the Acropolis, during the early stage of LH IIIC, there is evidence of occupation in the north slope and in particular in the area of the north-east ascent (Broneer 1933: 352–5). Broneer found a deposit of a LH IIIC Early date just above the stairs of the north-east ascent. He suggested that it came from houses built on the top of the steps of the ascent which were abandoned shortly after, and before the end of the phase. Rutter, however, could not find any trace of such

21 In discussions over the years of the debate it is interesting to see how a number of walls have been assigned to a variety of periods ranging from the Mycenaean to the Medieval. This shows the difficulty of reconstructing with certainty diachronic building activities in the area of the Propylaea. See discussion of Tanoulas (1987).

22 For the construction of the stairs and the use of the Fountain House see Broneer 1939: 346; Iakovidis 1983: 82–5; Mountjoy 1995: 43–4.

23 A hoard of bronze objects (assorted weapons, tools and a bowl) was found in a narrow gap between the fortification wall and one of the houses in the south part of the enceinte. It has been catalogued by Spyropoulos (1972: 63–78, 92–7). Mountjoy (1995: 50–1) re-examined the pottery (two sherds) found with it and dated one sherd to the transitional phase from LH IIIB to IIIC. Given that the hoard must have been hidden after the construction of the fortification wall, her dating is presumably correct. For a discussion of LBA hoards see Knapp, Muhly and Muhly 1988, especially pp. 246–8. For the Tiryns hoard see in this volume Maran and Papadimitriou.

houses just above the steps but only in the area between the north-east ascent and the fortification walls (see Gauss 2003: 98).²⁴

Moreover the remains of walls in the north slope of the Acropolis have been included in the discussion concerning the so-called Pelargikon wall. It is known that both literary and epigraphical references have initiated a long debate as to its location and date (Iakovidis 1962: 179–89; 1983: 84–6; Travlos 1971: 52–5; Camp 1984).²⁵ Traces of this wall survived on a terrace below the north fortification wall of the classical period. Scholars agree that was part of an outwork built in the LH III period to defend further the west approach to the citadel and also to secure water supplies. Camp suggested that the Pelargikon was built after the collapse of the Fountain House to secure a water supply from two reservoirs found under the classical Klepsydra and dated to the LH IIIC period.²⁶ He might be right since apart from the archaic wells, the area was clearly used during the end of the LH IIIC period as shown by the discovery of two ‘cuttings’ found beneath the classical paved court in front of the Klepsydra which contained pottery dated to the end of the LH IIIC. Moreover Smithson (1977, 1982) also suggested that the installation of the prehistoric Klepsydra served as a replacement for the Mycenaean Fountain and that it was inside the Pelargikon. It appears that activity around this area continued into the transitional stages from the LH IIIC Late to Early Protogeometric.²⁷

Less certain, however, is the date of walls found north-west of the fortification wall above the bastion and below archaic walls (Iakovidis 1983: 87).²⁸ The same applies to two or three rooms located in the south-east corner of the fortification wall and below the museum. These rooms might belong to one or more houses built alongside the fortification wall (Iakovidis 1983: 87). It has been shown that these were built after the wall but their date is unclear. Iakovidis dated them to after the construction of the fortification wall and before the archaic remains. The pottery, however, found in the shaft of the Fountain House was dated to the

24 Rutter's observations are commented on by Gauss who in a more recent study of the material found in the area of the north slope suggested that there are certain similarities between the pottery which dates the final use of the underground fountain and the pottery deposit found in the area of the north-east ascent to the LH IIIC Early phase (Gauss 2003). Mountjoy dated the same material in the transitional phase from LH IIIB2 to IIIC early (*Regional Mycenaean*: 495).

25 These walls consist of rough dressing of stones (which were probably used for the foundation) and a few in situ blocks next to the fissure in which the Fountain House was constructed and were built first parallel to the steps of the north-east descent and then following the brow of the terrace (Iakovidis 1962: 189–99; 1983: 84–5, fig. 16).

26 A group of wells located in this area and dated to the archaic period were associated by Camp with the Peisistratids incidents in the sixth century and their seizure of the Acropolis (Camp 1984; Papadopoulos 2003: 302–5).

27 This has been based on the detailed analysis of the pottery found in the filling which was dumped in the overflow channel of the Classical Klepsydra (Smithson 1982: 149–52). See also discussion in Gauss 2000 for the date of the pottery found in the area and its importance, and Smithson (1977) on the LH IIIC domestic deposits.

28 No pottery has been assigned to these remains, so the date of their construction is uncertain (Mountjoy 1995: 55).

LH IIIC Middle (Broneer 1939), and confirms that the Acropolis was occupied during the whole of the LH IIIC. The pottery, especially of the middle phase of LH IIIC, is of good quality and shows that the inhabitants were aware of developments taking place in other centres during these periods (Broneer 1939; Mountjoy 1995: 56; *Regional Mycenaean*: 497–8).

As for the funerary data of the LH IIIC, the evidence from the area of the later Agora indicates that during this phase only a few burials were deposited in re-used tombs (Immerwahr 1971: 181–90).²⁹ In the other areas located to the south and the east of the Acropolis we have a number of burials made in this period. Particularly interesting is the ‘warrior’ burial found in the south slope of the Acropolis. Although this burial cannot be securely dated on the basis of the pottery found there, Mountjoy has shown that some of the metal offerings and especially the pair of greaves cannot be dated to either an earlier or later date than LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1984).³⁰ More burials, however, were made by re-using chamber tombs in the north bank of the Ilissos River (Pantelidou 1975: 91; Onasoglou 1979). Domestic occupation also continued in the area to the east of the Acropolis, where the two earlier deposits, discussed above, were filled with LH IIIC Early pottery (Pantelidou 1975: 76–96, 130–5; Mountjoy 1995: 53; *Regional Mycenaean*: 496–8). It is worth noting, however, that during this stage too the most important cemetery was not located in Athens but at Perati on the east coast (Iakovidis, *Perati*).

SM ATHENS

SM Athens is represented by a large number of burials found in new and old cemeteries around the Acropolis. Some of the burial plots are newly used while others are located close to or at sites which were also occupied in the earlier LH III period.³¹ Interestingly, a number of tombs dated to this period were also found on the Acropolis. Most of them are child-burials which suggest that they were probably intra-mural burials made close to houses. If this is indeed the case, we may then assume that the Acropolis was inhabited during this stage.³²

To the south of the Acropolis and close to LH III locations, SM tombs were found around the area of Markigiannis and further south in the valley of the

29 More recently, however, Papadopoulos assigned to the Final Mycenaean/SM phase some of the tombs which were dug in the bedrock in the area of the Hephaisteion (Papadopoulos 2002: 156).

30 For the warriors burials in this period see Deger-Jalkotzy in this volume.

31 Some 230 or more burials are assigned to this period. Their number, however, must be higher because they usually come from rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service whose reports take longer than others to appear. Styrenius (1967) and more recently Mountjoy have lists of most of them (1995: 63–6). For more recently found SM tombs in Syntagma Square, see Parlama and Stampolidis 2000: 162–5.

32 For the most detailed analysis of the SM tombs found on the Acropolis see Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998. This study includes a full bibliography on the SM and EIA finds from the Acropolis.

Ilissos River where the important LH III cemetery discussed above was also located. The former area must have also been an extensive cemetery which continued to be used into the EIA. Burials were also made in the area to the east and near the Olympieion, where the LH III dump deposits were found.

In the north a number of burials were made in the area of the later Agora but also further to the north more SM tombs have been discovered in various clusters. The most important of them is the cemetery found in Kriezī Street which continued to be used into the EIA. This is located to the north of the Pompeion cemetery – a cemetery which, in my view, was also established at the very beginning of the SM period.³³ Another cemetery which starts during this period was found at Vasilissis Sophias Street. Interestingly, most of the cemeteries founded in SM continued into the PG and the G periods. It is equally important to note here that the SM period is marked by the introduction of a new rite: single burials mostly in cists but also in pits and shafts replaced multiple burials in tombs. SM Athenians were buried in flat cemeteries and the earlier chamber tombs were abandoned.³⁴ We also have a few cremated burials which are secondary cremations, a rite which becomes the main burial practice in Athens during the PG period.³⁵

Apart from the indirect evidence on the Acropolis, almost no settlement deposits were found dated to this period. The exception is one of the wells on the north slope of the Acropolis which continued to receive pottery during this period and until the very beginning of the EPG (Smithson 1977).

ATHENS IN THE TENTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

The beginning of the Early Iron Age coincides with the appearance of the PG style of pottery. Athens is one of the few sites in the Aegean together with Lefkandi and Knossos which used the new technology during the course of the late eleventh and early tenth centuries (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 101–3).

During this period in Athens, the same areas were used for burials as in the previous SM. However, the richer burials – with weapons, dress-ornaments and several vases – are to be found mostly at the Kerameikos and, from the little we know from preliminary reports, also at the cemetery in Vasilissis Sophias Street. Cremation is at this time the main burial practice. The usual form of cremation

33 Mountjoy has argued that the Pompeion cemetery had already started to receive burials in the LH IIIC period. But I still believe that what is important at this cemetery as it is for the others founded in this period is not whether some LH IIIC pots have found their way into SM tombs, but the introduction of a new burial rite and the foundation of a new cemetery (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 6–8). For the re-dating of the few tombs at Pompeion see Mountjoy and Hankey (1988) and see a recent, stimulating discussion of style and chronology in Ruppenstein 2003.

34 Note, however, that one SM amphora might have been the last offering of a burial in one of the earlier chamber tombs at Dimitrakopoulou Street, as noted by Mountjoy (1995: 67).

35 It is interesting to note that the earliest cremated burials were made in Perati, on the east coast of Attica, see Iakovidis, *Perati* and also the summary in Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 186–7.

was that of placing the incinerated bones of the dead together with some personal ornaments in an urn, usually an amphora. Then the urn was placed in a hole dug at the bottom of a rectangular shaft together with more offerings. This type is known as the 'trench-and-hole' cremation. The wide use of the trench-and-hole type by most of the adult population has been rightly noticed as an important development (Whitley 1991: 114–16; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 155–7).

It is, however, in the early ninth century that burials with rich offerings comparable to those in Lefkandi made their appearance in the Athenian cemeteries. A number of them were found in the Kerameikos, and in particular on the south bank of the Eridanos River, while another group with rich pottery and other offerings was buried in the north slope of the Areopagus. It is indeed during this period that more rich offerings were given to the dead including gold funerary ornaments, and imports from the Near East such as faience beads and bronze bowls.³⁶ Whitley (1991: 137–8) noted that a combination of exotica and the offering of vases which display a style assigned to specific gender and status can clearly be seen as manifestations of hierarchical patterns emerging during the ninth century.

In contrast, it is not clear whether the Acropolis continued to be inhabited during this phase. The detailed analysis of material (mostly sherds) dated from the PG to the MG periods by Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998: 27–30, 43–5) shows that the evidence is uncertain and we cannot say with any confidence whether there was still a settlement there.³⁷

Despite the meagre evidence found on the Acropolis, Papadopoulos advocated the view that the Acropolis was the only settlement in Athens during the EIA (2003: 297–316). He argued that the fact we have so little evidence from this period is due to the later building activities which removed any traces of EIA occupation.³⁸ It is of course possible that the Acropolis continued to be partly inhabited

36 For a discussion of the burial plots in Athens during the EG and MG periods see Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*; Morris 1987 and Whitley 1991.

37 Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998: 28–9) have pointed out that the discovery among the finds from the Acropolis of one clay bead – made in the so-called Attic Incised Hand-made Ware – might belong to a burial since such beads are often found in graves and especially those of children and women.

38 Papadopoulos argued that the EIA remains were in some way less likely to survive as they were the latest on the Acropolis before the major building activities of the sixth century (2003: 298). Nevertheless, the EIA is a long period (from the early eleventh to the late eighth centuries) so one would have expected to have more PG or EG/MG material surviving, rather than LG. In fact the analysis by Gauss and Ruppenstein shows exactly the opposite (1998: 43–50). Most of the EIA fragments which have survived and been published are LG; so they were closer in time to the major building activities of the archaic period. In addition, although it is likely that EIA material found around the Acropolis comes from the top of it, it is clear from the two deposits quoted by Papadopoulos that the EIA sherds are very few indeed. In fact, five sherds were catalogued by Peace (1935: 239–41) and four by Roebuck (1940: 162–3). Most of these were of an LG date. Note, however, that the large number of joint fragments of pottery, figurines and other materials discovered from the slopes and the top of the Acropolis belong to later periods and not to the EIA; for this see Papadopoulos 2003: 298, n. 152).

and Papadopoulos is right to follow others who have argued that some substantial parts of the Mycenaean fortification were visible and in use until perhaps the Persian attack. But the assumption that the Acropolis was the only settlement in Athens during the whole of the EIA is more problematic.³⁹

Related to the above hypothesis is the suggestion that the area of the later Agora was not filled by houses but by pottery workshops and kilns. In his study of some of the deposits, Papadopoulos (2003: 5) identified pottery fragments which belong to potters' debris and test pieces.⁴⁰ This challenged previous views which reconstructed the area of the later Agora as being occupied by houses and burials until the sixth century when it was given up to public space (Camp 1986: 24, 33; Townsend 1995: 12).

The question, however, is whether the area of the later Agora, as Papadopoulos argued, was a kind of an 'industrial' quarter for the production of fine attic pottery or whether it was the part of Athens where potters lived, worked and died. For the little evidence we have from EIA settlements and dump deposits outside Athens, it seems that workshops of potters and metalworkers were found within the limits of domestic spatial organisation.⁴¹ So although there is no doubt from Papadopoulos' careful study that some of these deposits contained potters' debris, the view that there were houses for perhaps the potters and others living in the same area can still be maintained.⁴²

I still believe that Athens, as other EIA settlements, was made up by an agglomeration of houses and burials (as do Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*: 28–31; Morris 1987: 64; Whitley 1991: 61–4; Welwei 1992: 63–5; Hurwit 1999: 87–94). In addi-

39 For the use and extent of the Mycenaean fortification see discussion in Travlos 1971: 52–4; Camp 1984; Papadopoulos 2003: 302–5.

40 This is not the place to discuss whether all the deposits were potters' dumps rather than domestic deposits. In addition, in order to agree or disagree with this suggestion one needs to have the complete material found in each one of them and not a select catalogue of test pieces and potters' debris as published in Papadopoulos 2003. Moreover one also needs to combine this with information about the burials found in the area in order to understand their relationship to the deposits both chronologically and contextually.

41 See Mazarakis Ainian in this volume for Oropos and Eretria, where metal workshops were found within domestic and even cult contexts. In Pithekoussai, in the suburban site on the Mezavvia hill, the Mazzola complex combined industrial and living quarters (Ridgway 1992: 91–6). The Moulds deposit found in the settlement on Xeropolis at Lefkandi is a pit where moulds for the production of tripods were found among other dump material and which should have come from a workshop located in the vicinity of the settlement (*Lefkandi I*: 42–4). In addition Crielaard (1999: 52–8) argued that EIA pottery production was based on a 'household industry' and that this was in the hands of (semi-) specialists who worked within a household unit. For changes in the production of pottery and metalwork in this period see also Kayafa and Morgan in this volume.

42 Papadopoulos (2003: 275) further argued that even the evidence of a house in the Agora – the so-called oval house – has now been thought to be a 'hero-shrine' (following Thompson's reinterpretation of it). The function of the structure, however, remains uncertain, as both Antonaccio (*Ancestors*: 122–6) and Mazarakis Ainian (*Dwellings*: 81–7, 314–15) argued in discussing this case. Both, however, concluded that it is not impossible that there was a house there in the early ninth century.

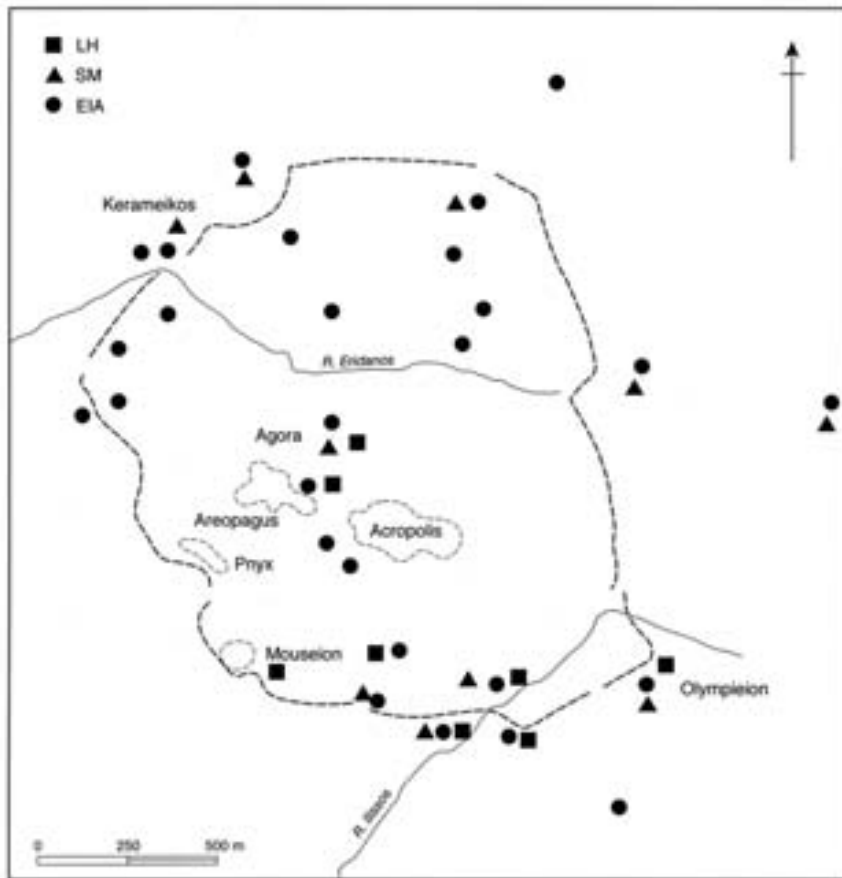


Figure 27.1 Archaeological sites around the Acropolis of Athens during LH, SM, and EIA

tion it appears from the available evidence that some of these areas were also occupied in the LH III period: especially those located to the south and the east of the Acropolis. There, deposits and burials continued to be made into the LG period (Figure 27.1). It is clear then that an important focus of activity was located in this part of Athens. We can perhaps also assume that another such focus of houses and burials was close to the cemetery at Vasilissis Sophias Street, while one or more clusters of houses were associated with the Kerameikos cemetery and the other burial plots to the north and to the east of this area.⁴³ As I have argued above, it is not clear whether there was occupation on the Acropolis during

⁴³ We may also assume that other houses were spread across the landscape around the Acropolis and reached as far as the suburb of Nea Ionia where a wealthy cemetery was established by the end of the tenth century BC. See discussion with references in Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 154).

this period. Apart from the insufficient evidence one might argue that by the end of SM period there was no need to protect settlements behind walls and on the top of strongholds, as was the case earlier in LH/LM III and later in the eighth century, especially on the islands.⁴⁴

In contrast to the previous period, the archaeological picture of the late eleventh and tenth centuries is not marked by either any destruction or any abandonment of settlements. It is therefore safe to suggest that by that time communities in the Aegean were not facing outside threats. As the new communities started to face a different world without palace control or protection, they concentrated on negotiating their status within their own population. From the available evidence it is apparent that although the population in Athens clearly took the decision to continue to live and bury themselves in separate cemeteries around the Acropolis, they also decided to invest gradually in funeral display. The rich Athenian evidence allows us to follow this steady development from the SM period onwards and trace the strategies employed by these communities in burial rites within their cemeteries located around the Acropolis.

Although it has been argued in the past by Whitley (1991: 96–7) that in the SM burials in Athens there are no formal and regular distinctions in status, gender and age, it has become clear from recent research that we can trace some manifestations of hierarchy and gender and even age in the funeral display (Ruppenstein 1999).⁴⁵ In the Kerameikos, for example, I believe that status, as this is reflected in the burial offerings, is stated not by the giving of specific vase types nor by the decorative motifs on them, but mostly with a display of metal ornaments such as fibulae, pins and rings and occasionally gold spirals. In fact, it is interesting to see that burials here follow a similar pattern in displaying status by the disposition of metal offerings as in other sites during the last decades of the eleventh century.⁴⁶

I also believe that an important change that clearly illustrates a break with the past is the decision of the various groups buried in Athens to abandon completely Mycenaean funeral rites and to adopt the new practice of single burials in flat cemeteries.

Further developments manifested themselves in Athens with what Whitley calls ‘formalisation’ of the funerary ritual which fully developed in the PG period with the wide use of the practice of cremation in the ‘trench-and-hole’ type of burial (Whitley 1991: 116). Equally important is the re-appearance of the so called

44 The re-appearance of fortified settlements such as Zagora on Andros, and Minoa on Amorgos is dated later to the eighth century. But Crete is different. See Wallace in this volume and also Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*, and papers in *Defensive Settlements*.

45 Ruppenstein convincingly showed an even more noticeable interest in displaying gender specifications in the SM Kerameikos.

46 For SM tombs in the Kerameikos rich in metal offerings see tomb 2 (Müller-Karpe 1962: 82); tomb 42 (Müller-Karpe 1962: 87, 119); tomb 70 (Müller-Karpe 1962: 119); tomb 108 (Müller-Karpe 1962: 120). See also the rich in metal offerings in Elateia (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991). For SM Lefkandi see below.

‘warrior burials’, alongside rich female burials; such burials were found mostly in the Kerameikos and, from the little we know from preliminary reports, also in the cemetery in Vasilissis Sophias and later in the north slope of the Areopagus and in the rich cemeteries at Kriezī Street. If this is the case then we may suggest that some of the groups buried around Athens become gradually more important during the course of the tenth century. Finally, during the ninth century, such earlier manifestations of status became more clearly articulated by displaying in their funerals even more exceptionally rich offerings and imports (Whitley 1991: 137).

LEFKANDI IN THE LH III PERIOD

The EH and MH deposits on Xeropolis have established the importance of the site in Bronze Age.⁴⁷ And as has been clearly stated (Popham and Sackett 1968: 5; Popham and Milburn 1971: 348–7), the LH IIIB levels – at least in the small area excavated on Xeropolis – were terraced in order to build the LH IIIC houses. It has also been argued on the basis of the pottery that perhaps Xeropolis was not a prominent Mycenaean settlement. But LH IIIB pottery – which also remains unpublished – was only found in a restricted area under the LH IIIC remains so this evidence is not decisive. More information, however, about the whole island during the palatial period comes from Linear B tablets in Thebes. The tablets revealed close connections with Euboea, and strongly suggest that the island was dependent on the palace at Thebes.⁴⁸

So, it is possible to assume that Xeropolis together with other sites along the west coast were seats of Mycenaean officials (perhaps of a *qa-si-re-u*).⁴⁹ The archaeological evidence also shows that Xeropolis became an important place after the destruction of the palace at Thebes and that it flourished in the Late Helladic IIIC period. Both old and new excavations on Xeropolis have revealed that the town extended over the whole of the mound indicating that during this period there was a large settlement there.⁵⁰ A sample of the history of Xeropolis during the LH IIIC period can be followed in the excavation of the deep and well-stratified deposits investigated by Popham and Sackett on the eastern part of the tell which covered the whole of the LH IIIC period.

The period has been divided by its excavators into three main stages.⁵¹ In Phase 1, which corresponds to the LH IIIC Early period elsewhere, houses were made up of a number of rooms. Most of them appear to have two storeys with storage

47 These deposits remain unpublished; for preliminary reports see Popham and Sackett 1968: 6–11.

48 See in this volume Crielaard for references in the Linear B tablets and bibliography.

49 See also discussion by Crielaard in this volume.

50 Trial trenches investigated by Popham and Sackett showed that the whole of Xeropolis was occupied during the LH IIIC phase and especially during the middle stage of the period (Popham and Sackett 1968: 3–5; *Lefkandi I*: 1–3); see also H. Sackett in the forthcoming volume *Lefkandi IV*. The size of Xeropolis is some 500 m in length and 120 m in width.

51 The publication of the LH IIIC levels is in press as *Lefkandi IV* (edited by D. Evely, whom I thank for providing me with a manuscript of the volume before publication).

areas and workshops found on the ground floors and living quarters on the upper floors. The latter, of course, are not preserved. We know this settlement had a long life because the houses were found to have had structural alterations and their floors were re-laid, allowing the excavators to divide this first LH IIIC stage into two sub-phases. The houses of Phase 1b were destroyed by fire leaving behind a considerable amount of evidence buried in the destruction debris which in some cases was over a metre in depth (Popham and Sackett 1968: 11–14; Popham and Milburn 1971: 334). After the destruction of Phase 1b, the settlement was levelled off and a new town was built on the top, but on a different plan and orientation. This new settlement corresponds with Phase 2 – also a long period – which roughly corresponds with the LH IIIC Middle in other sites.

Architecturally, this new settlement consisted of well-planned houses made of large rooms, and at least one of them had a central post. The use of open spaces between them is also a feature of the new plan (Popham and Sackett 1968: 14–16). It appears that part of this settlement was also destroyed during the stage when pictorial pottery was in use. Some parts of the town were repaired and rebuilt assigning the finds of the re-occupation to the second stage of this phase, Phase 2b. The houses of this phase were most probably abandoned since no destruction level is associated with the end of this stage (Popham and Milburn 1971: 334).

An interesting feature of Phase 2 is the discovery of burials under the floors of the rooms. So far fifteen such burials have been found. All ages and both genders are represented amongst them.⁵² Intramural burials were also found in the Lower Citadel in Tiryns and dated by Kilian to LH IIIB2 – IIIC (Kilian 1979: 386–7; 1982: 395–6).

From the pottery of Phase 2 we assume that the inhabitants had a sophisticated lifestyle reflected in the production of some of the most celebrated examples of the pictorial style. Links with other sites within and outside the Aegean flourished during this period and if we had discovered the cemetery corresponding to this period we might have more evidence of the links that this flourishing community shared with others in the Aegean and beyond.⁵³

The final stage of LH IIIC corresponds to Lefkandi Phase 3. The first excavators assigned to this phase pottery which was associated with one house and was characterised by deteriorated standards (Popham and Milburn 1971: 342–6). This picture, however, has changed since the current research and excavations have revealed more houses dated to this stage in the eastern part of Xeropolis (Lemos 2004: 39–40).

As mentioned above, no LH IIIC cemetery has yet been discovered. But two vases found in the area to the south-east of the Skoubris cemetery are dated to

52 In particular, five burials were adults and eight or more children and one was neonate; the precise age of all of them was not always possible to determine. For a detailed report see Musgrave and Popham (1991: 273–91), and Musgrave forthcoming in *Lefkandi IV*.

53 For the flourishing LH IIIC phase around the Euboean Gulf see Crielaard in this volume and also Lemos 1998.

LH IIIC. This discovery implies that perhaps cist-tombs of the LH IIIC/early SM period were located there too.⁵⁴

SM LEFKANDI

Until recently the SM period at Lefkandi was represented only by the burials found in the Skoubris cemetery, but recent excavations on Xeropolis have revealed SM pottery associated with soils and walls indicating continuity in the occupation of the site from the end of the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.⁵⁵

The Skoubris cemetery, however, provides us with a small number of burials dated to the SM period.⁵⁶ The SM tombs are single burials in cists and so comparable to those of Athens during this period. There are also a number of cremated burials, but at Lefkandi they are primary cremations rather than the secondary ones which were typical in Athens (*Lefkandi I*: 201–2, 210).

Here, as in Athens, some tombs have more rich offerings than others. As I have already mentioned above, rich tombs during this phase are considered those which in addition to a large number of pots were given a rich display of metal offerings (such as fibulae, pins and rings). In the case of Lefkandi, another important element is the tomb itself which is often constructed with great skill.⁵⁷

EIA LEFKANDI

The EIA history of the site is known from the discoveries made in the cemeteries and those made by the first excavators on Xeropolis (Figure 27.2). The latter consisted of a number of rubbish pits dated from the LPG to the SPG and also the house, walls, and the circular structures dated to the LG (*Lefkandi I*: 11–25). Recent excavations, however, have found more structures, walls and soils dated to

54 This is the Khaliotis area (Figure 27.3) see comments in *Lefkandi I*: 313, 355. It might be possible that here, as in Athens, a flat cemetery with cist tombs was founded during the SM period. The SM tombs in Skoubris belonged to the later phase of the SM period. Earlier tombs might have been cut in this plot or in the Khaliotis burial ground.

55 Particularly interesting is the discovery of two complete SM/EPG vases close to walls which were found above LH IIIC Late houses. The vases, an amphoriskos and a jug, are typical offerings in SM and PG graves in the Skoubris cemetery. Therefore, it is possible that they were given to a burial, although no bones were found. If there was a burial, however, it might have been that of a child which would explain the lack of bones (Lemos 2004: 39, fig. 55).

56 The number of the SM burials is 24. We have to take into account, however, the fact that only a part of this cemetery was excavated while, as mentioned above, there might have been a cemetery to the north-east of Skoubris with earlier SM tombs.

57 For example, tombs rich in metal offerings at Skoubris are tomb 16 (*Lefkandi I*: 114–15, pls 95–6) tomb 19 (*Lefkandi I*: 116, pls 98–9), tomb 38 (*Lefkandi I*: 122–3, pl. 103), tomb 40 (*Lefkandi I*: 124, pl. 104); tomb 43 (*Lefkandi I*: 124–5, pl. 43). For a well-built tomb see for example tomb 38 (*Lefkandi I*: pl. 85). Considering the small number of SM tombs at Lefkandi, the number of tombs with rich offerings is quite high when compared to Athens. For the tombs in the Kerameikos in Athens see above.

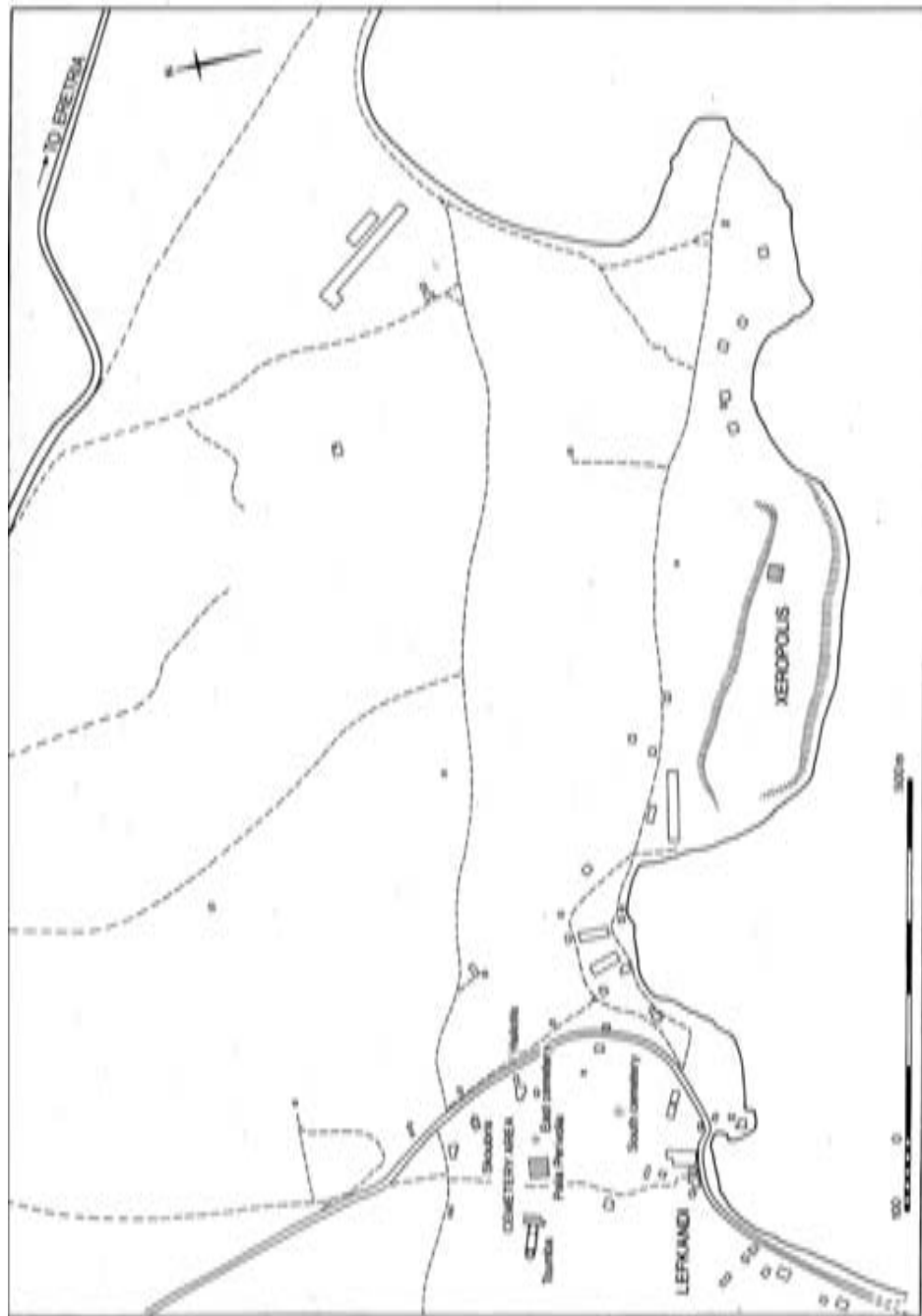


Figure 27.2 Lefkandi: Xeropolis and the cemeteries

the PG and SPG periods which show that Xeropolis was occupied at the same time as the cemeteries.⁵⁸

Some 500 meters to the west of Xeropolis are located the cemeteries of Lefkandi. Apart from the Skoubris cemetery and the other three, the Khaliotis, Palia Perivolia and Toumba, burial plots or just clusters of burials have been located on the whole area of the hill (Figure 27.3). For example, burials were found in the South and the North cemeteries, none of which have been fully excavated (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 161–2).

In EIA Lefkandi both inhumation and cremation were practised as they were during SM. Since in most of the tombs no traces of full inhumation or cremation have been found, it has been assumed that either the skeletal remains had decayed away or that the graves were furnished with only a few token pieces of bone from cremations which had taken place elsewhere. Initially, the excavators were in favour of the second possibility, but more recently the number of skeletons in a poor state discovered in the Toumba cemetery has increased, indicating that the corrosive effect of the soil might have been underestimated. Nevertheless, a great number of tombs still produce no evidence of bones, so the possibility of a complicated secondary rite remains open.

It is obvious that at Lefkandi ‘formalisation’ of the funeral display was not considered a priority. On the other hand, what was important here was the display of wealth which was used extensively to construct social differences. This immense conspicuous destruction manifested especially at the Toumba cemetery shows that signifying hierarchy in funeral rites was an important concern of the community at Lefkandi. Such displays started in the SM with a small number of rich burials but they become more noticeable during the LPG and SPG periods and even more clearly so after the funeral of the exceptional warrior found buried under the PG building at Toumba. I have argued elsewhere in detail that the building at Toumba has never served as a Heroon but that both its construction and destruction were part of complex funeral rites (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 162–8).

The most important element of this funeral was an extraordinary destruction of wealth in which even the lives of the consort and the horses were lost. I have also argued that this abnormal destruction should be seen as marking a social-political change at Lefkandi, namely the change from the rule of a powerful basileus to that of a dynamic elite group. I think it is also important to note that both the construction and the destruction of the building as well as the filling-in required the mobilisation of many people. Presumably, the entire *demos* was involved in this operation. After the building was covered by an artificial tumulus,

58 Some MPG sherds were known from the first excavations (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 140), but now part of an apsidal building which has survived later occupation and modern ploughing is dated to the E/MPG. More walls and rooms of SM and EPG dates have also been located in the area of the old excavation to the south-west of the LG houses (Lemos 2004: 39; Lemos 2005: 50–2).



Figure 27.3 The cemeteries at Lefkandi

members of an elite group, who probably belonged to the same lineage or kin group as the first burials at Toumba, started to be buried to the east end of the building. At the same time it is clear that neither they nor the community as a whole were concerned with veneration of their ancestor, since they did not make any offerings on the tumulus. This is because, I believe, they were more interested in securing their links as descendants of the first occupant in the Toumba cemetery.⁵⁹ It is clear from the rich offerings made in the Toumba cemetery that the group buried there emphasised their high status more vigorously than in any of the other contemporary cemeteries at Lefkandi.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the rich cemeteries at Lefkandi stop receiving further burials before the end of the ninth century (*Lefkandi I*: 367–9). Xeropolis, however, was not abandoned; the number of known LG houses has increased with the recent excavations, but the LG cemeteries have not yet been located.⁶¹ Even if we assume that life continued on Xeropolis, the fact remains that in contrast to Athens, Lefkandi did not become an archaic polis. That development took place in Eretria which from then on was the focal site of the region.

CONCLUSIONS

The above summary of the archaeological evidence reveals interesting similarities but also differences between the two sites. It is obvious from their archaeology that both had a long Bronze Age prehistory and in my view this had an effect on later developments in the Early Iron Age.

During the Mycenaean period, Athens – with or without a palace – is represented by groups of burials located around the Acropolis. We assume that these correlated to nearby settlements because in some of them pits and dump deposits have been found, especially in areas to the south and to east of the Acropolis. From these burial grounds and the offerings found in them, it is apparent that the most prosperous period was that from the LH IIB to the LH IIIA1. Rich offerings were given especially to burials in the cemetery to the north of the Acropolis, in

59 The Toumba building and its burials have been discussed by a number of scholars. Most recently see Morris, *Archaeology*: 228–39; Antonaccio 2002; Whitley 2002; 2004. In this volume see Antonaccio, Crielaard and Mazarakis Ainian. I still maintain, however, as one of its excavators, that the building was erected after the burials; that it was little or never used and finally it was built, filled in and covered by a mound within the so-called MPG phase. Soon after the erection of the mound the first burials were made in the Toumba cemetery (see for more detailed discussion Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 141–6, 161–8, 218–20). The Toumba cemetery will be fully published in the forthcoming volume of *Lefkandi III.2*.

60 For one of the most important male burials in Toumba in the ninth century, Toumba tomb 79 see Popham and Lemos 1995; Lemos 2003. For the rich female burials in Toumba see Lemos forthcoming.

61 In the 2003 and 2004 seasons at least three houses and the walls of several more have been discovered. It is also possible that some of them were occupied into the late eighth and even early seventh century. But these observations must be considered only preliminary since the excavation on the site continues.

the north slope of the Areopagus, and to the south, in the cemetery located in the north bank of the Ilissos River (Immerwahr 1971: 150–1; Onasoglou 1979; Mountjoy 1995:70–1). The lack of any tholos tombs is noticeable, especially since a number of them have been found in the rest of Attica. This suggests that it was outside Athens that the most important Mycenaean centres were located.

In Athens, however, LH IIIB is marked by the construction of fortifications and the Fountain House to secure the water supply to the citadel. Similar action was taken as we know in other citadels but, unlike them, Athens does not seem to end the period with either destruction or abandonment. It is possible that the danger – whatever that might have been – passed Athens by. In fact the Fountain House was abandoned within one generation and was turned into a rubbish dump, clearly indicating that there was no need for it any longer.

As Hurwit (1999: 83) argued, however, even if the Acropolis did not suffer the same fate as other Mycenaean citadels, Athens could not escape the transformation taking place in the Aegean during the twelfth century.⁶² But all the same, Athens continued to be occupied throughout the LH IIIC period. Yet according to the available evidence the major site during this stage in Attica is not Athens but Perati located on the east coast. During the LH IIIC it is there that one of the most prosperous sites in the Aegean was located. This is not surprising considering that important Mycenaean cemeteries and settlements were located to the east of Attica in earlier periods too, such as those at Spata, Marathon, and Thorikos. The later importance of Athens, however, starts to develop more evidently in the SM period when new and old cemeteries around the Acropolis were extensively used and, as we have seen, there was the introduction of a new rite – that of single burials.

It has been argued above that even if there were some Athenians living and burying their children on the Acropolis, the persisting use of most of the LH III cemeteries into the SM and PG indicates that the same clusters of houses continued to be located close to the burial grounds. In addition the distance of some of the cemeteries, either from the Acropolis itself or from each other, is too great for it to be reasonable to argue that they belonged to a single community living on the Acropolis.⁶³ On the other hand, that there was a cultural unity among the various groups of peoples living around Athens is suggested by the use of the same burial rites and material culture. This becomes even clearer in the next

62 It is difficult to argue that later building activities on the Acropolis swept away evidence of such destruction as some of it should have survived in the archaeological record. One is left to wonder whether Athens was not much affected by the LH IIIB upheavals because it was not a central site during the palatial era.

63 Morris argued (1994: 27–30) that although Athens and Argos were made up of small groups of scattered houses, the fact that the inhabitants were using the same resources suggests they were one community. The distance, however, between the various burial plots suggests that each cemetery corresponds to a cluster of houses which perhaps formed an independent socio-political unit but which had some common cultural links, as is clearly indicated by their archaeological record (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 219).

period with the almost universal practice of cremation in the 'trench-and-hole' type of grave. At the same time, we can follow the first signs of attempts to articulate a display of status in the appearance of warrior and rich female burials. This development went further in the ninth century when we can clearly distinguish particular groups demonstrating their status by giving to their dead exceptional funerals and displays of rich offerings. It is of course tempting to suggest that these clusters of burials belonged to members of the same kin group who lived nearby and who were buried together.⁶⁴

Interestingly, at the same period rich burials started appearing in the rest of Attica from where the evidence after the end of the LH III is very scarce (Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*: 73–81; Morris 1987: 79–81; Whitley 1991: 55–7). The reason might be that Attica was more seriously affected by the upheavals in the end of the LBA and so recovery took longer there.⁶⁵

At Lefkandi, the architectural remains, the material culture and the sheer size of the settlement during the LH IIIC period, and especially in Phase 2, illustrate clearly that Xeropolis was one of the communities which thrived during the post-palatial period, but as we have seen not without a price. The settlement was destroyed twice, but it was not abandoned. Recent and old finds also indicate that Euboea together with sites on the coast of central Greece and Thessaly as well as some of the Cyclades remained in contact throughout the LH IIIC period. Even during the latest stages of the period, in the LH IIIC Late, pottery links between Lefkandi, Skyros, Kea, and central Greece illustrate that such contacts in fact never ceased.

It is almost certain, thanks to the recent excavations, that Xeropolis, like Athens, did carry on into the EIA without ever being abandoned. I assume that the reason was the significant position that the site enjoyed with excellent harbours and fertile land next to it. This perhaps explains the persistence of the inhabitants in keeping building their houses after terracing and levelling earlier occupations and even after destructions.

Moreover, in contrast to Athens, I believe that Xeropolis was the only settlement in the area.⁶⁶ And if I am right, then perhaps at Lefkandi we have a nucleus settlement rather than a conglomeration of small 'villages' as appears to be the case in Athens. But this is not the only difference between the two sites. At Lefkandi we see a much earlier display of status manifested in the rich offerings given to the dead from as early as the SM period. It is apparent that the Toumba

64 Runciman (1982: 373–4) also prefers to see these units as small agricultural villages using their own resources and made up by the same kin group.

65 For a survey of the archaeological material of this period see Mersch 1996: esp. 83–4).

66 The only other area – which might in any case have been part of the same settlement – is Area SL which is located north of the Xeropolis (*Lefkandi I*: 22–3, 364). See also the results of the survey conducted by Sackett et al. (1966: 60–1) before the area was overbuilt and which shows that EIA sherds in the area are scarce except for those found on Xeropolis and in the cemeteries.

cemetery preceded the other burial plots in the wealth of offerings. For these reasons, it has been argued that the Toumba must have been the burial place of the local elite. At the same time we must not forget that there were other groups which continued to be buried in the other cemeteries of the necropolis and although their offerings are not as spectacular as those found in the Toumba cemetery, some and especially a few buried in the oldest cemetery, at Skoubris, clearly show competition in funeral display by being given the same combination of goods which we see in the Toumba burials.

In Athens such competition – in so far as it is reflected in burial practices – is not intense until the ninth century when comparably rich burials were made in the areas of the Kerameikos, Kriezī Street and of the Areopagus.⁶⁷ The question then arises as to why the Athenians did not have such rich burials earlier. There are a number of possibilities. One is that Athenians were simply more interested in giving their dead a formal funeral than in providing them with exceptional grave goods. On the other hand, it could be that formalisation of the burial custom was an alternative to conspicuous consumption in the form of expensive burials. Another explanation might be that there was no need of such a display of wealth since competition among members of the same kin group or between different ones was not as acute as at Lefkandi. In addition the importance of such competition at Lefkandi among the kin groups is clearly shown in the fact that the different burial grounds were located very close to each other in the same area, whereas in Athens – as we have seen – we have the opposite situation with cemeteries located some distance from each other.

In trying to explain the reason behind the observed differences in funeral display between Athens and Lefkandi, I can offer one suggestion. Athens, without an urban centre, was divided into small villages made up of members of the same lineage, each with a small number of equal-in-status leaders. This fragmentation of the socio-political landscape of Athens did not encourage the kind of display in funerals as we see it at Lefkandi but rather a dependency on local resources which find their manifestation in the ‘formalisation’ of the funeral rite.

But at Lefkandi local competition was more rigorous leading to the early and perhaps atypical social-political developments reflected in the funeral rites given to the burials under the Toumba building and their successors in the cemetery. It is likely that such competition led to internal conflict by the members of the groups who tried to gain primary control or by envious neighbours who wished

67 Even if we assume that it is only accidental that we do not have the equivalent of the Toumba burial plot in Athens – which according to Coldstream (1995: 393) might have been located in the north slope of the Areopagus – I believe we have enough burials from a number of cemeteries to suggest that Athens catches up with Lefkandi only in the ninth century BC. Even then, however, the wealth found in the graves of Athenian elite members is not as rich as in those in contemporary Lefkandi. Compare for example ninth century burial of the so-called Athenian Rich Lady (Smithson 1968) and the warrior burial in Athens (Blegen 1952) with those found in Toumba tomb 79 and tomb 80 (Popham and Lemos 1996: pls 78–85).

to be in command of the prosperous site. Perhaps those were the reasons that the rich cemeteries ceased to receive burials at the end of the ninth century and although there was a settlement on Xeropolis in the LG period its importance is not yet clear. What is certain, however, is that the more gradual developments in Athens secured a better future for her inhabitants.

So by following the archaeological record of two of the most important sites during the period from the wanax to basileus, we may start to appreciate that they cannot be studied in isolation from their Bronze Age past and when that is taken into consideration then one may start to understand better the decisions and the development taken by the communities which lived through this important period as they are reflected in the archaeological record.

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THE EARLY IRON AGE IN THE ARGOLID: SOME NEW ASPECTS

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The Argive plain was the rich physical environment in which the most important centres of Mycenaean civilisation were established and developed. The period of its greatest prosperity, which was characterised by the presence of palaces within strong and impressive fortification walls, has been rightfully labelled as the palatial period. At this time a system of administration was created, completely controlled and directed by the ruling class, which functioned with great success and had impressive results for nearly two centuries. Exquisite works of art, the knowledge and use of script, worship and rituals are some of the main expressions of this civilisation (Shelmerdine 2001: 329–81).

The two mightiest centres, Mycenae and Tiryns but also Midea, Asine and Argos, appear to have shared the authority of this system that was supported by agriculture and livestock raising and was especially strengthened by overseas trade. At the end of the thirteenth century a strong earthquake for which we now have archaeological evidence from most of these sites caused great destructions that led to a series of changes in the palatial world and, gradually, to its breakdown. In the twelfth century, a period characterised by insecurity and instability, there is evidence of a series of catastrophes in all the major centres which are linked, often insecurely, to smaller earthquakes followed by devastating fires (Kilian 1988: 118, n. 2; Eder, *Argolis*: 55 and fig. 9).

At Mycenae, the Acropolis continues to be inhabited. Even though a number of new buildings are built during this period, nothing is reminiscent of the glories of the palatial period (French 2002: 135–40, fig. 64 on p. 136).

At Tiryns the settlement plan of the Lower Acropolis is radically changed. The densely populated area with its strong and impressive buildings is replaced by

I am much indebted to Irene Lemos and Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy for inviting me to participate in the proceedings of the conference. I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues at the IV Ephorate of Antiquities, George Kavadias, Christos Piteros and Evangelia Pappi, for allowing me to present unpublished material from their rescue excavations at Argos, as well as Yannis Patrikianos for the photographs. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Glenys Davies and Marina Thomatos for their assistance in revising my English.

one-storey buildings organised around large open areas (Kilian 1983: 77, fig. 8 on p. 79). The only reminder of the early splendour is a *megaron*-shaped building (Room 117/110a) in which ritual objects, including impressive figures, were found (Kilian 1981: 53–5, figs. 4–7). The research conducted by J. Maran confirms the opinion of K. Kilian that Building T was constructed in this period within the earlier *megaron* (Maran 2000: 2, fig. 1). A remarkable expansion of the inhabited area, from eight to twenty-five hectares, is witnessed on the plain below, surrounding the Acropolis. An organised settlement appears to have been established to accommodate the arrival of settlers from areas that were abandoned (Kilian 1985: 75, fig. 4b). This evidence shows that Tiryns held a more advantageous position than Mycenae in the post-palatial period.

A similar development of a smaller scale appears to take place at Asine where the Lower Town is densely occupied and includes a house sanctuary with pottery, figurines and a head from a large figurine, all of which are dated to the final phases of the Mycenaean period (Eder, *Argolis*: 51).

Argos, which was one of the most important centres before the establishment of the Mycenaean palaces, unfortunately continues to be an area for which we know little due to insufficient publications. It is quite possible that the extensive settlement of the final MH and the Early Mycenaean periods to the east and south of the Prophetes Elias hill continued to be used until the end of the Mycenaean period. This settlement, however, was probably not restricted to this area but could have had another nucleus to the south in the immediate area of the ancient Agora (Eder, *Argolis*: 45–9). Recent finds confirm the presence of settlement remains between these two areas even as late as the LH IIIC period (Papadimitriou 2002: 137–8). Moreover, the possible existence of a Mycenaean Acropolis on the hill of Larissa must first be verified by further excavations (N. Papadimitriou 2001: 23).

The citadel of Midea, which also continued to be inhabited in LH IIIC and included the reuse of an earlier *megaron*, was the first Mycenaean Acropolis to be abandoned before the LH IIIC Late phase (Eder, *Argolis*: 44–5).

Throughout this entire period the chamber tomb cemeteries in all these areas continue to be used with a clear decrease in burials. This decrease is interpreted as evidence for depopulation. In the chamber tomb cemeteries of Argos, Asine and Tiryns, few burials are attested during the Sub-Mycenaean and Early Protogeometric periods (Hägg 1974: 26, 47–51, 80–2). An exceptionally interesting phenomenon is the appearance of tumuli with cremation urns. A low tumulus or cremation platform, surrounded by a row of orthostats and containing eight cremation urns was discovered at Chania, 2.5 kilometres south-west of the Acropolis of Mycenae and along the ancient road to Argos. This discovery unfortunately still remains unpublished (French 2002: 140; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 157, n. 58). Another similar find from Argos was recently published. It consists of part of a tumulus discovered in the southern area of the town at Tripolis Street (Piteros 2001: 99–120). The tumulus consisted of thirty-six crema-

tion urns and sixteen single burials of adults, children and infants in cist or pit graves that are predominantly dated to the Middle and Late phases of LH IIIC. The immediate area, however, continued to be used as a burial ground until at least the Early Protogeometric period.¹

The post-palatial period is usually attributed with negative characteristics such as dissolution of political cohesion, a change in settlement pattern, a decrease in population, a movement of people to safer areas, and a concentration around the once robust palatial centres. In light of this it is noticeable that the remarkable attempt at recovery which characterised the Middle phase of LH IIIC and which is common in all of the centres of the Argolid is often ignored.

The main theories concerning the cause of the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation are twofold. They focus either on attack, usually attributed to the Dorians (Eder, *Argolis*: 70–1) or on the hypertrophy of the palatial system (Kilian 1988: 134). This palatial system could not handle the results of the natural catastrophes and the general climate of instability which was triggered by the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Moreover, the actions of the Sea Peoples in the eastern Mediterranean inevitably caused a blow to the commercial activities of the Mycenaeans. The arguments that are usually employed to support either one or the other opinion are directly connected to the beginning of the Iron Age. As a result, the existence of a Sub-Mycenaean phase as a chronological entity in areas outside Attica have been doubted; the presence of hand-made pottery of north-western origin, as well as metal objects such as weaponry and dress ornaments which were also attributed to areas outside the Mycenaean world, have been given too much weight; and finally the change in burial practices from multiple burials in chamber tombs to single burials in cist graves has been misunderstood.² In other words, the new settlers did not worship the gods, spoke a Dorian dialect, ate pulses, wore cloaks and lived in apsidal houses.

Let us now look at the archaeological evidence of the Early Iron Age of the Argolid in the hope of shedding some light on this situation. What is happening at the Mycenaean centres after the end of the LH IIIC period? For some time now we have shown that at Tiryns there is a level of occupation which is stratigraphically located above the LH IIIC Late layers and which is characterised by a type of wavy-line skyphos that appears to be a direct development from the final Mycenaean skyphoi (Papadimitriou 1988: 229, fig. 1).³ Kilian believed that these levels appeared at Tiryns after a period of abandonment. In the case of Mycenae,

1 For the location of this burial ground: Piteros 2001: 103, fig. 5 and Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 139 with fig. 10.

2 For a discussion and bibliography see Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 191–3.

3 The so-called wavy-line skyphos is extremely important because, in contrast to other vase shapes, it is also found in tomb deposits. In fact, it must have been such a popular shape that a skyphos of this type, definitely of Argive origin, was found in a tomb in the Kerameikos (Papadimitriou 1988: 234, n. 26). Furthermore, these skyphoi are the basic element of comparison between the few vessels originating from SM tombs in the Argolid.

French noted 'slim strata of wash with pottery of SM type'. Thus, she does not see any interruption in occupation after LH IIIC Late (French 2002: 141).

The corresponding pottery of Asine from the excavations east of the Acropolis must belong to the same chronological phase (Frizell 1986: 23, fig. 8). Although at Asine we have continuity from LH IIIC to the Protogeometric period associated with architectural remains, the ambiguous stratigraphical conditions do not allow further discussion in a more instructive way (Dietz 1982: 31–69; Frizell 1986: 85).

A comparative study of the finds shows clearly that Argos begins to distance itself from the other sites as early as the SM period. The twelve tombs recorded by Hägg in the 1970s (Hägg 1974: 27), which have been doubled as a result of more recent exploration, demonstrate that Argos is more advanced than Tiryns, with only four tombs attributed to this period (Papadimitriou 1998: 122, table 1).

The following chronological phase is also of great interest. I will present here a number of new finds in order to show the importance of this period. I would like to begin with three vessels, an amphoriskos, a trefoil mouthed jug and a lekythos from a cist tomb at Argos. The tomb is dated to the very end of the SM period, although the pottery already exhibits characteristics of the EPG style.⁴ The amphoriskos (Figure 28.1) – with its almost spherical body, its low ring base and wide short neck – is painted monochrome, apart from the handle zone. This zone is decorated with a wavy line between two horizontal parallel bands. Attic parallels from the Athenian Kerameikos and Agora, as well as from Salamis, show similarities in the conception of the shape and the decoration but also differences which are indebted to the local style.⁵ The body of the lekythos (Figure 28.2) has been made from two pieces which have been joined together in the middle. It has a low ring base and the neck is narrow and quite tall in comparison with the more compressed body. This vessel is also monochrome with the exception of a decorative zone on the shoulder with cross-hatched triangles. The comparison with similar vessels from Lefkandi, Attica and Corinth, as well as with the amphoriskos, shows a common typological perception but also a strong local style. The third vessel, the trefoil-mouth jug (Figure 28.3) presents us with a surprise. The disproportion of the wide body and the short, narrow neck excludes this vase from common typological trends such as found in the three major centres in Attica, Lefkandi and the Argolid. The vessel appears to be of local fabric but the decoration is careless. In spite of this, the assumed clumsy potter has drawn two eyes on the sides of the trefoil mouth, in his own distinctive manner. Taking advantage of the shape of the jug in combination with the handle, he manages to make his small vessel resemble a bird, which from the look of it, does not appear to have the friendliest of

4 It was found in a rescue excavation in 1992 in the Vlachos-Flokos plot at Tsokri Street.

5 For the Kerameikos examples see Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 626, fig. 611. For the Salamis vases, see Styrenius 1962: 103–23, pl. I, no. 3624; pl. VI, no. 3630; pl. VII, nos 3633, 3637, 3634. For the Agora, see *Hesperia*, 44, 373, n. 102, pl. 84h.



Figure 28.1 Amphoriskos from the Vlachos-Flokos plot at Argos



Figure 28.2 Lekythos from the Vlachos-Flokos plot at Argos

(a)



(b)



Figure 28.3 Trefoil-mouth jug from the Vlachos-Flokos plot at Argos



Figure 28.4 Vases from the Papadimitriou plot at Argos

intentions.⁶ I would have liked to connect this vessel with Cyprus, but the only parallels I am aware of are dated to the Cypriote-Geometric III and Cypro-Archaic I periods (Karageorghis 1999: 211–17, pls 168–73), which are much later than our example.⁷ If in fact there is no connection with Cyprus, this choice of decoration perhaps reveals a continuation of the tradition of rich Mycenaean iconography.

Three more small vessels (Figure 28.4) were discovered in another cist grave at Perrouka Street at Argos:⁸ two feeding bottles (one is undecorated and hand-made, the other is wheel-made and monochrome) and a vessel reminiscent of an amphoriskos but with just one handle. The shape of these vessels has achieved a better proportion than the previous ones, as we can see from their bodies which are now narrower and taller. Characteristic is also the low base which begins to acquire a conical shape. The amphoriskos, which is of local fabric, presents us with yet another surprise. The lack of a second handle (Figure 28.5a) is not the only unique feature of the vessel. Almost directly below and slightly to the right, where a handle would have been, an almost hidden concentric circle is preserved and drawn with a compass.⁹ This motif is covered by the monochrome surface and can be seen only

6 The high swung handle is not preserved. A similar monochrome vessel comes from Tiryns tomb 1974/3. (*BCH*, 99, 1975, 615, fig. 54: first vase on the left; Lemos *Protogeometric Aegean*: pl. 20.5).

7 A corresponding phenomenon could be the reappearance of swords with silver rivets ('αργυρόλα') in the Royal tombs of Cyprus during the ninth and eighth centuries BC (see Mazarakis Ainian 2000: 203).

8 It was found in a rescue excavation in 1993 in the Papadimitriou plot.

9 One of the earliest known inscriptions on a vessel was inscribed in a similar position on a vessel from the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa which is dated to 775 BC See Mazarakis Ainian: 2000, 122, n. 338, fig. 5.



Figure 28.5a Amphoriskos from the Papadimitriou plot at Argos

on the lower half of the vessel. One can also make out the impression left by the missing handle, which was originally placed on the vessel but which appears to have been removed before the paint was applied and the incision of the circle added, perhaps because it hindered the use of the new tool on the curved surface.¹⁰ Below the present handle one can make out untidy brushwork (Figure 28.5b) which strengthens the impression of improvisation and trial into something unfamiliar. This is the earliest known example of compass drawn concentric circles from the Argolid and marks the beginning of the Protogeometric style.¹¹

10 The skill of the innovative potter is seen from the fact that he chooses a shape with a curved surface in contrast to the Attic potters who choose fairly flat surfaces for the first compass drawn concentric circles. (See the bottle found in a tomb at Aioulou Street: *AD*, B1, 31, 1976, 26 and pl. 31c. For the skyphos from tomb Kerameikos PG A: Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: pl. 6.3.)

11 It is obvious that the Attic invention which became the hallmark of this period was soon transmitted to the Argolid. It is not a coincidence that Attic amphorae with compass concentric circles and semicircles used as cremation urns are imported in the Argolid during this same phase (see Piteros 2001: 117–18, fig. 41). This information further weakens Wells' original opinion that the Protogeometric style of Asine predates that of Attica (Wells 1983: 124; see also Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 6, n. 24).



Figure 28.5b

It is easy to attribute these tombs to two different chronological phases because of their typological differences.¹² I would moreover like to point out that both these phases are characterised by a freedom from Mycenaean influences in the production of the local pottery and a desire for innovation and renewal of repertoire.

A number of other vessels from single burials give information about yet another parameter of this period.¹³ Two stirrup jars (Figures 28.6 and 28.7) from Argos of no local fabric are definitely imported from Crete.¹⁴ Two belly-handled amphorae are also imported from Attica; they are decorated with concentric semicircles and circles on the shoulder and were found in Argos (Piteros 2001: 117–18, fig. 41) and Tiryns respectively (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: pl. 20, 1). The latter was placed

12 These phases correspond to those suggested by Lemos: the beginning of the transitional stage from SM to EPG and the EPG (*Protogeometric Aegean*: 26).

13 These are finds from rescue excavations in the Papadimitriou plot at Perrouka Street (1993) and the Dagres plot, at Diomidous Street (1999).

14 A good parallel is a stirrup jar from Knossos (*BSA* 1953–54, 242, fig. 28, no. VI A1).



Figure 28.6 Stirrup jar from the Papadimitriou plot at Argos

as a marker outside a cist tomb.¹⁵ Inside the tomb was found a trefoil mouth jug (*BCH*, 99 (1975), 615, fig. 54, first vase on the right), which I would like to connect with the Proto-White Painted Ware of the Late Cypriot III period, even though this vessel appears to be of local fabric (Karageorghis 1999: 185, pl. 146–7). We should not leave out a skyphos from Argos which has rightfully been compared with examples found in the Dodecanese. Finally, we should also note that during this period we have the construction for refining silver which cannot be considered as an indicator of poor economic standards (Courbin 1963: 71, 73, 98–100, fig. 7). A number of child burials¹⁶ from Argos are also of interest.¹⁷ In these tombs were found a

15 The use of mainly amphorae as markers of graves is not at all rare in the Argolid. Their use in other areas of the Protoegeometric Aegean (see Lemos, *Protoegeometric Aegean*: 154, 156, 167, 169, 177, 189) shows the general desire for marking a tomb that perhaps belonged to distinguished members of the community.

16 These finds were made in a rescue excavation conducted in 1997, in the Maroussis plot, at Diomidous Street.

17 Many child burials with rich grave offerings, among which are unusual types of vases such as the ring vase and the tripod vase (which according to Lemos are characteristic of Attica), have been found at Argos, as well as other sites of the Argolid (Lemos, *Protoegeometric Aegean*: 10, 156, 189). The most recent finds show that the Argolid follows very quickly the developments of Attica.



Figure 28.7 Stirrup jar from the Dages plot at Argos

scarab and a pilgrim flask,¹⁸ suggesting contacts with both Egypt and Cyprus.¹⁹ Finally, I have also attributed the warrior grave from Tiryns to this phase, the helmet from which has been connected with foreign influences (Papadimitriou 1998: 122, table 1).

From the above examples I think it is clear that in this phase the Argolid once again comes out of its isolation and communicates with the outside world, accepting both influence as well as imports.²⁰ It is during this time that we see that various cultural developments – after the descending curve of the twelfth century – start to rise again. Against this background, I would like to consider three important finds from the Argolid which need to be re-examined.

The first is the so-called Pithos Burial at Mycenae (Wace 1923: 406–7, pl. LXII, 21–2). The large pithos, with applied and incised decoration, was found in the South Chamber of the ruined Cyclopean Terrace Building. Its mouth was sealed with a large coarse jar and it contained the skeletal remains of one adult accompanied by three vessels: two stirrup jars and one jug. The tomb has been dated to the LH IIIC Late period. What is interesting is that although these offerings have been deposited simultaneously, they cannot be considered to have been manufactured at the same period. In particular, the squat stirrup jar²¹ should be earlier than the other vessels; it is dated roughly to the LH IIIA2–LH IIIB1 periods. The other two vessels are considered to be LH IIIC Late. I believe that the stirrup jar²² could be dated to the very beginning of LH IIIC Late, while the jug,²³ which has been constructed from two joining pieces, should be later and could possibly be linked to the phase discussed above. The pithos itself,²⁴ which has no parallels in the Argolid either from LH IIIC Late or from the notable pithoi of the Early Iron Age, fits in well with the spirit of innovation and renewal described above.

The second find is the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae, found along with six more pit

18 For this shape and parallels see Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 79.

19 In the light of these finds we should reconsider the opinion of Lemos that ‘imported goods are almost absent from the graves at Athens and the Argolid’ (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 189). They are of course not as numerous as those from the areas of the Euboean *koine* and more specifically of Lefkandi. One should also reconsider her opinion that the communities of Athens and the Argolid in comparison with those mentioned above ‘appear less stratified and thus less dynamic, in their inability to provide and to afford to display rich offerings in the funerals of their dead’ (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 190).

20 This is automatically in contrast with Snodgrass’s argument for a change from sedentism to pastoralism. See also Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 196, n. 59.

21 For parallels see Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 139–40, fig. 34, 254.

22 For comparative material see Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 183–4, fig. 55, 415.

23 See Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 175, 178, fig. 51, 380.

24 The size, exquisite quality and decoration of this pithos, which was a work of skilled and perhaps travelling potters, give us an idea of how expensive these vessels must have been. Thus, it is time we revise Hägg’s idea (1980: 137–8) that pithoi were designated for the burials of the poor, which even today has supporters (Mazarakis Ainian: 2000: 167). We must perhaps suggest that pithos burials are rarely accompanied by grave goods because of the expense which went into creating the vessel itself. That they were not destined for poor burials is also revealed from the fact that when they are accompanied by grave goods, these are usually metal objects. Metal objects indicate the high status of the deceased.

graves with no associated grave goods on the north slope of the Acropolis in the vicinity of the new museum (Onasoglou 1995: 25–9, pls 11–15). The pit of the grave was carved into the walls of a building complex that was used from the LH IIIB to the LH IIIC Early periods. The burial pit of the Tripod Tomb was covered by two bronze tripod cauldrons which were used as markers.²⁵ It contained the burial of a thirty-year-old male. Twenty unused bronze double axes were placed in two compact layers in front of the legs of the interment. Near his hand was a bronze tool, rare in the Aegean, possibly of northern origin. This tomb was dated to the final phases of the LH IIIC period and was interpreted as containing the burial of a metal smith buried together with the products of his workshop. I would not like to discuss here the suggested date of the bronze artefacts, but I would like to point out the great similarity between the vessel used to cover the tomb, along with the cauldron, to that which sealed the mouth of the Pithos Burial discussed above (Onasoglou 1995: pl. 22a).

The third find is the so-called Hoard of Tiryns found in 1915 by accident (Karo 1930: 119–40) to the southeast of the Acropolis and which contained not only the well-known pre-palatial gold rings but also a series of bronze artefacts that have been dated to the Late Mycenaean and Sub-Mycenaean periods. It is also worth noting that among the objects was found a gold wheel with fragments of amber along the spokes which is believed to be of foreign origin. The hoard supposedly belonged to an art collector or to a grave robber who hid the finds in the ruins of a Mycenaean house (Hägg 1974: 79–80). As Karo pointed out, the artefacts were removed by prisoners from the nearby agricultural prison, but the actual excavation was undertaken many days later. It was only in the following year that excavations at the site finally uncovered the remains of Mycenaean houses. The conditions of discovery, in combination with the fact that in the immediate vicinity is a group of tombs of the Early Iron Age, suggests a comparison between this deposit and the tomb of the Tripods at Mycenae (Papadimitriou 1998: 119, map 1b).

If this proposal for a later date of these three important finds is correct, then we have an exceptionally interesting phenomenon occurring in the Argolid. All three of these are distinguished in their separate groups by their offerings that share the following basic characteristics: they are items of different date, some much earlier than the burial itself; some are of foreign origin; and finally they are all of great value.²⁶

25 Mazarakis Ainian (2000: 212), comparing the Mycenaean tripods to similar tripod cauldrons of the ninth and eighth centuries BC used as offerings at sanctuaries, believes that they were of insignificant value. The case of the Tripod Tomb is a unique example which unquestionably contains objects of great value that were removed from circulation in order to adorn a tomb.

26 Mazarakis Ainian (2000: 199–200) collected examples of Bronze Age objects that have survived and have been used as grave offerings and markers in Early Iron Age tombs (Lefkandi, Grotta, Asine) as well as an ivory Mycenaean plaque found in a deposit at the temple of Artemis on Delos (2000: 203, n. 637, fig. 274). To these must be added a rock crystal pin head from a tomb at Argos (Kanta 1975: 259–75) and a Mycenaean vessel from Kos which Lemos characterises

The hoarding of valuable items is usually associated with a period of unrest. I would like, however, to interpret the phenomenon I have described above in a different manner. The people of this period are not simply acquiescing in the general decline of the palatial period but acquiring a new consciousness concerning their social position. This is exactly what I believe they want to show through this practice of including items that are not only valuable, but also provide evidence connecting them to their ancestors of the Mycenaean period. I also believe that the use of chamber tombs in this same period for occasional and single burials should be interpreted in a similar fashion.

The two phases that follow are distinguished by stability and do not have the same intrinsic interest. The pottery style gradually develops, becoming well proportioned and of good quality. The Argolid acquires its own local characteristic Protogeometric style which is influenced by the great centres of this period at Athens and Lefkandi but remains still within the Mycenaean pottery tradition. A pictorial scene (Figure 28.8) on a LPG sherd from Tiryns (Papadimitriou 1987: pl. 19, 11) shows that the pottery of the Argolid was not creatively inferior to that of the other centres (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 66 and pl. 23.1; *Knossos North Cemetery*: fig. 59, pl. 48).

Let us now turn to another important parameter for the historical interpretation of the archaeological finds: the settlement patterns. A number of years ago the locations of all the tombs of the Early Iron Age at Tiryns were recorded and positioned to scale on a topographical map of the area (Papadimitriou 1998:



Figure 28.8 Sherd with pictorial scene from Tiryns

(footnote 26 continued)

either as an heirloom or a casual find from an earlier grave (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 216, n. 122 for a general interpretation of heirlooms). Of importance is a LH IIIC amphora found on top of a cover slab of an M/LPG cist grave at Grotta which has been interpreted as an heirloom by Lambrinoudakis or alternatively as a grave marker by Lemos (*Protogeometric Aegean*: 179–80, n. 323). The fact that it would have been seen above the tomb is of great importance since it marked the tomb of the deceased or his family as being of Mycenaean descendant (see also Mazarakis Ainian 2000: 183–4).

118–19, maps 1a–b). What emerged from this exercise was that the tombs were organised in groups that gradually grew, while the few architectural remains of habitations were positioned close to these tombs.

A comparison with similar distribution maps that have been designed for Argos shows how dangerous interpretation of such maps can be. Hägg's (1974) maps use symbols of different shapes and sizes to indicate tombs and houses without these relating meaningfully to the numbers or scale of the features concerned. Because of this, the picture created can be interpreted in a number of different ways to support an array of theories which explain state formation as the result of some early kind of *synoikismos*.

The distribution maps from the international conference at Argos in 1990 combine on one sheet the finds of the entire Mycenaean period and on another sheet finds from the Protogeometric and Geometric (Pariante and Touchais 1998: pls VIII–IX). The first map shows that the area of the central plain was not at all inhabited in the Mycenaean period. The second map, in contrast, shows that all of Argos was a limitless cemetery since the areas left free for habitation are almost non-existent. If we think of how these maps could be broken up into separate maps for the Sub-Mycenaean, the Protogeometric and the Geometric periods with the tombs displayed in their true scale, I believe that we would visualise a similar scheme to that witnessed at Tiryns.²⁷ In other words, the settlement of the Early Iron Age must have consisted of small groups that gradually expanded through time with the increase in population but which did not form a city-state until the very end of the Geometric period.

A closer look at the corresponding map of the archaic period (Pariante and Touchais 1998: pl. X) can provide a clearer understanding. It is not plausible that the area of the central plain was not at all inhabited and that monuments, houses and tombs were crowded together and concentrated in the area of the Agora. What the map reveals is that in this period we see the establishment for the first time of organised cemeteries outside the civic centre. It is in this period then, that Argos begins to function as a polis.

One subject that we should not fail to mention is the lack of evidence concerning religion in the Early Iron Age until the foundation of the new sanctuaries of the historic times.²⁸ It could be useful to incorporate the *bothros* at Tiryns in such a discussion, since it appears that along with the dated pottery of the Geometric period, it also contains finds of an earlier date. Unfortunately we cannot be certain about the form of religion in this period, but we can suppose that some kind of ritual activity occurred in the area of the Upper Acropolis

27 A proper scheme of the settlement and burial grounds in Argos is presented by Lemos, (*Protogeometric Aegean*: 139, fig. 10).

28 Lemos (*Protogeometric Aegean*: 121–2, 224) examines cult practices and sanctuaries in the Protogeometric Aegean and believes that in this period the concern was 'to uphold or reestablish communication . . . rather than to define and mark boundaries of specific communities, as in later periods'.

(Papadimitriou 2003: 725, n. 53). I believe I am not far from French's idea when I suggest that the great change in the established political system must have had a definitive effect on the expression of religion. The fate of Christianity in the Soviet Union in the last century could be a modern example to show how such a change could have affected the religious beliefs and practices of the time.

The era that has unfortunately been labelled as a Dark Age does not present any cultural break but can be characterised as having a smooth course. The changes in the material evidence, burial customs and settlement patterns simply show that during the post-palatial period a social dynamic was created that took advantage of the weakening political scheme of the palatial period. Those Mycenaean who were now free from the guardianship of the *wanaka* gradually formed a new social, political and economic reality that led to the founding of the Greek polis. If new settlers did come to these areas they should not necessarily be seen only as foreigners. The archaeological discoveries show clearly that these few new elements were incorporated into the local culture and possibly contributed to strengthen the areas which were undergoing cultural developments. But what is also clear from the archaeological record is that those who might have been responsible for the organisation of the society in these times – whether Mycenaean survivals or newcomers – found opportunities to express their close connection with the past.

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THE WORLD OF TELEMACHUS: WESTERN GREECE 1200–700 BC

Birgitta Eder

In search of information on his father's fate, Telemachus travels from Ithaca to Nestor in Pylos and Menelaos in Laconia. It is to this world of western Greece, which offers the background to the so-called Telemachia in books 4 and 5 of the *Odyssey*, that I wish to invite the reader to follow me on an archaeological trip.¹ A survey of both old and more recent archaeological discoveries may allow us to reach a better understanding of social hierarchies in western Greece in the period between the Mycenaean palaces and the age of Homer.

LH IIIC MESSENIA

In order to look for the successors of the last Mycenaean *wanax* in the archaeological record of western Greece, the place to begin is the only Mycenaean palace discovered so far in this area. At the palace of Pylos, Linear B tablets document the bureaucratic aspects of power and control in LBA Messenia. These Linear B texts also supply evidence for banquets (Killen 1994). The throne room of the palace was possibly the setting of such banquets and festivities connected with ritual drinking. Hundreds of kylikes found in the stores neighbouring the throne room may have formed something like the actual supply of drinking vessels. An illustration of such a ceremony decorates one wall in the throne room, showing the famous lyre player as well as a group of at least two pairs of seated men. (Säflund 1980; McCallum 1987: 68–141; Wright 1995: 301–3; Hägg 1996: 607; Shelmerdine 1999a: 20f.). One has to add, though, that the kylikes they are holding in their hands are mostly reconstructed. However, we shall see that ritual

I wish to thank the organisers for their invitation to participate in this splendid and stimulating conference. I am very grateful to Saro Wallace for correcting the English of my manuscript. Florian Ruppenstein generously supplied his ideas about Cypriot-style bottles from his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, and I am also very grateful to Reinhard Jung, who read and commented on an earlier version of the manuscript. I take the opportunity to thank them both for many enjoyable discussions of various aspects of the Greek LBA and EIA.

¹ Telemachus, son of Odysseus, may also be taken to represent the next generation of scholars, who try to find and define their own ways on the long and winding roads leading from Mycenae to Homer. Cf. Shelmerdine 1996.

drinking ceremonies with kylikes survived the fall of the palace at Pylos into the world of the EIA.

There can be no doubt about the political, social and economic break which accompanied the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC. It meant the end of writing and record-keeping, the end of the industrial production of textiles and perfumes, of specialised art production, monumental architecture, and diplomatic contacts with the political powers of the Near East. The end of the palace of Pylos – occurring around the end of LH IIIB or the beginning of IIIC (cf. Mountjoy 1997) – coincided with a change in Messenian settlement patterns. If the chance of archaeological discoveries does not mislead us too far, the map of twelfth-century Messenia confronts us with a considerable reduction of habitation and burial sites (McDonald and Hope Simpson 1972: 142f.; Davis et al. 1997: 451f.). Only ten percent of the sites of the palatial period appear to have been in use in LH IIIC. Reason for thinking that Messenia actually suffered a dramatic decrease in sites and possibly in population as well is also given by the almost complete discontinuity in Messenian place names. Only Pylos and Kyparissia, and possibly very few others among the hundreds of Mycenaean toponyms attested in the Linear B tablets from Pylos, seem to have survived into later periods.

There are, however, some indications of continuity. The few sites of LH IIIC date cluster around the area of the former palace at Pylos (cf. Figure 29.9; see map in Eder, *Argolis*: 146, fig. 19). In the present context the burial sites of Tragana and Pisaskion merit further mention. Two tholos tombs were discovered and excavated by Kourouniotis on the top of a hill close to the modern village of Tragana. Geological investigations carried out by the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project in the 1990s suggest that these tombs lie above an artificially created port basin. If this is in fact the case, it must have been one of the harbours of the Mycenaean palace of Pylos (Zangger et al. 1997: 613–23). Both of the tombs were in use during the LH IIIA period, but not in LH IIIB during the heyday of the Mycenaean palace. However, one of these tholoi was reused in LH IIIC for a series of continuous burials, which cover the period from the twelfth down to the tenth and ninth centuries, or possibly even longer (cf. Eder, *Argolis*: 154–6). Among the finds from tholos 1 of Tragana, an angular alabastron with pictorial decoration deserves further discussion (Figure 29.1). The vessel belongs to the end of the twelfth to the early eleventh century BC (LH IIIC Late) and carries the illustration of an oared galley. The findspot of this alabastron in a tomb just above the Mycenaean harbour provides a suitable background for this illustration of a Late Mycenaean boat (Korres 1989; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 357f., fig. 123 Messenia no. 132).

According to Wedde, the oared galley was probably a Mycenaean invention und served transport by sea at high speed under oars.² Pictorial representations

2 I owe much of the following to the work of Michael Wedde, one of the experts on Bronze Age and EIA ship building and imagery. I would like to thank him for relevant discussions and for letting me read and refer to the manuscript of Wedde (forthcoming) before publication.



Figure 29.1 LH IIIC alabastron from tholos 1 at Tragana: illustration of an oared galley (after Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 358, fig. 123 Messenia no. 132)

suggest that the knowledge of building galleys survived the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces and constitutes a major link between the Bronze and the Iron Ages. An illustration of a galley of the mid-ninth century from Lefkandi offers the closest Iron Age parallel to the example from Tragana, and helps to illustrate the continuity in ship construction which links LBA examples with those from the EIA (Wedde 1999: 468, 471 on the Tragana ship B7; Wedde 2000: 168f., 213, 324 no. 643; Wedde forthcoming).³ Wedde has also pointed out that the continuity in ship construction and use gives a stronger indication of social and economic stability during the LBA/EIA transitional phase than is usually believed. Even a small galley requires an adequate crew of at least twenty rowers, whereas the Tragana ship offers space for fifty oars. Any community which sends out a group of men for commercial or military enterprises needs to control material and human resources in order to be able to construct, maintain, and employ a galley. This suggests the existence of sizeable social groups which were able to compensate the labour and military strength of fifty men, when they were away from

³ The only other published representation of a ship from western Greece appears on a Late Geometric krater from the settlement of Elean Pylos (Coleman 1986: 20f., pl. 21, B1). This rare case of a pictorial illustration from the region shows only the rear of a galley, the prow of which is not preserved, and therefore inhibits a closer classification of the vessel.

home at sea and, in the worst case, if they did not return at all. This is true in the case of one galley – more ships would correspondingly ask for a larger crowd. From this we may infer the potential for stratification of post-palatial society (Wedde forthcoming).

The contacts of LH IIIC Messenia with other parts of the Mediterranean, which can only be reached by boat, are illustrated by a find from chamber tomb K2 at Pisaskion, close to the former Mycenaean palace. A bronze bowl with three handles seems to be a hybrid of various traditions (Figure 29.2). Furnished with a solid

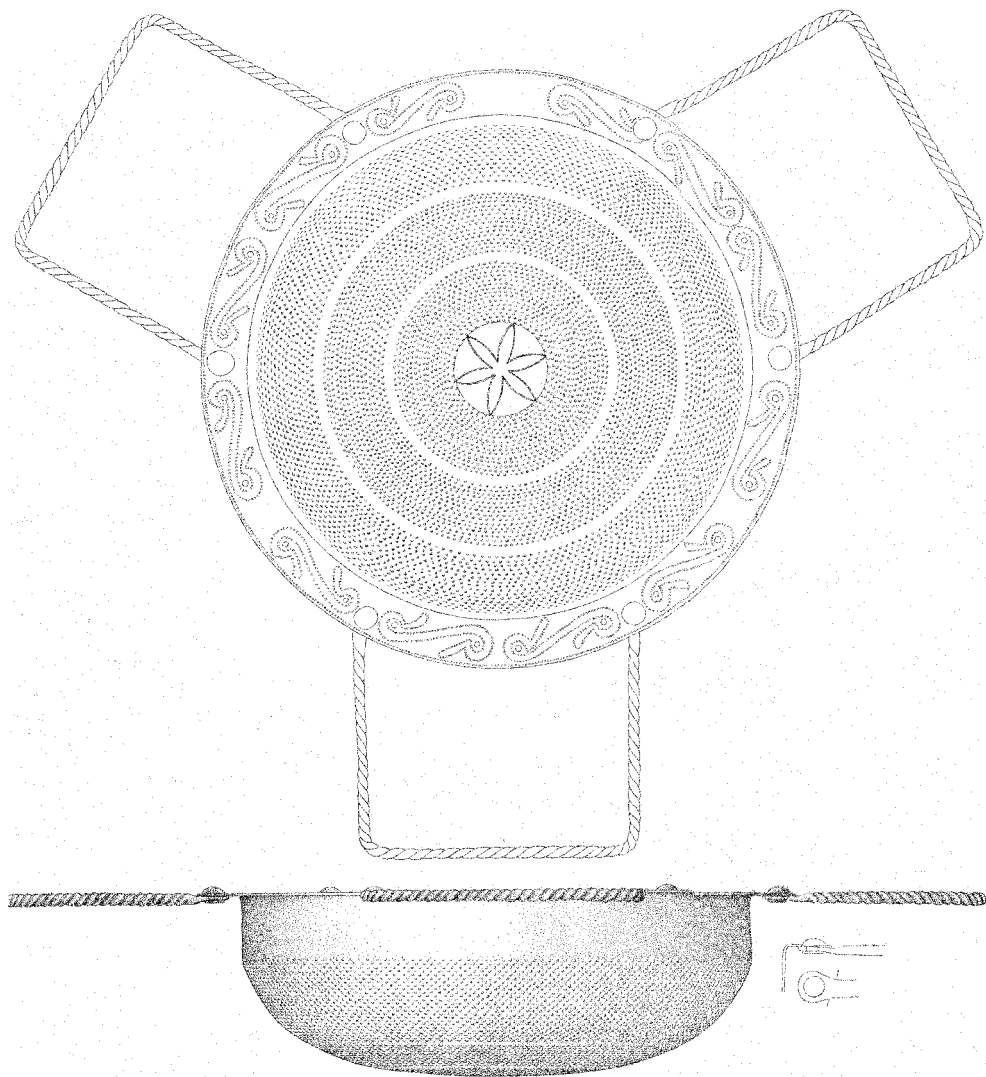


Figure 29.2 LH IIIC bronze bowl from chamber tomb K2 at Pisaskion (after Matthäus 1980a: pl. 51 no. 446)

bottom without holes and pointillé decoration, its shape most closely resembles Cypriot sifters, and the decoration with ornaments of antithetically opposed bird heads clearly displays inspiration from Protovillanovan Italy. Although the bronze vessel itself can be regarded as a product of Mycenaean workmanship, it suggests overseas contacts and gives an idea of which direction ships from the coasts of Messenia may have sailed in (Taylour 1973: 230–2, fig. 291:1a–e; Matthäus 1980a: 292–6, pl. 51 no. 446; Harding 1984: 205–7, fig. 51, 1; 260f.).

The same chamber tomb K2 at Pisaskion yielded also a krater, which was found together with kylikes in the dromos of the tomb and displays a hunting scene of LH IIIC Middle date (Figure 29.3). The context is suggestive of ritual drinking connected with funerary ceremonies. On one side of the krater a huntsman in a horned helmet and a pack of three dogs chase a stag on the other side of the handle (Taylour 1973: 229, fig. 289; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 355, fig. 122 Messenia no. 128). Hunting belongs to the common themes treated by palatial iconography, and fragments of such a fresco from the palace of Pylos show a huntsman and a stag and black and white dogs (Lang 1969: 40–2, pl. 121, 16 H 43; pl. 133, 12 C 43; Immerwahr 1990: 129–33, 153; cf. Schlag 2000). The survival of this iconographic tradition into the post-palatial period may be taken to indicate the survival of the social status of the hunt, one of the privileges of the elite. Apart from providing a source of meat for communal feasts, hunting helped maintain control over a territory and offered training for war (Ch. Morris 1990: 149–52; Hamilakis 1996: 161–6; Hamilakis 2003b: 243f.). The general rarity of figurative representations in LH IIIC Messenia and other regions of the west may in fact underline that pictorial vases are linked to persons of high status. The equipment of chamber tomb K2, which also yielded the precious bronze bowl just



Figure 29.3 LH IIIC krater from chamber tomb K2 at Pisaskion: illustration of a hunting scene (after Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 356, fig. 122 Messenia no. 128)

mentioned before, may be taken to support the case. Representations of hunting scenes on LH IIIC pottery come also from other areas of Greece (Mycenae, Tiryns, Lefkandi, Achaea: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: 138–41, pl. XI. 70–9; Güntner 2000: 216–20) and confirm the importance of this activity within post-palatial society.⁴ Some eighth-century vases with hunting scenes, and bronze figures from the sanctuary of Olympia featuring a stag, which is attacked by a group of dogs (Figure 29.4) (Schweitzer 1969: 49, pl. 61; Heilmeyer 1979: 148–51, pl. 87), imply that hunting belonged to the traditional lifestyle of social elites throughout the LBA/EIA transition.⁵



Figure 29.4 Geometric bronze figure from Olympia: stag attacked by three dogs (courtesy DAI Athens, neg. no. Olympia 1145; cf. Heilmeyer 1979: pl. 87 no. 723)

- 4 Other pictorial themes such as the warrior and the chariot scenes provide analogies for a connection between pictorial pottery and elite status.
- 5 Although dedications of bronze figures in Olympia are neither rare nor especially valuable, representations of horse-drawn chariots and charioteers suggest that the medium of small bronze votives was chosen by elites to communicate messages of status and wealth. On chariots, see below.

LH IIIC ELIS

Moving from LH IIIC Messenia to neighbouring Elis, we face a slightly different situation: Elis seems not to have supported a Mycenaean palace and not to have suffered a major break at the end of LH IIIB. The use of existing Mycenaean chamber-tomb cemeteries in LH IIIC suggests that settlement patterns remained more or less unchanged (cf. Figure 29.9; see map in Eder 2001a: 234, fig. 1; Eder 2003: 91, fig. 1). An important and extensive cemetery of this period has been discovered and excavated in recent years at the site of Agia Triada, in the upper Peneios valley. In the dromos of chamber tomb 5 a krater with the illustration of a prothesis scene of LH IIIC date was found (Figure 29.5). Together with fragments of kylikes and bowls it is again suggestive of ritual drinking, which took place in front of the tomb in connection with burial ceremonies (Vikatou 1999, 2001).

Similar to figured scenes known from mainly Attic vases of the second half of the eighth century BC (Ahlberg 1971), the bier with the corpse occupies the centre of the illustration. A dog lies below, while to left and right human figures raise their hands to their heads in mourning gestures. Comparable scenes are known from the painted larnakes of Mycenaean Tanagra in Boeotia, which belong to the period from LH IIIA to (possibly) IIIC (cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1995; Immerwahr 1995). The similarities of these illustrations, covering several centuries, suggest that burial rites and ceremonies remained constant and essentially unchanged in major aspects from Mycenaean to Geometric times, even if one takes changes such as the introduction of cremation and the transition from multiple to single burials into consideration. This can be regarded as a significant trait of continuity in social behaviour during a period which is still thought of as one of major



Figure 29.5 LH IIIC krater from Agia Triada: illustration of a prothesis scene (after Vikatou 2001: 275, fig. 1)

social change. It may be assumed that in the period after the fall of the palaces regional elites perpetuated existing social patterns and a cultural memory to a significant extent. Considerable expenditure continued to be demanded for a burial of rank, involving the anointment of the body of the deceased, its laying out, organisation of the funeral, of the lamentation of the dead, and finally possibly also of funeral games. According to the pictorial representations on the Tanagra larnakes, the LH IIIC krater from Agia Triada, and the Attic vase paintings of the eighth century, these burial rites remained standard practice throughout the LBA/EIA transitional period. The eleventh to ninth centuries did not produce any pictorial illustration of prothesis scenes, but are generally known as a period of rather monochrome pottery production on the Greek mainland. The krater from Agia Triada therefore represents an important piece of documentation for continuities in social behaviour between the LBA and the EIA in Greece (Eder 2003: 92f.).

LH IIIC LACONIA

Another rich Mycenaean cemetery of LH IIIC date is located at Palaiokastro in the upper Alpheios valley, in the modern district of Arcadia (Blackman 1996–1997: 33f.; Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 296–9). Pottery displays many links with Elis and the western Peloponnese, and in fact the site lies on an inland route leading from Elis across the Megalopolis plain and via Pellana down to the Eurotas valley. Elsewhere in the region, only a handful of sites belong to the LH IIIC period, and with the sparse evidence at hand the history of post-palatial Laconia is difficult to assess. A Mycenaean sanctuary at Amyklai in the central Eurotas valley represents one of the more significant sites of the LH IIIC period (Demakopoulou 1982: 29–96). Leaving aside the vexed question of cult continuity or discontinuity, the importance of Amyklai can be understood within the pattern of the post-palatial rise or continuity of sanctuaries serving local communities as a point of interaction. This is valid for the shrine at Kalapodi in central Greece, which is the only case on the Greek mainland with clear continuity from LH IIIC through the EIA into the Classical period, but also for the sanctuaries at Isthmia and Olympia, which were established later in the EIA (cf. Morgan in *Isthmia*: 378–94; Eder 2006). Laconian communities of some importance continuing to the very end of LH IIIC are represented by the chamber tomb cemeteries at Pellana and at Epidauros Limera, and finds of both sites indicate that LH IIIC Laconia was integrated into an interregional pattern of contacts. Whereas the pottery from Epidauros Limera illustrates connections with the Argolid and the Aegean, Pellana in the upper Eurotas valley received imports of LM IIIC stirrup jars from Crete (Demakopoulou 1982: 113–20; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 251f., 287–93). After the end of LH IIIC Laconia is shrouded in the mysteries of a true Dark Age, and a lack of archaeological data characterises

our knowledge of the period until the middle of the tenth century (cf. Eder, *Argolis*: 89–113).

LH IIIC ACHAEA AND IONIAN ISLANDS

Our journey brings us now to Achaea and the Ionian Islands, where archaeological exploration has revealed numerous and richly furnished burials of LH IIIC date and bears witness to a period of prosperity for these parts of western Greece in the period following the fall of the Mycenaean palaces. In fact, it does not come as a surprise that the post-palatial period was a time of cultural flowering and economic prosperity, especially for those regions which had not developed into palace states, remaining peripheral to the palatial centres of the Peloponnese and central Greece. The example of Achaea in the north-western Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands off the coast of western Greece may well offer a case in point (Eder: forthcoming a).

After the fall of the Mycenaean palaces elsewhere on the Greek mainland, settlement patterns in Achaea remained more or less unchanged, as implied by the continued use of existing chamber tomb cemeteries. However, the evidence of rich tomb finds, which mainly belong to the LH IIIC period, indicate that Achaea came to play an important role in post-palatial Greece. The Mycenaean cemeteries of Achaea are most remarkable for a large number of so-called warrior graves of LH IIIC date (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994; Th. Papadopoulos 1999; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001; Petropoulos 2000; Kolonas 2000: 96; Kolonas 2001: 260f.; Eder 2004: 38–41; cf. Deger-Jalkotzy in this volume). Burials equipped with bronze swords of the Naue II type, and with other weapons and pieces of armour, have mainly been found in the cemeteries located in the western part of the region, in the area of Patras (Klauss, Krini, Kallithea and Lousika, see Figure 29.9). If we take these grave goods as indicators of the status of the deceased and symbols of military prowess, the warrior burials of LH IIIC Achaea should represent in fact the ruling elites of the period. The ‘warriors’ were also buried with pieces of jewellery, articles of dress (tweezers, razor, comb) and other rich grave offerings, which indicated membership of an upper social class. This situation compares well with the portrayal of the ruling elites in the Homeric epics as claiming a monopoly on physical prowess, intelligence and beauty (van Wees, *Status Warriors*: 78–89). The continuity of a culture of beauty throughout the LBA/EIA transition is exemplified by the production of the ceramic shapes of the stirrup jar and then subsequently the lekythos, which were used as containers for perfumed oils (Desborough, *Dark Ages*: 35–7). These vessel types were also found with warrior burials, but are not in the least limited to those.

I have shown elsewhere that the distribution of Achaean style LH IIIC pottery illustrates connections with the areas encompassing the Corinthian gulf and further north: pottery of Achaean derivation has been found even in Albanian tombs (Eder: 2004: 43; Bejko 1992: 117–23). Achaean connections extended to

the shores on the other side of the Ionian Sea, where the presence of Achaeon-style Mycenaean pottery at the site of Punta Meliso (Santa Maria di Leuca) and Roca Vecchia (Lecce) confirms the existence of relations between southern Italy and the western Greek mainland in LH IIIC – Late (late twelfth/early eleventh century) (Punta Meliso: Benzi and Graziadio 1996; Benzi 2001; Roca Vecchia: Guglielmino 1996, 2005). The area around Patras, where the majority of LH IIIC ‘warrior burials’ has come to light, offered on the one hand an ideal location for enterprises directed towards the Adriatic, and on the other hand control of the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf on its southern shores. Therefore the wealth and importance of the burials at the LH IIIC Achaeon sites may be taken to reflect the Achaeans’ role as mediators between the Greek mainland and the Adriatic. Products related to the Italian bronze industry such as razors and flange-hilted daggers, which are known as *Peschiera* daggers, and metal ornaments have also been discovered in Achaea and the Ionian Islands and represent an Italian contribution to the Greek–Adriatic exchange network in LH IIIC (Matthäus 1980b; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 79–83; Th. Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopolou 2000; Eder and Jung 2005).

The diffusion of amber finds illustrates that, in addition to Achaea, the Ionian Islands also had their share in the interactive trans-Adriatic relations. The distribution of the so-called ‘Tiryns’ type amber beads of cylindrical shape is quite significant in this respect (Palavestra 1992; Harding 1984: 82–7; Hughes-Brock 1993: 221f.; Bouzek 1993: 142f.; Eder 2004: 46f., 54 fig. 3). The material as well as the finished beads was mostly acquired via Italy, and the diffusion of amber beads strongly suggests that considerable amounts of LH IIIC amber reached Greece along the Adriatic route. The largest finds of amber in Greece in LH IIIC contexts come from the late Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries on Kephallenia. These belong almost exclusively to the LH IIIC period and outnumber by far those from other find-spots in the Aegean. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Kephallenia obtained amber through contacts with Italy. The island probably also played an active part in the distribution of the amber beads on the Greek mainland (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 84f.).

The distribution of amber, pottery and metalwork types seems to support the view that in LH IIIC the Ionian Islands, and in particular Kephallenia, as well as Achaea, played a role in mediating contacts between the Adriatic region and the Greek mainland. Probably due to the strategic location of these regions at the western entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, they were able to develop local hierarchies of power in the post-palatial period. Situated at crucial nodes on supply routes, they controlled and took advantage of the flow of valuables which had to pass through them.

Within this pattern of contacts, traces of Cypriot and Cretan connections do not come as an entire surprise. Recent finds in the chamber-tomb cemetery at Portes in Southern Achaea include two LM IIIC Cretan stirrup jars (Kolonas 2001: 261; Moschos 2002: 26). Sherds of a probable Cypriot vase come from the

dromos of tomb 7 (Moschos 1997: 293), and a hemispherical bronze bowl from the context of the warrior burial in tomb 3 is reminiscent of Cypriot examples (Kolonas 2000: 96, fig. 3 no. 28; Moschos 2002: 26). Two Cypriot iron knives from the Achaeon site of Teichos Dymaion confirm the impression that imports of Cypriot origin arrived in LH IIIC Achaea (Th. Papadopoulos 1978–1979: 157f.; Sherratt 1994: 60f.; see also Th. Papadopoulos 1985: 144, pl. 3c). Furthermore, the presence of bottle-shaped alabastra in the LH IIIC cemeteries on Kephallenia adds the Ionian Islands to these patterns of contacts. These vessels with cylindrical shape are otherwise unknown to the Mycenaean repertory and clearly imitate Cypriot ceramic prototypes; they point to contacts between Cypriots and the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands in the later phases of LH IIIC (Ruppenstein 2001: 223–6; cf. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 64, 75, 142; Demetriou 1989: 32).

It has long been recognised that Cypriot long-distance connections, which followed established Bronze Age sea routes towards the central Mediterranean, continued after the collapse of the east Mediterranean LBA polities around or soon after 1200 BC. The Ionian Islands and the western region of Achaea may have offered something like ports of call for Cypriot boats on the route to southern Italy and the Adriatic (Sherratt 2000, 2001: 234–7).

LH IIIC AETOLIA, AKARNANIA AND EPIRUS

I have less to say about the Late Bronze Age in the regions just north of the Corinthian Gulf, not least because there is hardly any new evidence available to discuss. Agios Ilias and Thermon appear to have continued into LH IIIC, their pottery shows affinities with Achaea (Wardle 1977: 166; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 804f.; Wardle and Wardle 2004: 150, 154 fig. 3).

In Epirus the important site of Ephyra-Xylokastro, where a sheltered bay provided an ideal location for a Mycenaean port of call towards the Adriatic, may have also continued into LH IIIC (Tartaron and Zachos 1999: 60–2). Connections between Epirus and other regions of Greece are mainly implied by metalwork styles. The majority of Aegean type F swords come from sites located in western and central Greece and the Ionian Islands, and most of the examples from Epirus seem to have been produced in local workshops. These swords not only suggest the existence of warrior elites in these areas, but similarities in their typology and technology point also to a high degree of communication among the groups living there (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 76–92; Eder 1999, 2001c: 77–81). A type F sword, which was found in the Surbo hoard in Apulia, must be seen in the context of finds from western Greece, especially with those from Kefallenia, which offer the closest parallels.

In addition to the already known examples from Epirus, a type F sword of superb quality with spiral decoration was discovered in recent excavations at the site of Liatovouni close to the Albanian border. Liatovouni is located on a

commanding hill within the Konitsa valley, and controls an important inland route along the river Aoos leading northwest to the straits of Otranto. One of the earliest tombs within a mainly Iron Age cemetery contained a warrior burial equipped with two bronze swords (one type F, one Naue II type C) and bronze buttons, which may have belonged to a leather corselet (Douzougli 1994: 368f.). Due to the lack of accompanying pottery the chronology of the tomb is difficult to assess, but the typology of the swords is compatible with a date in LH IIIC Advanced to SM (by PG swords would have been produced in iron). The importance of the inland route leading through interior Epirus and southern Albania to the straits of Otranto is also indicated by Mycenaean-style pottery in Albania, which mainly displays links with Achaea (Bejko 1994: 117–23).

SM TO LG (C.1070/50–700) IN WESTERN GREECE (FIGURE 29.9)

The end of LH IIIC is the point where Bronze Age specialists usually end their narrative, and archaeologists and historians of the EIA pick up their thread. Here, I would like to make an attempt to bridge the more or less artificial divide and to point out the discontinuities, but to look also for the heritage of the LBA in the EIA record of western Greece. The archaeological record of southern Greece in general shows a considerable break after the end of LH IIIC, around 1070/50 BC, and this is in marked contrast with evidence from central Greece, Euboea, Thessaly and coastal Macedonia. In the west we observe the more or less complete abandonment of the known Mycenaean cemetery sites in Aetolia, Kefallenia, Achaea, Elis and Laconia which had been in continued use for several centuries. The same appears to be more or less true for the few settlement sites of which we possess some information, like Teichos Dymaion (destruction in LH IIIC Late; cf. Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 402).

That this change in settlement patterns and burial practices mirrors political events at the end of LH IIIC Late is suggested by the disappearance of Achaean imports in Epirus and Italy. The western network of LH IIIC contacts appears to have been substantially disturbed, and the vacuum created by the unravelling of southern connections was filled by an influx of Balkan material culture in Epirus and Aetolia (Wardle 1977: 199). If any period should be considered as a setting for the mythical migrations of the Aetolians into the western Peloponnese, I would suggest the middle of the eleventh century as a historical landmark.

Although much more information is needed to clarify the picture of events in western Greece between 1200 and 700, it appears that during the later eleventh and tenth centuries a new settlement pattern emerged. This period saw the beginnings of sites which then developed continuously into the historical periods, some of them taking on a historical importance. Olympia, Elis and Sparta are good examples for a new start in the use of sites after longer or shorter periods of abandonment in the LBA. In many cases the presence of new settlements is indicated

only by newly-established burial grounds, consisting mainly of groups of tombs with single burials.

The site of ancient *Elis* in the north-western Peloponnese illustrates the point in question. Excavations there revealed small groups of EIA tombs, among which two SM burials were found containing Aegean type bronze swords. These burials of the later eleventh century mark the beginnings of the site of ancient Elis, which was later to become the capital of the whole region (Eder 1999, 2001a: 237–9; 2001c, 2003: 95–101). These examples illustrate the continuing burial of elites as warriors in the EIA of the west, whereas the use of antique Mycenaean style swords may have offered something of a Mycenaean past to their owners. Against the lack of a Mycenaean occupation of the site the newcomers who came to settle in Elis towards the end of the second millennium may have found it especially appealing to make use of these historical insignia of the Bronze Age past for their identification and legitimation.

The eleventh- and the tenth-century sites in *Messenia* seem to follow much more a Bronze Age pattern and frequently show either signs of continuity or evidence of re-use after a period of abandonment. Tholos tombs at Tragana and at Pisaskion were still used for burials, and the resettlement of the Bronze Age site of Nichoria in the SM/PG period is also reflected in the re-use of Mycenaean burial grounds (*Nichoria III*: 260–72; cf. Eder, *Argolis*: 171f.). PG burials have been found also in dromoi of some of the chamber tombs in Antheia-Ellenika, which was a Bronze Age site of considerable importance and probably one in the EIA as well (Chatzi-Spiliopoulou 2001: 293, pl. 28, 4–5; Arapogianni 1995: 178, pl. 70a; cf. Eder, *Argolis*: 172f.). Cattle-breeding seems to have been an important part of the economy of EIA Nichoria, and this is in accordance with the importance of livestock farming in the western Peloponnese as indicated by the dedications of animal figurines in the EIA sanctuary at Olympia (Snodgrass, *Archaeology*: 202–9; Morgan, *Oracles*: 91). Nichoria was abandoned by its inhabitants in the middle of the eighth century, and later evidence at the site consists mainly of a LG pithos burial which contained the remains of a man with an iron Naue II sword and a spearhead, some pottery and two bronze bowls (*Nichoria III*: 260–5, 286f.). At the end of the eighth century BC the Messenian settlement pattern changed, thus possibly reflecting the Spartan occupation of the country during the first Messenian war. The abandonment of Nichoria, for example, can be interpreted as a reaction to the military activities of the Spartans as they are reported by the ancient sources (*Nichoria III*: 326). Given the present evidence, the reorganisation of land control resulted in a concentration of sites, some of them along the Messenian Gulf (Morgan, *Oracles*: 99–101, 72, fig. 12; Harrison and Spencer 1998). Tomb cults flourished at Mycenaean tombs in the second half of the eighth century, and probably helped to stress the ancestral claims of the Messenians to their land. The decrease in these activities towards the end of the eighth century BC may also have been due to the Spartan conquest of the area (Antonaccio, *Ancestors*: 70–102, 142 with references).

Neighbouring *Laconia* has so far withheld clear evidence of the SM and EPG periods of the eleventh century BC, and this appears to have been the crucial period for the transformation of Mycenaean *Laconia* into historical *Lacedaimon*. Only finds of PG pottery of a very developed stage (late tenth to the early ninth) and in a significant local style give a hint at the settlement pattern of the Eurotas valley in the EIA. Pottery of this kind testifies to the establishment of several post-Bronze Age sites in *Laconia*, among which *Sparta* was to become the later capital of the region. Evidence comes mainly from the prominent sanctuaries of *Artemis Orthia* and *Athena Chalkioikos* in *Sparta* and of *Apollon Hyakinthos* in *Amyklai* (Coulson 1985; Eder, *Argolis*: 99–111 with references).⁶ Influence of *Laconian* PG pottery can be traced on that of *Messenia* and suggests contacts and communication between the regions in the late tenth and ninth centuries, well preceding Spartan expansion in the first Messenian war (*Nichoria III*: 72–9, 110f.).

PG pottery from the western Greek mainland and the Ionian Islands has often been described in terms of a Western *koiné* (Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*: 220–3; Coulson 1986; cf. Morgan, *Oracles*: 104f.). There are many regional features which do not allow assigning west Greek PG as a homogenous group, but many links exist in fact in respect to shapes (*kantharoi*, *kylikes*) and decoration (*monochromy*, *crosshatched triangles* and *lozenges*). These similarities suggest the existence of regular communication on a regional basis within this western group, and it appears obvious that connections in pottery styles are always strongest between neighbouring regions.⁷

In contrast to the rich material record for LH IIIC a group of twelve vases from *Derveni* offers only elusive evidence for the PG period in *Achaea*, and archaeological sources of information flow more richly only from the Geometric period onwards⁸ (Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*: 220–32; Coldstream 1998; Desborough, *Dark Ages*: 248f.; Dekoulakou 1973; 1984: 224–35; J. Papadopoulos 2001: 383–407). No west Greek PG pottery has been identified so far in *Italy* and *Epirus*. Contacts across the *Corinthian Gulf* seem to be clear, because common traits link the production of PG pottery in *Achaea*, *Aetolia* and *Phokis* (cf. Morgan, *Oracles*: 248f.).

6 In recent years EIA tombs have been found in *Sparta* as well as in *Amyklai*: cf. Raftopoulou 1996–1997; Raftopoulou 1998: 133f.; Zavvou 1996: pl. 45α–β. New investigations at the site of *Geraki* have revealed PG pottery, whereas Mycenaean finds remain notably absent (Blackman 1998–1999: 31).

7 Although direct influence from the PG styles of the eastern mainland on those of the western orbit is difficult to prove, general similarities and some shared fashions which concern the development of shapes and decoration suggest a considerable degree of communication between Greek potters of the EIA. Much stronger similarities in the styles of metalwork all over Greece seem to support this argument.

8 This must at least partly be due to the different nature of the evidence. The simple, sometimes humble tombs with single burials of the EIA are not as conspicuous within the archaeological landscape as Mycenaean chamber tombs and much more easily destroyed. Many of the EIA tombs may therefore not have been recognised.

As already noted, Achaean overseas activities seem to have ceased by the end of LH IIIC, and this pattern apparently continues well into the EIA. Only from the ninth century onwards the presence of Corinthian imports at several sites in Epirus illustrates again contacts between Epirus and the south and can mainly be understood in the context of expanding Corinthian interests (Morgan 1988). These links in the material record seem to repeat the LH IIIC pattern of contacts in the regions around the Corinthian Gulf and in north-western Greece (Eder 2004). The use of similar routes towards north-western and northern Greece probably pertains to the access to constantly desired raw materials such as metals.

The southern coast of *Aetolia* seems to have remained within the western orbit in the EIA. In this context the site of Thermon, located at a regional crossroads of communication on the eastern side of lake Trichonis, needs to be discussed. A LBA settlement existed at the site of the later sanctuary of Apollo, but there is no evidence for cult activity going back so far. Matt-painted pottery in a MH tradition was in use there at the same time as Mycenaean wares, which offer a date in the LH IIIC period for the final destruction of the LBA settlement. The LBA buildings were succeeded by an EIA settlement with the so-called Megaron B as main building, the construction of which can be dated within the period from the end of LH IIIC to Geometric.⁹ Local matt-painted pottery belonging to this phase betrays an orientation towards the north and northwest, and the complete lack of pottery decorated in the local PG style, which occurs on other Aetolian sites, suggests an interruption of contacts with the south (cf. Wardle 1977: 173–6; *Ergon*, 1998: 54–6; Wardle and Wardle 2004: 150f.).

An important cemetery site of the EIA has been discovered in recent years at Stamna in southern Aetolia, close to the Mycenaean settlement of Agios Ilias. The building of the Ionian motorway required rescue excavations, which brought to light more than 500 mostly single burials in cists and pithoi. These constitute part of what is probably the largest EIA necropolis in western Greece. Only its future publication will give us an idea about its overall significance, but the few data we possess suggest a concentration of EIA population in this place. Whether this signals a response to the break-up of the LBA settlement pattern in other regions is difficult to assess with the available set of archaeological data. Pottery from these tombs belongs to the local western Greek PG, which is derived from the local Mycenaean pottery styles. Comparable evidence comes from Gavalou, south of lake Trichonis, and a few other sites in Aetolia (Vokotopoulou 1969;

9 Preliminary reports on the excavations 1992–2000 which were taking place in the area of the temple of Apollo under the direction of I. Papapostolou in *PAE* 1992–2000 and *Ergon* 1992–2001, 2004. Deposits with ashes, bones and iron weapons in the area of Megaron B apparently belong to an EIA sacrificial use of the site after the destruction of Megaron B in the late ninth or first half of the eighth century BC. The question of whether LBA Megaron A was still standing in the EIA is almost impossible to decide on present evidence, and I am reluctant to accept its interpretation as heroon and any parallelism with the EIA apsidal building of Lefkandi (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*: 44f., 125–35, figs 40–50; Morris, *Archaeology*: 225–8).

Stamna: Christakopoulou 2001; Petropoulos, Saranti and Christakopoulou 2004: 80f., 231f.; Stamna, Pleuron: Dekoulakou 1984: 220–4; Gavalou: Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980).

EARLY IRON AGE ELITES

Among the burials of Stamna one particular tomb stands out, not only because it is a built tomb in an oval shape, but also because it contained five successive burials, most of them cremations. One was a cremated warrior, who was equipped with an iron version of the Naue II type sword and a bronze shield-boss (Christakopoulou 2001). This example clearly shows the continuity of elite burials as warriors in the EIA of the west, a pattern mirrored in PG and G cemeteries in other parts of Greece (e.g. Euboea, Attica, Crete: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998; Whitley 2002; Bräuning 1995). It also illustrates the continuation of a tradition of sword production, which is of course directly linked to the continuity of warrior ideologies.

Naue II swords can ultimately claim a central European origin. Making their first appearance in LH IIIB, these swords became the most successful cutting and thrusting weapons of the Aegean in LH IIIC and subsequently replaced the Aegean swords of types F and G (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 94–126, 162f., 167, 170f.; cf. also Baitinger 2001: 76f.). It is no coincidence that this sword type remained after its conversion into iron the standard weapon until the archaic period. The same accounts for another part of the armour such as the shield, of which usually only the shield-boss is preserved.

Warrior burials from Messenia (*Nichoria III*: 260–5, 286f.) and Achaëa testify to the continuity of this tradition into the eighth century BC. A LG warrior was found buried with his weaponry and jewellery in a pithos at the site of Drepanon in north-western Achaëa. The burial gifts included an iron Naue II sword, spearheads and a knife, fibulae and pins, and also two glass beads of possibly Phoenician origin (Dekoulakou 1973: 22–7, pls 13–14; for the glass beads see the comparanda in Stampolidis 2003: 524 no. 106, 526 no. 1030). At least one other warrior burial of early seventh-century date can be inferred from the presence of two iron Naue II swords, an iron knife, two bronze lebetes and a marvellous Protocorinthian krater of the Thapsos class found at Mavriki near Aigion (Kourou 1980; Coldstream 1998: 327). These burials belong – together with an early seventh-century warrior tomb near Kalavryta in the Arcadian-Achaean border zone, which contained an ‘Illyrian’ type helmet, bronze greaves, an iron sword and spearheads – to the latest cases of this kind in western Greece (Kalavryta: Mastrokostas 1961–1962: pl. 156; Kandila/Arcadia: Steinhauer 1971: 122f.). In southern Greece the custom of male burials with arms seems to come to an end by the late eighth and early seventh century BC, whereas it continues into the seventh and even the sixth centuries in Epirus, Thessaly and other areas of northern Greece (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 116–21; Vitsa/Epirus:

Vokotopoulou 1986: 291–6; I. Morris 1998: 19, 43–45; Morgan, *Early States*: 90f.). The implicit change in depositional practice has been linked to the appearance of dedications of weapons and armours in Greek sanctuaries by the eighth century, and has been explained in the context of the formation of archaic poleis and the rise of the hoplite phalanx. Public dedications related to successful communal efforts in warfare appear to have gradually superseded an emphasis in funerary display on the military prowess of the individual (Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*: 52–4, 99–102, 104–17; van Wees 1998: 338–52, 366–9; Morgan, *Early States*: 119; cf. Baitinger 2001: 90 for Olympia; Gadolou 1997 for Ano Mazaraki/Achaea).

Supplementary evidence for the idea that the self-representation and lifestyle of the elite as warriors survived the end of the LBA concerns the chariot. According to the Linear B archives, the Mycenaean palaces controlled the production and the use of the chariot (Palaima 1999; Shelmerdine 1999b: 403; Bernabé 1996), which was also part of the palatial iconography, as examples from the palace at Pylos demonstrate (Lang 1969: 42–8, pls 123–4, 26 H 64; Immerwahr 1990: 123–8, 153). Scenes of warfare on LH IIIC pottery with chariots and warriors appear to continue the major themes of the wall paintings, which formed part of the representational program of the Mycenaean palaces. Illustrations of LH IIIC chariots from the Argolid and Achaea confirm that the chariot continued to be built and used after the end of the Mycenaean palaces (Güntner 2000: 15–28, 182, 195–9; Crouwel 1981: 70–2, 140–3; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 366 refers to charioteers on pictorial pottery from Achaea). When, after a dark interlude of three centuries, representations of horse-drawn chariots reappear on Greek geometric pottery and as bronze or clay figures at Olympia in the eighth century, they are of essentially the same type as the latest Bronze Age chariot (Crouwel 1981: 73f., 143f., 150f.; 1992: 53–8). The skeletons of four horses next to the tenth-century burial of a warrior and his female companion in the apsidal building at Lefkandi are most convincingly to be interpreted as two pairs of chariot horses and may help to bridge the LBA/EIA divide created by the lack of figurative representations of chariots and charioteers (*Lefkandi II.2*: 21f., pl. 22; Crouwel 1992: 24, 53f.).

The chariot and the keeping of horses may be regarded as an important element of continuity between the EIA and the Mycenaean past. The use of chariots required a complex infrastructure pertaining to the production, maintenance and storage of the vehicles as well as to the rearing and owning of the necessary horses. Driving chariots would have been one of the means by which wealth and prestige were conspicuously displayed, and was therefore most likely to be accessible only to members of the elite. Only a structured and probably hierarchically organised society could offer the necessary framework within which the chariot could survive the end of the Mycenaean palace system (Crouwel 1992: 104f.; Wedde forthcoming).

Figure 29.6 Geometric bronze figure from Olympia: horse-drawn chariot (courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athens, neg. no. 1969/376; cf. Heilmeyer 1994: pl. 61, 1 no. 1)

Representations of chariots and charioteers in bronze (Figure 29.6) as well as clay from the sanctuary at Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972: 20–40, 41–55; 1994) support the idea, first promoted by C. Morgan, that the early sanctuary at Olympia functioned as a meeting place of the petty chiefs of the west (Morgan, *Oracles*: 57–105; Morgan 1993: 20–7). The later eleventh century saw the rather modest beginnings of Olympia as a local sanctuary, serving as a point of communication in the dispersed settlement pattern in the Alpheios valley (Kyrieleis 2002, 2004; Eder 2001a, 2001b, 2003: 101–11; 2006). It was to become one of the four Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, and – apart from Dodona – the only sanctuary in western Greece of super-regional importance. From an early period on it received prestigious dedications, consisting of tripods and jewellery. Figurines of bronze and clay feature mainly bulls and horses, and illustrate the wealthy economic background, which livestock offered to these so-called petty chiefs.

Despite its post-Mycenaean origins, the sanctuary at Olympia has produced pottery which displays links with the pottery production of the LBA, and allows postulating again some elements of structural continuity. In this context we can view the survival of a vase shape of which the Mycenaean origin is beyond any doubt. Some EIA sanctuaries in the west have produced examples of kylikes which are characterised by their conical shape and ribbed stems. PG examples come from the Polis cave on Ithaca (see Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 109–11 and Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 475–7 with references) and from an ash layer at Olympia of undeniable votive character (Figures 29.7 and 29.8). I have suggested elsewhere that it was the continued use of the kylix in ceremonial-ritual contexts which ensured the continuity of the Mycenaean vase shape into the

EIA¹⁰ (Eder 2001b: 206–8; 2006). Except for western Greece, this vase shape dies out in the mainland after LH IIIC, and Cyprus is the only other region with ample evidence of EIA kylikes, offering the best typological parallels for the series from the western Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands.

This feature indicates the survival of aspects of Mycenaean ritual and accords well with some other elements of religious continuity. Burnt animal sacrifice and the communal consumption of meat already formed part of religious ceremonies in the LBA (Hägg 1996: 607–11; 1998: 100–3; Shelmerdine 2001: 367–71; Weihartner 2002; Morgan, *Early States*: 149; Morgan 2003: 254; Isaakidou et al. 2002; Konsolaki 2002: 28; Hamilakis 2003a), and several prominent Greek deities of the Olympic pantheon, whose names occur in the Linear B tablets, confirm the conservative character of religion (Hägg 1996: 600, n. 9 with bibliography), even if the archaeological record of sanctuaries on the Greek mainland does not support the straightforward continuity of Mycenaean cult into later periods.

Figure 29.7 PG kylix from Polis on Ithaca (drawing author, courtesy British School at Athens, Stavros museum inv. no. 222; cf. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: pl. 28)

10 Similar patterns probably account also for the typological continuity of bronze tripods from the LBA to the EIA. The prestigious bronze vessel served a variety of functions, among which the heating of bath water is attested for the LBA as well as in Homer. Cf. Matthäus 1980a: 110–21. Cf. also the Mycenaean-Geometric continuity of three-legged throne models in terracotta: Weber-Hiden 2000.

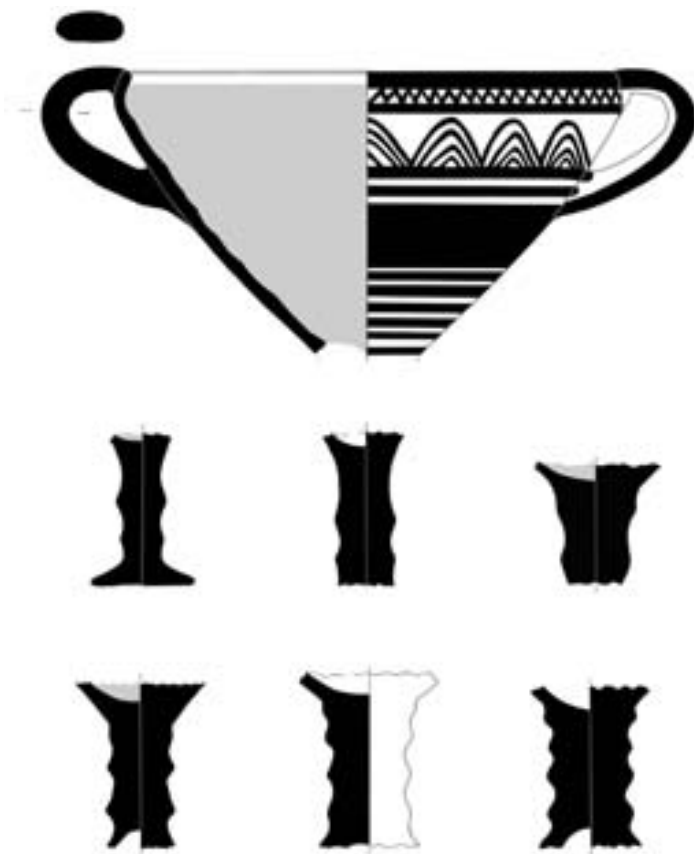


Figure 29.8 Fragments of EIA kylikes from Olympia (after Eder 2006)

Religion and cult practice are not necessarily tied to specific locations, but primarily linked to people, who believe in gods and venerate them.

THE CYPRIOT CONNECTION

Typological similarities between the shape of the western Greek kylikes with those from eleventh- and tenth-century Cyprus offer a starting point for the identification of a Cypriot connection with western Greece. Although locally produced, PG kylikes from Ithaca, Olympia, Nichoria in Messenia and possibly also from Amyklai in Laconia share some decorative features as well as pronounced ribbed stems and markedly inturned lips with contemporary kylikes from Cyprus (Sherratt 1981: 437, 457f.; Karageorghis 1975: 54, 61, pls 34, 44, 77, 85; *Palaepaphos-Skales*: 359, 372, pls 31, 56, 85, figs 43, 83, 90). Taking into account the fact that similar types are not found on the eastern Greek mainland and only rarely in Crete, I assume that these kylikes indicate rather direct contacts between

Cypriots and western Greeks. This assumption is strengthened by the appearance of pottery, in the shape of pilgrim or lentoid flasks, which offers additional evidence for the external relations of the western Greek world in the tenth and ninth centuries BC. This vase shape is known also from SM and PG Athens, Lefkandi and Crete, where it forms, together with bottles, duck vases and other ceramic shapes, an indicator for contacts with Cyprus in these early periods. The shape had dropped out of the Mycenaean repertory and was reintroduced to Greece in the PG, most likely from Cyprus (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 79f. with references; Demetriou 1989: 3–51).

Find-spots of flasks in the west are Nichoria and Antheia-Hellenika in the Pamisos valley of eastern Messenia (*Nichoria III*: 86, 156, fig. 3–40 P752; Arapogianni 1995: 178, pl. 70α). Three examples come from Ithaca/Aetos (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 114, pl. 44 k, l, n). A complete flask has been found also in the area of Agrinion in Aetolia (Vokotopoulou 1969: 86f., no. 37, pl. 50β–γ), and its state of preservation suggests that it was recovered from a tomb; a flask from Cyprus (Pieridou 1973: pl. 13, 5) offers quite a convincing parallel. Although one has to respect that all these flasks appear to be in fact local products, a derivation from Cypriot prototypes seems very likely. Some Cypriot imports can be assumed, and the presence of these Cypriote style vessels in the west suggests that it was not only the regional elites of Euboea, Attica, the Argolid and Crete, which came into contact with Cypriot seafarers and traders in the tenth and ninth centuries BC, but that the people living in the Ionian Islands and the western Greek mainland formed part of the Cypriot network as well.¹¹

A distribution map of Cypriot bronze bowls of the late ninth/early eighth century BC illustrates that this pattern of Cypriot/east Mediterranean connections is repeated in a later period. According to H. Matthäus, a distinct type of hemispherical bronze bowl with an interior ridge occurs in several Cypriot cemeteries and sanctuaries, and in the Idaean cave on Crete. A single example comes from Ithaca (Matthäus 1998: 138, fig. 16; 2000a: 537f. with fig. 17). This picture is sustained by a variety of other finds. The presence of Cypriot arrowheads and an Egyptian scarab in the sanctuary of Ano Mazaraki, the discovery of scarabs and Cypriot style pottery in Aigion (Gadoulou 1997; Petropoulos 2002: 148–50) and the glass beads among the gifts in the warrior burial at Drepanon in Achaea illustrate the existence of Cypriot/Phoenician-Achaean contacts in the LG period. Coldstream, in discussing an oenochoe from Asani, has noted the influence of Phoenician metalwork on the production of early seventh-century Achaean pottery (Coldstream 1998: 326f.; cf. also J. Papadopoulos 2001: 391–3).

¹¹ Itinerant craftsmen may also have been responsible for the distribution of Cypriot type pottery in the west. Due to default of ceramic imports in western Greece from the eastern Greek mainland and Crete I do not consider these regions as a major source of influence on pottery production in the west.

Together with the leg of a Cypriot bronze tripod in Olympia (Matthäus 1985: 309–13 no. d, pl. 136, 49; cf. Eder 2003: 108) and a bronze spearhead of Cypriot type found by chance in Vitsa in Epirus (Vokotopoulou 1986: 223f.), these finds illustrate the circulation of orientalia in the local exchange network of western Greek elites.

This is not the place for a discussion of the role of the Cypriots and the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean (see Crielaard 1998; Matthäus 1998, 2000a, 2001; Niemeyer 2003 with bibliography), but I suggest that the Cypriot connection of western Greece can be understood within the larger pattern of Cypriot and later Phoenician contacts with Italy and the western Mediterranean. Shipping routes established by LBA ships on their way from and to the west were apparently still in use (for the route connecting Crete with the western Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands cf. *Od.* 13.256ff.; Matthäus 2000b: 538). Cypriot boats sailed the Mediterranean throughout the LBA and EIA, and came in touch with the elites of western Greece in the period between 1200 and 700 BC. It was only later that Greek boats from the Ionian Islands and Achaea followed in their wake to the shores of southern Italy and founded their colonies, which is the start of an entirely different and new story (cf. Morgan, *Early States*: 198–202, 220f.; J. Papadopoulos 2001). Western Greece and especially the Ionian Islands were never cut off from the rest of the world: they offered a home to the international elites of the LBA and EIA and an appropriate setting for the travels of Odysseus, Telemachus and their successors through the ages.

SUMMARY AND A NOTE ON HOMERIC SOCIETY

Summing up the evidence from western Greece, it appears that the *wanax* of Pylos was succeeded by a network of regional elites, who in their lifestyle and choice of status symbols betray an attachment to the heritage of the Mycenaean palaces. Their concern with leadership and military prowess is mirrored in the iconography of pictorial vases and the equipment of elite tombs. Their lifestyle included fighting on land or sea, on foot or in chariots, as well as the hunting of deer and the racing of horses and cattle. Banquets took place on the occasions of religious and funeral ceremonies and other forms of communal gatherings, forming an important part of social life. Enterprises on land and sea continued and reaffirmed contacts with the elites of neighbouring regions as well as with those from Cyprus and southern Italy. Their small-scale exchange of goods and valuables probably resulted not in much more than the acquirement of small amounts of metals and other raw materials as well as of some prestige items of foreign origin. A costly funeral marked the end of their careers, when they were either cremated or inhumed. Archaeological evidence supports the idea of the continued existence of social elites, whose life followed a very similar pattern throughout the LBA/EIA transition from 1200–700. These social continuities account to my mind for the similarities in pictorial representations in LH IIIC and LG vase



Figure 29.9 LBA and EIA sites in western Greece mentioned in the text

painting. The choice of similar themes is not so much related to illustrations of narrative scenes of an oral poetry but to situations that illustrate and reflect status of elite members in the first place.

We may call the LBA and EIA elites petty chiefs, big men or *aristoi*, but they closely resemble the *basileis* portrayed in the Homeric poems. They represent a group of people essential to the collective or cultural memory of a society (Assmann 1997, 2000). They had been part of the palatial system and emerged after the collapse as political, economic and social leaders. They guaranteed the transmission of some information, knowledge and cultural traditions from the palatial era into the twelfth century BC, among which the performance of oral poetry formed also one part. The long period between 1200 and 750 did not see any fundamental changes in the structure and organisation of social groups in Greece, and it was only by the second half of the eighth century BC, that much more dynamic processes took effect, which are generally connected to the rise of the polis.

This viewpoint allows a middling perspective on Homeric society as described in the Iliad and Odyssey. As social conditions were not changing rapidly, good conditions for the transmission of some memories from the LBA may have existed. The anachronisms, archaisms and reminiscences to earlier periods, which have been noted in the epics, can be explained as corresponding to realities of the LBA/EIA transition. It is therefore likely that they remained constantly relevant and meaningful to the changing audiences of oral poets until the eighth century. Where many features can be understood as reflecting the poet's own time in the early seventh century, others pertaining to the period 1200–750/700 were still recent enough to be accessible to the collective memory (cf. Raaflaub 1998).

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KNOSSOS IN EARLY GREEK TIMES

J. N. Coldstream

The 'Early Iron Age' of Knossos – or, as I prefer to say, Early Greek Knossos – can be defined with unusual clarity, thanks to the dead. This is the entire period of the collective chamber tombs of the North Cemetery, Fortetsa and elsewhere in the Knossos area, from the Sub-Minoan of the eleventh century down to the Orientalising of the seventh. About the lacuna in the Archaic period enough has been said, for the time being (Coldstream and Huxley 1999); but, in this gathering of Aegean prehistorians, it seems more fitting to concentrate on the earlier period and even go back into the twelfth century, in order to understand why Knossos was thereafter to assume a character quite different from the Mycenaean centres of the Greek mainland.

In contrast to the disruption and fragmentation of the mainland sites near the end of the Bronze Age, continuity at Knossos has received much notice: continuity in urban settlement, continuity in cult, and continuity in a preference for collective chamber tombs. In all three respects there were ripples on the surface, but the underlying continuity was not seriously disturbed.

Let us begin with a surprising discovery in the best-preserved habitation site, in the excavations behind the Stratigraphical Museum. There, after an apparent gap in Late Minoan IIIB, new occupation in IIIC includes traces of one – and possibly two – apsidal houses, altogether foreign to Minoan tradition, and suggesting some intrusion from the mainland among the local population. This idea is supported by some (though not all) of the pottery found there: deep bowls of mainland type, globular cooking pots; also babies buried under the floor, in contrast to the invariable Minoan custom of extramural interment. These apsidal houses are suggestive of foreigners coming from somewhere on the periphery of the Mycenaean mainland, rather than from its palatial centres (Warren 1983: 69–71, fig. 40).

Nevertheless, whatever disturbances there may have been near the end of the Bronze Age, they did not apparently cause a mass exodus of Knossians to the peak sanctuary of Juktas, like those to Karphi and other mountain refuges. On the site behind the Stratigraphical Museum, the Late Minoan IIIC structures were followed by no less than four Sub-Minoan building phases (Warren 1983:

76–87) forming part of a compact urban nucleus, large for its time, that was to flourish throughout the Early Greek period. Very different was the situation on the Greek mainland, where the major Mycenaean settlements were fragmented into disparate villages, each with its own burial plot near by. But at Knossos, true to Minoan tradition, all interments were kept far away from the urban nucleus (Coldstream 1984a: 1991). Let us now discuss in turn the three aspects of Knossian continuity: funerary, religious and domestic.

For the dead, there is the continuity in a preference for the collective tombs hollowed out of the rock – mainly chamber tombs; but, as in the settlement, on an apparently calm surface there are ripples. One such ripple is a complete break in the use of any individual tomb between Late Minoan IIIC and Sub-Minoan. Across the divide, we know of no tomb containing a continuous sequence of incumbents (Coldstream 1984a: 314; 1991: 290). The other novelty, again in Sub-Minoan times, is the establishment of a large main cemetery one kilometre to the north of the settlement, suggesting a new beginning in a new area (Catling 1996b: 639). Why, one asks, did the dead have to be placed quite so far away from the living? Did the Knossians already anticipate an urban expansion to the north, of which there is some evidence in the eighth century? Or, more plausibly, did they choose this northern location simply because it had been a traditional area for burial well back in Minoan times, so well supplied with those shallow ravines, those banks of the local marl or *kouskouras*, so convenient for the hollowing out of chamber tombs? Whether there was any actual re-use of Minoan tombs is a question to be considered later; here it should be stated that, in this North Cemetery, the initial Sub-Minoan burials were placed in pit caves and shaft graves, betraying no sign of any previous Minoan occupancy. Among the earliest incumbents were the cremations of two well-furnished warriors; their gear indicates some connections with Cyprus, including the charred remains of a Late Cypriot III openwork bronze stand (Catling 1996b: 646–9, figs 165–6). Not all Sub-Minoan burials, however, were placed in the North Cemetery; there are some in the Fortetsa group (*Fortetsa*, 8–10, tomb Pi), others in the plot excavated by Hogarth (Coldstream 2002: 216), and yet others on the southern hill of Gypsades, in Minoan chamber tombs reused after an interval (Hood, Huxley and Sandars 1958–1959: 205–8, ‘Late Minoan IIIB2’; Catling 1996a: 309).

Turning now to Cretan continuity in cult, we have to rely especially on the mountain sanctuaries of Kato Symi and the Dictaeon cave for unbroken sequences of votive offerings. For the town of Knossos we have only the word of Diodorus Siculus (v. 66) who mentions the sacred grove of the mother-goddess Rhea. Evans (1927: 5–7) supposed this grove to have been planted over the ruins of the Minoan palace, the only site within the Early Greek town that is free of domestic habitation: the site which, as Pendlebury (1939: 305) put it, ‘was regarded as tabu in later times’. No Greek building was erected there before Evans’s Greek Temple, probably not before the fifth century (Coldstream 2000a: 286); before then we have only faint traces of open-air worship in Early Greek



Figure 30.1 Knossos North Cemetery tomb 292.144 and 61. PG B cremation pithos, with lid. Height 47 cm (pithos), 27 cm (lid).

times. An ambitious vase-painter of the late ninth century may perhaps have had this grove in mind when he decorated some of his cremation urns (Figure 30.1) with massed trees and tuneful birds (Coldstream 1984b: 94–5; 1996a: 315–16, fig. 133 [283.11] and fig. 150 [292.144]). More tangible, however, are the traces of an apparently new cult confined to the Sub-Minoan period, situated just below the

palace in the Spring Chamber, where a natural spring was enclosed in a small shrine building with signs of an earlier vegetation cult going back to the Second Palace Period. Its Sub-Minoan deposit allows us to a view of the deity inside a round house model (Evans 1927: 128, fig. 63): a goddess raising her arms in the old Minoan gesture of epiphany but, unlike any Minoan deity, apparently presiding over the Underworld. Two centuries later we see her again, inside the well-known model of the late ninth century in the Giamalakis Collection (Alexiou 1950) from a tomb at Archanes which lay within the territory of Knossos. There her role in Hades is made clear by the two farmers and their dog reclining on the roof, representing the upper world; they are waiting anxiously for her emergence in spring, like the Eleusinian Persephone (Coldstream 1977: 10).¹ Contemporary with the Archanes model, on another cremation urn by the same ninth-century painter of trees, are two scenes which complete the seasonal cycle of the goddess of nature (Coldstream 1984b; 1996a: 316, fig. 109): on one side, she departs from the upper world between bleak, wintry trees; on the other, she returns in spring amid lush vegetation. During the long winter interval she must remain in her own House of the Dead, no longer an all-powerful Minoan nature goddess. This cult in the Spring Chamber had only a short life, ceasing when the spring had become blocked up by particles of gypsum; but it was surely revived at a spot about fifty metres away, up the Gypsades hill, where at least by the eighth century the cult had been dedicated to Demeter – or Damater, the chief vegetation goddess of the Dorian *polis* (Coldstream 1973b: 180–1). In a tactful gesture to syncretism, she was acknowledged to be the daughter of the primeval Rhea. Thus, of all the ripples on an otherwise calm surface, this new conception of a vegetation deity, who loses her daughter to the Underworld during the winter months, can most plausibly be ascribed to the incoming Dorians. It could, of course, be argued that it was an early contingent of Dorians that built the apsidal houses of Late Minoan IIIC on the Stratigraphical Museum site, or that others caused the Sub-Minoan break in the use of collective tombs and their wide scatter, each Dorian tribe keeping to its own plot; but these are arguments that I need not pursue here.

Enough has been said about the cults of Early Greek Knossos. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the growth of the settlement and the spread of the cemeteries, and my treatment will be descriptive rather than diachronic. First, the enormously wide distribution of the burial plots invites comment (Figure 30.2). If the size of a community were measured by its cemeteries, then Early Greek Knossos would be by far the largest city of its time in the Aegean world. At Athens and Argos, the largest mainland centres, the burials extend over an area not much more than two kilometres at their greatest dimension – and these plots were serving widely scattered villages (Coldstream 1984a: 313). But at Knossos, with its compact settlement, the cemeteries as early as the ninth century extended

1 Otherwise, the Giamalakis model has been thought to represent a temple (Alexiou 1950: 445), or a granary (Nicholls 1970: 16–7), or the discovery of a Minoan tomb (Boardman 1967: 66).

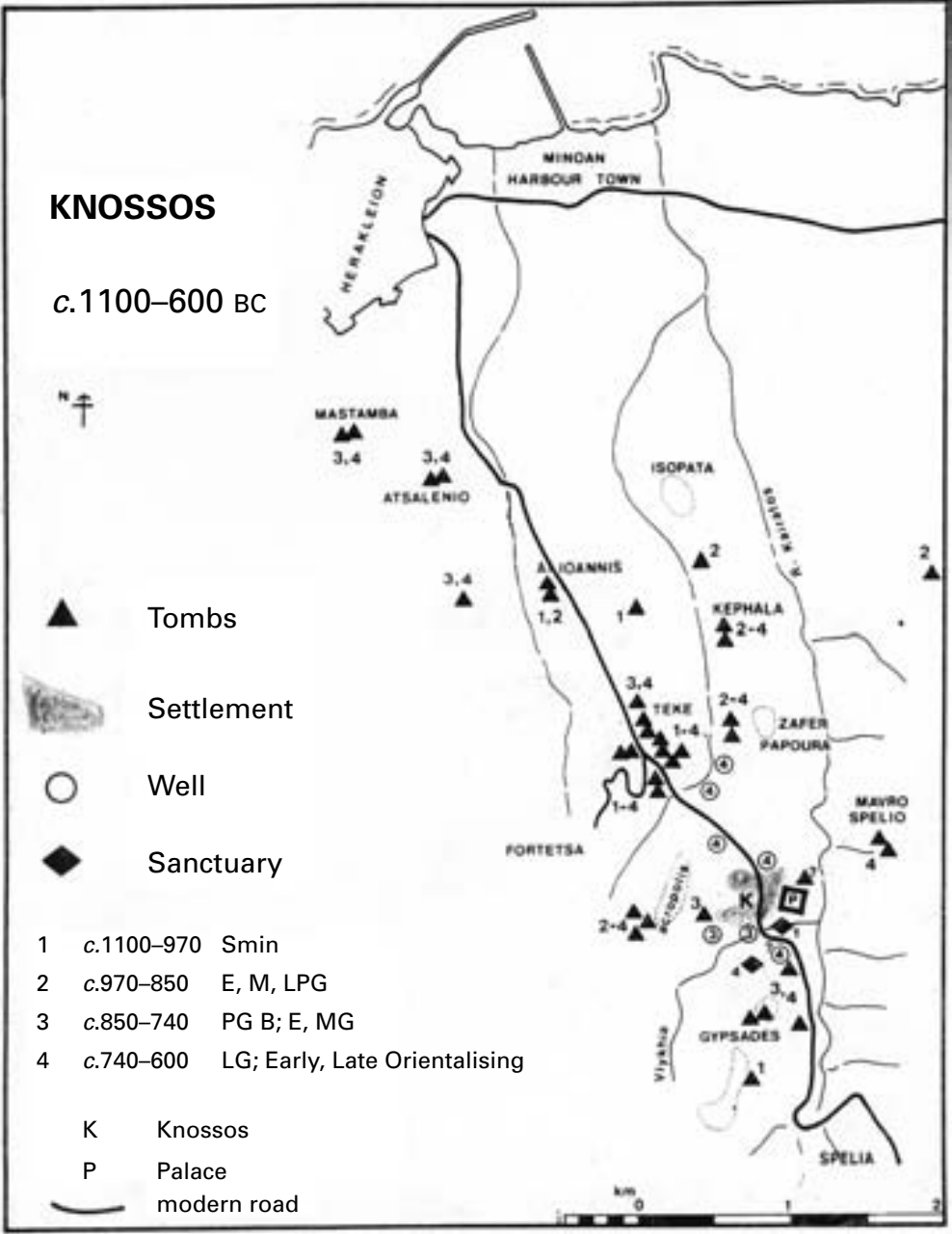


Figure 30.2 Knossos: settlement pattern in the Early Greek period.

over a distance of five kilometres from north to south: from Mastamba in the suburbs of modern Herakleion, through the main north cemetery, past the Fortetsa group west of the '*acropolis*' hill, as far as the southern hill of Gypsades. This grandiose impression, however, may be an illusion. It could be that the most northerly plots belonged not to central Knossos but to a harbour town under modern Herakleion, of which at present we know almost nothing. One observes, also, a fairly close correspondence with the equally wide distribution of cemeteries serving the larger Late Minoan town (Hood and De Jong 1952: 233–4, fig. 1), as though there had always been a preference for the peripheral areas where chamber tombs could easily be cut into the soft *kouskouras*. At all events, the contraction of the Minoan town must have begun by LM IIIB when habitation on Gypsades was abandoned, and a Late Minoan IIIB larnax burial, only 200 metres north of the Royal Road, helps to delimit the settlement to the north (Hood and Smyth 1981: 52, no. 229). By Sub-Minoan times the limits of the urban nucleus had become fixed, and were to remain constant until the eighth century (Coldstream 2000a: 260, 296–7). Until then a hundred years of excavation have produced no sign of any outlying villages outside this nucleus, with the sole exception of a single Protogeometric house found in the year 2000 in a sounding under the courtyard of the Roman Villa Dionysus (Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003). To judge from the pottery found in the surrounding area, this house seems to be an isolated phenomenon for its time.

This urban centre forms a rough rectangle (Figure 30.3) of about 500 by 250 metres, smaller than the Late Minoan town, but large by contemporary Aegean standards. The western half lies between the palace site and the modern village of Bougada Metochi; here our knowledge of Early Greek occupation comes from the stratigraphical excavations of the past fifty years. *In situ* there are no remains to be seen; the relevant strata are like a meagre filling in a massive sandwich, between the Minoans below (towards whom the excavations were aimed) and the Roman colony above, whose massive foundations have disturbed the Greek strata almost to the point of obliteration. With luck, scraps of Early Greek house walls and floors may be preserved here and there, and there is even some Protogeometric occupation of Late Minoan houses (Coldstream and Macdonald 1997: 244). Otherwise, we have nothing but wash levels, well fills and pits, often dug to quarry out Minoan masonry below. Even so, all the sites numbered in Figure 30.3, an extract from the Knossos Survey, represent substantial deposits of the Early Greek period (full list in Coldstream 2001: 73–4).

For the eastern half of the Early Greek town, a fringe surrounding the sacred ground of the palace site, we rely on the deposits excavated by Evans (Coldstream 2000a). With the guidance of Pendlebury (Pendlebury and Pendlebury 1934; Pendlebury et al. 1935; Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1937), their precise location can be plotted in a semicircular arc round the edge of the palace *abaton* from the southwest to the northeast, marked in Figure 30.3 with the letters A to H. For our purpose, of course, the most informative soundings are those which Evans

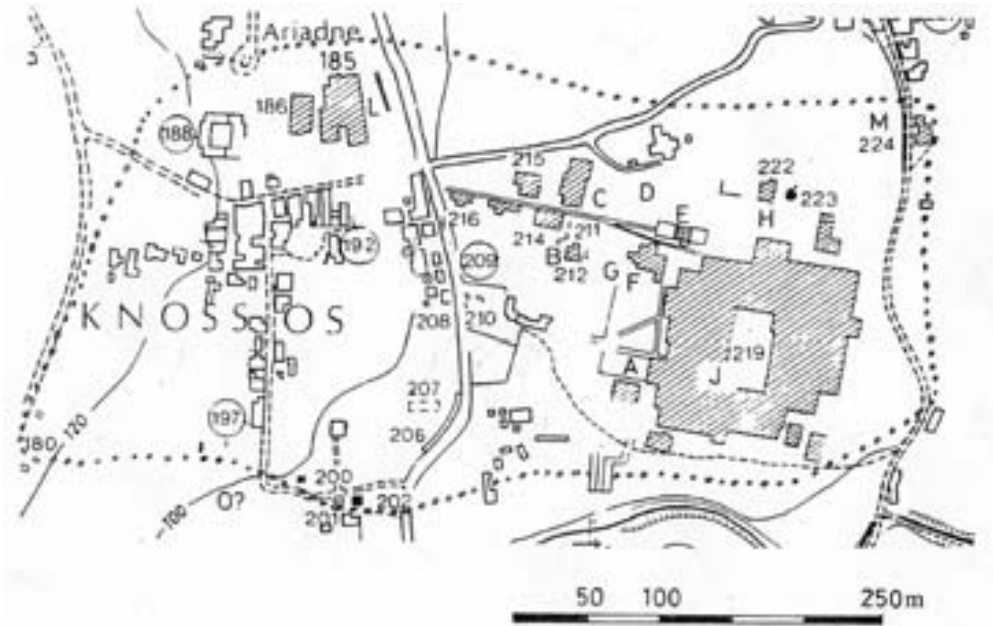


Figure 30.3 Knossos, the Early Greek urban nucleus, based on Hood and Smyth 1981, area plan. 4. Estimated limit of the Early Greek town within the dotted lines, before a northward expansion in the eighth century BC. All numbered locations have produced Early Greek settlement pottery.

abandoned when he found that too much post-Minoan intrusion did not augur well for the recovery of well-preserved Minoan remains below. Given that these deposits cannot offer any stratigraphical information, they can at least tell us when any given spot was occupied, or left vacant. It is instructive, for example, to compare the tally of pottery from two of Evans's trials close to one another, marked C and D on Figure 30.3, in the area between the Arsenal and the Theatral Area: mainly tenth to ninth century from D, and mainly eighth and seventh from C. Thus the spaces occupied by the houses of one period could become the gardens and *perivolía* of the next – and vice versa (Coldstream 2000a: 299).

Even before its northward expansion in the eighth century, such a large urban nucleus must have required a place for public assemblies, like the '*plateia*' of Karphi (Pendlebury, Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1937–1938: 81, no. 48). For the largest gatherings, the Minoan West Court would have served: no later structures have been found here, but points F and G (Figure 30.3) have produced plenty of fine Early Greek pottery. When decisions had to be made, however, the obvious location would have been the Minoan Theatral Area, with space for about 500 select people to stand or be seated, and a 'royal box' suitable for a presiding *basileus* – here one thinks also of the steps overlooking the early *agora* at

Dreros and Lato (Wycherley 1962: 53–5). Here, too, there is no lack of early Greek pottery, some Geometric pieces actually being found *underneath* the Minoan paving stones (Coldstream 2000a: 272–3, group E). But eventually, with a burgeoning population, the Early Greek town would have needed a larger centre for public business, entailing a major expansion to the north in the eighth century. This matter will be discussed at the end of this chapter; but let us first turn to the cemeteries, and their rich finds.

From the tombs, the abundance and variety of the imports establishes Early Greek Knossos as an extraordinarily outward-looking place, ready to receive visitors from many quarters and benefit from them. There are so many topics that one could pursue: the extremely close Attic connection, as indicated by a continuous sequence in the North Cemetery of over a hundred Attic vessels of the tenth, ninth and eighth centuries (Coldstream 1996b: 133–7);² or the frequent signs of contact with the Phoenicians and other Levantine peoples – but that topic is already covered by another chapter in this volume. Here, among so many Aegean prehistorians, it would be more appropriate to focus on signs of nostalgia for the Minoan past, in the ninth century. That is when the aggregate of interments in the North Cemetery suggests a rapid growth of population (Cavanagh 1996: 662) – a growth which coincides with, and perhaps explains, the universal adoption of cremation for adults at the end of a long process of conversion from inhumation over the past two centuries, perhaps in order to conserve burial space in the collective family tombs. At all events, the first urns to have been especially designed as such are based on a straight-sided Late Minoan IIIC form of modest proportions, used for some of the earliest cremations in Crete, mainly in the east of the island. Equipped with matching lids, they may be enlarged to a huge size for the richer patrons, becoming the main vehicle for the ebullient ceramic style of the later ninth century (Protogeometric B–Early Geometric), decorated with a heady mixture of Neo-Minoan and Near Eastern motifs (Coldstream 1994: 110–15; 1996a: 314–17).

Let us spare a thought for the contexts of these new urns. Their introduction coincides approximately with a break, a '*caesura*', in the use of individual chamber tombs in the mid ninth century. Of thirty chamber tombs in use before then, only eight continued to receive more interments after the break. Thereafter, sixteen tombs received their first Early Greek burials, many continuing to be packed with cremations until well into the seventh century (Coldstream and Catling, *Knossos: North Cemetery*: 718–19). With the change to cremation, one might have expected the new tombs to have smaller chambers. On the contrary, some of the apparently new tombs, for example no. 75 in the North Cemetery with an overall length of 11.60 m, have chambers surprisingly large for the stacking of cremation urns, and recall the spacious Late Minoan III sepulchres

2 In a paper read in 2001 to the Ninth International Congress of Cretan Studies (forthcoming), I offer a detailed study of the Attic connection.

designed for the inhumations. Arguments for the re-use of Minoan tombs in Early Greek times have been subjected to rigorous scrutiny;³ and some tombs in the North Cemetery, apparently of Minoan type (e.g., no. 106) may prove to be respectful pastiches, testifying to a remarkable reverence for Minoan precedent (Coldstream 1996c: 245). No. 75, however, with its long *dromos* leaning inward near the *stomion* in the Minoan manner, has a strong claim to have been a re-used Late Minoan III tomb. Here we should note a contrast with the later treatment of Mycenaean chamber tombs on the Greek mainland. Over there, Geometric votives were offered in large collective tombs which in regions where burials were in single graves were thought strange, impressive, and 'heroic' (Coldstream 1976: 14). But at Knossos, where such tombs had always been the usual form, they could be re-used by families associating themselves with, and perhaps trying to emulate, an illustrious past.

Another symptom of this Minoan nostalgia was the actual re-use of Late Minoan III *larnakes*, from contexts never earlier than the ninth century. Remains of seventeen have been found in the North Cemetery, and two more in the Fortetsa group. Scattered in the *dromoi* of tomb 75, and of its equally impressive neighbour tomb 107, we collected the pieces of a fine figured *larnax* of Late Minoan IIIA1 (Morgan 1987), showing an obvious prototype for the nature goddess between the trees on the late ninth-century urn already mentioned. The chance discovery of these pictorial *larnakes* must have provided a powerful stimulus for occasional figured scenes attempted by the more adventurous ninth-century vase-painters.

How far can we determine the function of these re-used *larnakes*? Their findspots in the North Cemetery (Coldstream 2000b) agree in general with the distribution of the tombs most obviously of Minoan character; but all were found either in *dromoi* or outside the tombs altogether, never inside the chambers, and often in very fragmentary condition. Their exclusion from chambers, and any accompanying finds for them that can be recovered, suggest that they may have housed the inhumations of small children (Coldstream 1996c: 246–9), serving both as cradles and graves. In support of this hypothesis, a telling clue is offered by fragmentary Geometric imitation of a Minoan *larnax* from tomb 104 (Coldstream and Catling, *Knossos North Cemetery*: fig. 105, no. 118) which, if reconstructed, would measure about half the size of the Minoan prototype. In addition, at least six *larnakes* have been found in association with miniature pots and other offerings for the very young. For example: tomb Q of the Teke group had been much plundered, but the robbers had missed a niche opening off the *dromos*. Here the base of a *larnax* was found *in situ*: its long sides, bearing a plant design of Late Minoan IIIA2, were recovered from fragments later built into the

3 The proposal that some Minoan tombs were reused in Early Greek times has been discussed by Brock, *Fortetsa*: 4–5 (against), Boardman 1960: 143 (for), Catling 1996b: 639 (against) and Cavanagh 1996: 653–7 (on the whole, against).



Figure 30.4 Knossos North Cemetery tomb Q 115. PG B bird-horse askos. Height 17 cm.

wall blocking the entrance to the chamber. Under the *larnax* base in the niche we found an intact deposit of late ninth-century pottery: over thirty small and miniature unguent vessels, the smallest being less than four centimetres high; also figurines of a bull and a hedgehog, and an astonishing bird-horse *askos*, a *hippalektryon* with its diminutive rider (Figure 30.4). Here we have the earliest clear context for the re-use of a *larnax* in the North Cemetery, accompanied by a mass of miniature pots and figurines as suitable offerings for the inhumation of a small child, with the *hippalektryon* as its exotic toy.

Another deposit suggesting the burial of a small child was found outside the chamber tombs. A plain chest *larnax* (tomb 31) was discovered complete and *in situ*, though emptied by robbers; but underneath and around it were fragments of numerous small vessels including miniature cups, a small feeder, a goat and a bird probably attached to toy pots, and a miniature Attic LG II skyphos that dates the burial (Figure 30.5). Although excluded from the tomb chambers, children in death were not stinted: to this burial, for example – or to another child inhumed in a *pithos* near by (tomb 18 no. 8) – belongs one of the most spectacular finds from the North Cemetery: a Late Minoan I amethyst gemstone (Figure 30.6) showing a lion assaulting an *agrimi* goat, encased in a gold mounting with a lotus bloom at one end, and elaborated with twisted wire and superb granulation in a technique newly mastered through instruction from resident Near Eastern

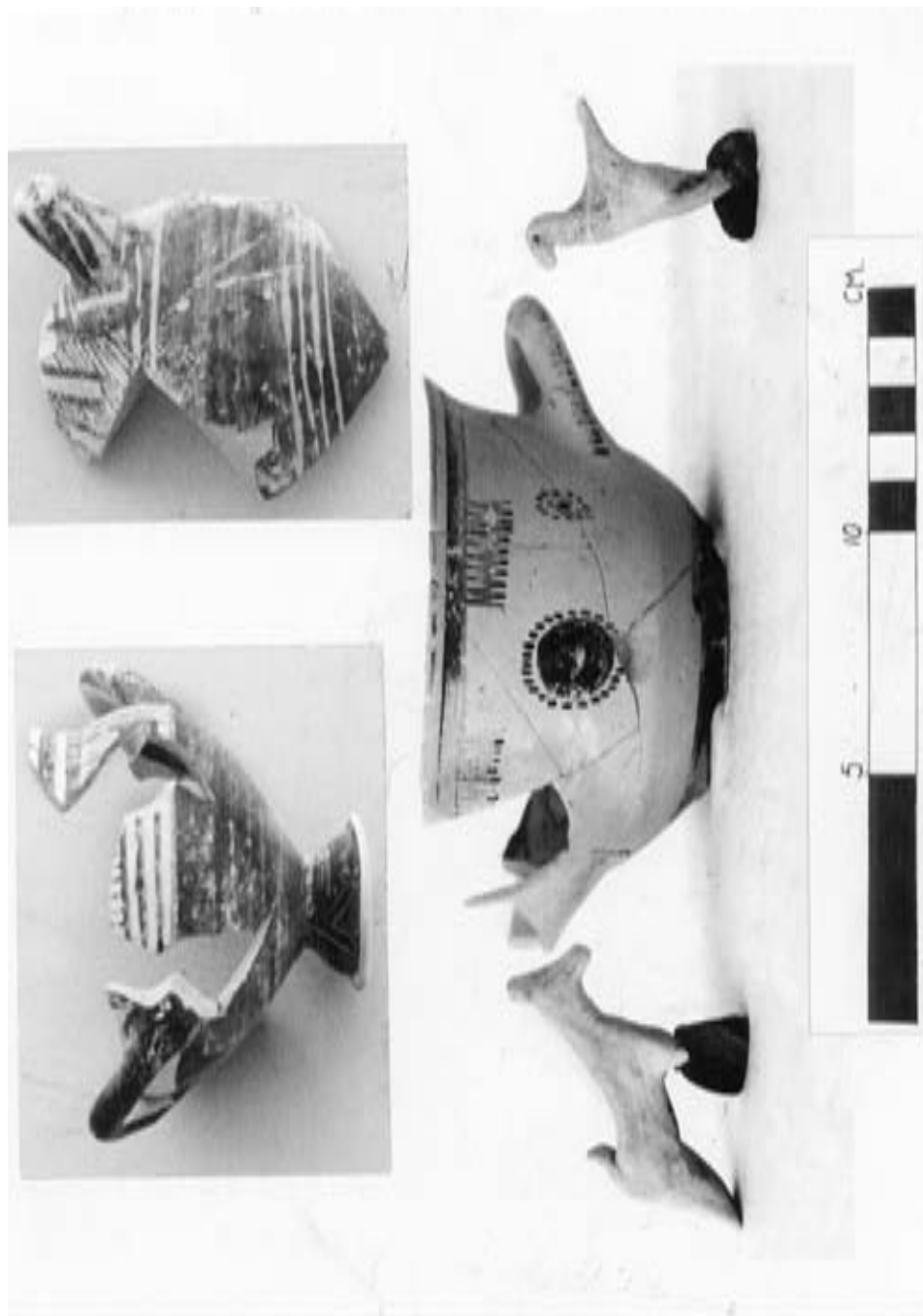


Figure 30.5 Knossos North Cemetery, pottery and figurines from tomb 31.



Figure 30.6 Knossos North Cemetery tomb 18.f3. LM I amethyst gem set in gold mounting of the 'Teke' school, c.800 BC. Total length 3 cm.



Figure 30.7 Knossos, from the south-east. The unexcavated area lies in the centre of the picture, to the right of the Minoan palace.

craftsmen (Higgins 1996: 540). As no other object, this gem is a telling symbol of the Early Greek spirit of Knossos: a Minoan heritage encapsulated within the heady new influences from the Near East.

Finally we return to the settlement, to consider signs of great expansion to the north in the eighth century. Under the Villa Dionysus, the first excavators of the 1930s found substantial traces of late Geometric houses, more substantial and with a wider spread of pottery than in the isolated Protogeometric building (Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003). Otherwise we have to rely on Geometric well deposits near the Venizeleion hospital and the seventh-century well north of the Villa Ariadne, which should not have been far away from the nearest habitation (Coldstream 1972: 81–5; 1973a: 37–42).

It would be fitting to end this chapter by emphasising what we do not yet know, and what outstanding problems can be solved only by further excavation. The main area which has yet to be systematically explored is the land, now largely planted with vines (Figure 30.7), immediately to the north of the Early Greek urban nucleus. In that direction we should like to know the extent of the latest Minoan town, to find more traces of an expanding Early Greek town in the late eighth and seventh centuries; and, above all, to discover the site of the Archaic and Classical agora and centre of public business (Hood and Smyth 1981: 19), whose location we know in almost every other major Greek town of comparable size.

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PRAISOS: POLITICAL EVOLUTION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN EASTERN CRETE c.1400–300 BC

James Whitley

‘The results of survey are as superficial as its methods’,¹ – so wrote a well-known professor of Classical Archaeology from Oxford. Whatever one’s view of this statement, it does raise an important question. How far can we go with survey? In particular, how far can evidence from survey (superficial, to be sure) be used to examine hypotheses about the processes that led from the collapse of the palatial order to the emergence of the political? Can survey throw any new light on that shadowy period we used to call the Dark Age but now more commonly refer to as the EIA?

In this chapter I shall attempt to outline what I think we can legitimately infer from a small survey conducted in the site and environs of Praisos in eastern Crete between 1992 and 1998.² The survey combined topographical planning with fieldwalking, and is part of a project that seeks to integrate and re-interpret all available evidence, new and old, about this important Cretan site.³ The methods used in survey were a modified version of the tract system that John Cherry used on Keos, which seemed most appropriate for a landscape as rough, dissected and various as that found in our survey area. In 1994 we undertook an ‘urban survey’ of Praisos itself, using methods very similar to those employed by Sue Alcock at Phlius.⁴

I would like to thank Irene Lemos for inviting me to the conference, and Anastasia Christophilopoulou who helped with the illustrations. This chapter is based on a survey, and survey is a collaborative enterprise. Much of what is inferred here results from the work of survey study teams who have worked on this material since 1992, in particular Stuart Thorne, Mieke Prent, Christina Hatzimichael, Rebecca Sweetman, Amanda Kelly and Jonathan Berry. Our PARADOX database was devised by Michael Boyd, and without the help of Brice Erickson and Natalia Vogeikoff we would not have a viable ceramic sequence.

1 Boardman 1988: 796. The full quote is however not so dismissive. It reads: ‘It would be as wrong to think that the cultural history of Greece will be written from field survey as to hold that the results of survey are as superficial as its methods.’

2 For earlier explorations, see Halbherr 1901; Bosanquet 1902a.

3 For earlier reports on this survey, see Whitley, O’Conor and Mason 1995 (topographical survey of Praisos); Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999 (for fieldwalking survey); and Whitley 1998.

4 For methods used in the Keos survey, see Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani 1991: 13–35; for those in the ‘urban survey’ of Phlius, Alcock 1991: 440–4; see also discussion in Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 221–4.

Our project is, however, far from being the ideal test case for the general utility of survey. For one thing it was conducted on a small scale, covering an area of no more than 9 km² (Figure 31.1). It is difficult to assess how representative the sites we find are of upland settlement in general.⁵ Consequently inferences about changes in settlement pattern through time are that much more problematic. Moreover, study of the material has not been completed, and the degree of precision we obtained on survey is variable. What is put forward here is preliminary at best.

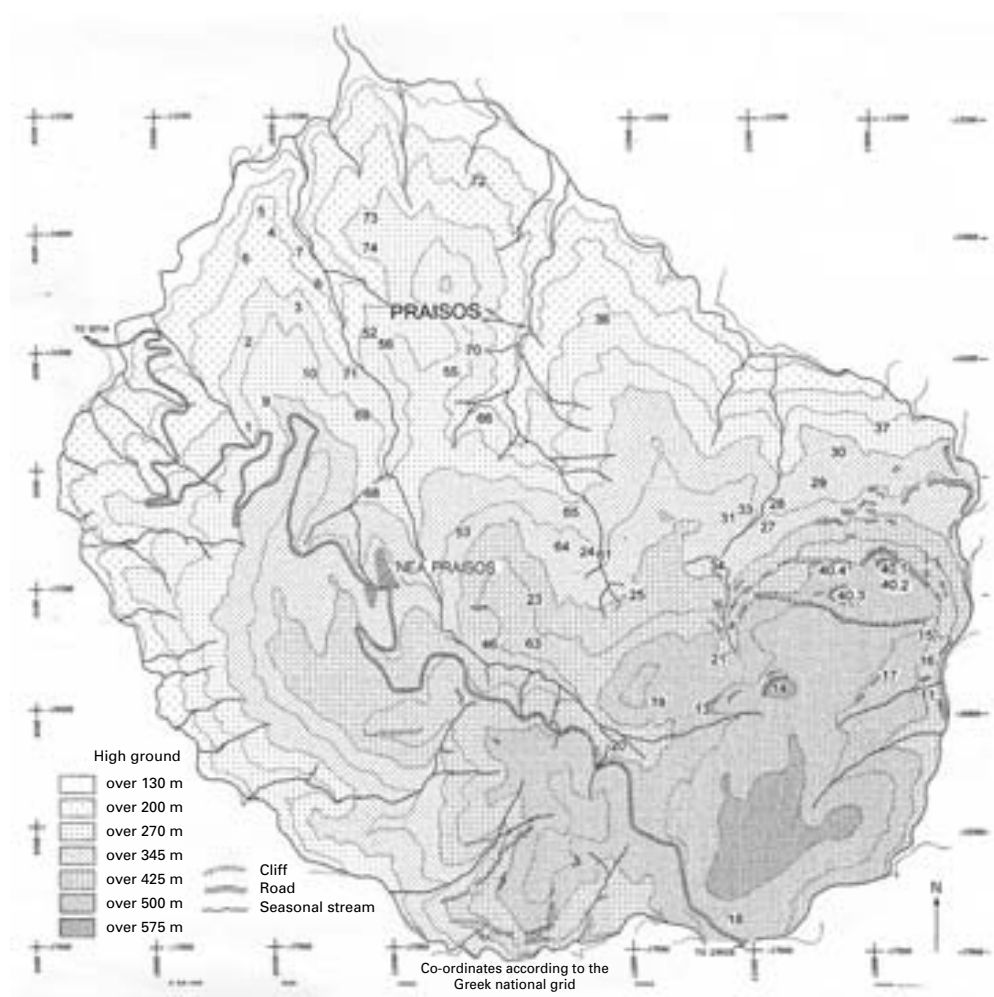


Figure 31.1 Plan of survey area, showing sites (numbered)

⁵ There have been other surveys of upland east Crete, by Norbert Schlager (1991) and Keith Branigan (1998). Only Branigan's survey involved systematic fieldwalking, and, since his survey area was adjacent to ours, one might have expected many points of comparison. Though there are some useful similarities in the results of both surveys for our understanding of the Final

A more general problem lies in the processes we are trying to understand, and whether survey is the best means for understanding these processes. Various phrases have recently been used as a kind of shorthand for what happened between 1200 and 700 BC. 'Citadel to City-State' is one, 'Palace to Polis' another. What these phrases have in common is their emphasis on the political and institutional dimension of change. That is to say, they assume that what we have to explain is the change from one kind of political or institutional order to another. Moreover they imply that these changes will somehow be manifested in architecture and settlement location. The shorthand that has been used for this conference, '*Wanax to Basileus*', poses peculiar problems for the Praisos region.⁶ For one thing it is highly unlikely that any part of eastern Crete was ever under the control of a *wanax*. Idomeneus (*Iliad* 2.645–52) after all, only controlled part of central Crete, and if John Bennet is right about the extent of Knossian administrative interest in Crete at the time of the final destruction of the Palace (the most likely current date for this event being LM IIIA2, i.e. c.1300 BC), then Crete east of the Thriphte mountain range was always outwith the reach of Mycenaean palatial control.⁷ If the region around Praisos ever formed part of the territory of a Bronze Age palace state, that state was most probably centred on the site of Petras, Siteias. The small neopalatial palace of Petras was destroyed at the end of LM IB, and subsequently not rebuilt (at least as a palace).⁸ Leaving aside the imponderable question of whether a Linear A equivalent of a *wanax* might ever have ruled at Petras, there remains a particular problem of understanding the political structure of this region in LM II to LM IIIB. There is no obvious candidate for a political centre of the region; there are some large settlements, such as Palaikastro, but LM IIIA–IIIB architecture of a kind we would normally associate with either a ruler or a central place is conspicuous by its absence.⁹ The most

Neolithic in this area, the results for the historical period have been disappointing. For one thing, Branigan's methods were very different, and could only be implemented on completely flat terrain. Moreover his periodisation (into 'Neolithic', 'Minoan' and 'Greco-Roman') is so imprecise that any useful comparison for periods after the Bronze Age is impossible.

6 For 'Citadel to City-State' see Thomas and Conant 1999 (who do not discuss Crete at all). Though 'Palace to Polis' is not the title of a book, it remains a hardy perennial when it comes to devising a name for a seminar series on the Early Iron Age, particularly in Oxford. I have retained the title of the conference, *Wanax to Basileus*, rather than the title of the conference volume (*Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*) because it is pithier, and so provides a better focus for discussion.

7 Bennet 1987; see also MacGillivray 1997b. On *Il.* 2.645–52, see Kirk 1985: 223–4; and Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 111–16.

8 For the 'neopalatial' palace at Petras, see Tsipopoulou 1999. Though there is some evidence for re-occupation in LM III (Tsipopoulou 1997), there is none for either monumental architecture or any administrative activity in this period.

9 Evidence for LM IIIA/B 're-occupation' at Palaikastro, Roussolakkos is widespread. It is to be found in Block N (Sackett, Popham and Warren 1965: 266–7) in the area of the 1962–3 excavations; in buildings 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 and area 6 of the areas excavated since 1986 (MacGillivray, Sackett, Driessen and Smyth 1987: 143–8; MacGillivray, Sackett, Driessen, MacDonald and Smyth 1988: 271–2; MacGillivray, Sackett, Driessen, Farnoux and Smyth 1991: 132–3, 137–41; MacGillivray, Sackett, Driessen and Hemingway 1992: 140). For an overview of the LM III

economical inference from all this is that east Crete had already fragmented into a number of small polities or communities, smaller than the likely neopalatial territories of either Petras or Zakro, by the beginning of LM III. None of these communities could conceivably be described as states.

Similar problems cluster around the term *basileus*. The debate about the historicity of Homeric or Hesiodic *basileis* and about the notion of Homeric society is one I would like to leave to one side for the time being.¹⁰ Whatever position one takes in this debate, it is clear that Homeric society is probably less relevant to Crete than to many other areas of Greece. If Martin West is right, the worlds of Homer and Hesiod relate most closely to the circumstances of the people for whom these poems were composed, that is the peoples of Boeotia and Euboea in the decades after 800 BC.¹¹ Homeric myth and narrative are conspicuous by their absence from Cretan art and iconography in all periods after 1000 BC until the Hellenistic, and Kleinias in Platos *Laws* (680c) even calls the Homeric poems 'foreign'.¹² Finally there is no mention of the word *basileus* in the inscriptions we can read from Praisos itself. Other officials are mentioned in those inscriptions we can read (i.e. those written in Greek and not Eteocretan). These for the most part are the *kosmoi* (κόσμοι). There is mention of a *πρωτοκόσμος* who seems to act as a *primus inter pares* amongst his fellow *συγκόσμοι* in two third-century inscriptions from the city (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 and 8), but it would be a rash scholar indeed who rushed to identify this magistrate with a Homeric *basileus*.¹³ In the absence of evidence to the contrary it is safest to infer that Praisos, like other Archaic to Hellenistic Cretan cities, was an oligarchic republic run, for the most part, by *kosmoi*.

But if we then can talk neither of a process from *wanax* to *basileus* nor of one from palace to polis, how about one we might call citadel to city-state? At first this seems more promising. For it is from the LM IIIA period onwards that we find increasing evidence for habitation in the uplands around Praisos. There are several LM III tombs: tholos tomb B from near Praisos; a tholos tomb from Photoula, excavated by Platon; and our site 63, where we picked up fragments

footnote 9 (*continued*)

ceramic evidence, see MacGillivray 1997a. Evidence for bronze working is impressive, if ambiguous (MacGillivray, Sackett, Driessen and Hemingway 1992: 141–51; Hemingway 1996). It therefore seems likely that the LM IIIA/B settlement extended over much, if not all, the area occupied in neopalatial times, where the town is reckoned to have reached its largest extent at twelve hectares (Whitelaw 2001; Cunningham 2001). Unfortunately, the size of LM III settlements has yet to receive the concentrated attention of statistically-minded archaeologists.

10 On the question of 'Homeric society', see most recently articles by Bennet (1997), Morris (1997) and Raaflaub (1997). My views, however (Whitley 1991), remain unchanged.

11 See discussion in West 1988.

12 For arguments to this effect, see Whitley 1997; 2001: 243–52.

13 For other inscriptions relating to Praisos, see *I.Cret.* III.vi.1–34 and *I.Cret.* III.vii.1. The fullest discussion of the Eteocretan inscriptions is by Duhoux 1982: 55–85, 119–24. Generally, we have a poor understanding of the constitutional arrangements of Archaic Cretan states. The best (epigraphic) evidence comes from Gortyn. For a full discussion, see Perlman 2002.

of a larnax, which may be Bosanquet's tomb E.¹⁴ By the beginning of LM IIIC most of the larger coastal sites in eastern Crete, such as Palaikastro Roussolakkos, seem to have been abandoned. Citadel-like settlements, usually referred to as refuge settlements, are established in the highland areas of Crete from LM IIIB onwards. Several of these (Sfakia Kastri, Chandras Plakalona and Chandras Voila Kastri) are to be found in the East Siteia uplands within seven kilometers of Praisos. The largest of these is in our survey area, in a location known as Kypia above Kalamafki, only two kilometers as the crow flies from Praisos itself.¹⁵

At over four hectares, Kalamafki Kypia is one the largest sites of its kind in Crete, comparable in size and importance to Karphi. The site was re-discovered and fieldwalked in 1993, when it was noted that there was architecture to plan (see Figure 31.2). Accordingly, a topographical survey was undertaken in 1994.¹⁶ Like Karphi, and like Praisos itself, the site lies on three hills. Not all of these seem to have been occupied at the same time. The fine wares from Hill 3 seem to date to late in LM IIIC or early PG, and are certainly later than those found on Hill 1, which date to the very beginning of LM IIIC. On Hill 1 the walls seem to have been built in parallel lines following the contour, and seem to be contemporary with the pottery.

At the very top of Hill 1 is a structure, site 40.1, 17 m by 8 m in extent (Figure 31.3). Its masonry is of a quality that we would expect in much earlier (i.e. neopalatial) periods in this part of Crete, and probably superior to that found in LM IIIA2/B Palaikastro. It had at least two rooms, one considerably larger than the other. A good parallel for this structure comes from Karphi, not from the area of Pendlebury's excavations but from surface finds planned by K. Nowicki on Megali Koprana.¹⁷ It was from an intensive 'grab' pickup from within this site that we recovered the best of our LM IIIC fine ware pottery. These consisted of a number of deep bowls and one possible krater, whose decoration (marked by motifs such as the button-hook spiral and the lozenge and loop chain) finds its closest parallels from Palaikastro Kastri, and which date to the very beginning of LM IIIC (see Figure 31.4).¹⁸ Clearly, at some point, what I call 'krater-centred drinking practices' took place within this structure.

14 For tholos tomb B, see Bosanquet 1902a: 245–8; for the LM IIIC rectangular tholos at Photoula, see Platon 1960: 303–6. For 'site 63', which may be Bosanquet's tholos tomb E, see Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 235–6; Bosanquet 1902a: 254. For a full overview of all the older LM III material, see Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 179–82.

15 For these sites, see Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 55–61.

16 For Kypia Kalamafki, see Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 238–42; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 56–8. For comparison with Karphi (Nowicki's Kera Karfi), see Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 157–64; Pendlebury, Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1938.

17 Compare Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 241, fig. 11 (Kypia Kalamafki) with Nowicki 1987: 255, fig. 5 (Kera Karfi).

18 For comparison with material from Palaikastro Kastri, see generally Sackett, Popham and Warren 1965: 278–99. For the lozenge and loop chain motif, see Bosanquet 1902b: 289, fig. 2; Sackett, Popham and Warren 1965: 287, fig. 8.i 294–5 (KA P2 and P21). For the 'button-hook spiral' motif, see Sackett, Popham and Warren 1965: 287, fig. 8 e, g, h and p. 290.

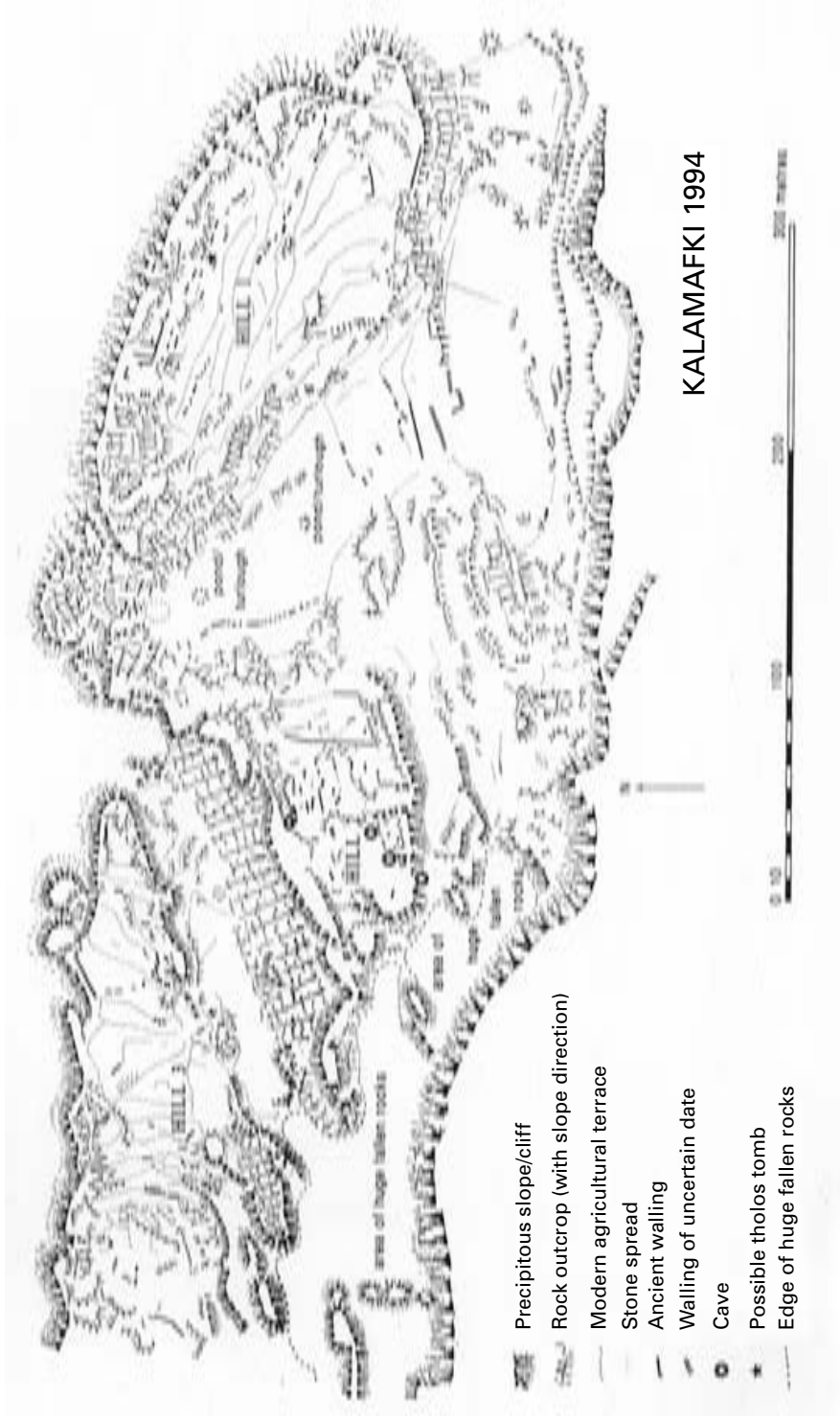


Figure 31.2 Plan of 'Refuge site' of Kypia above Kalamafki (site 40)

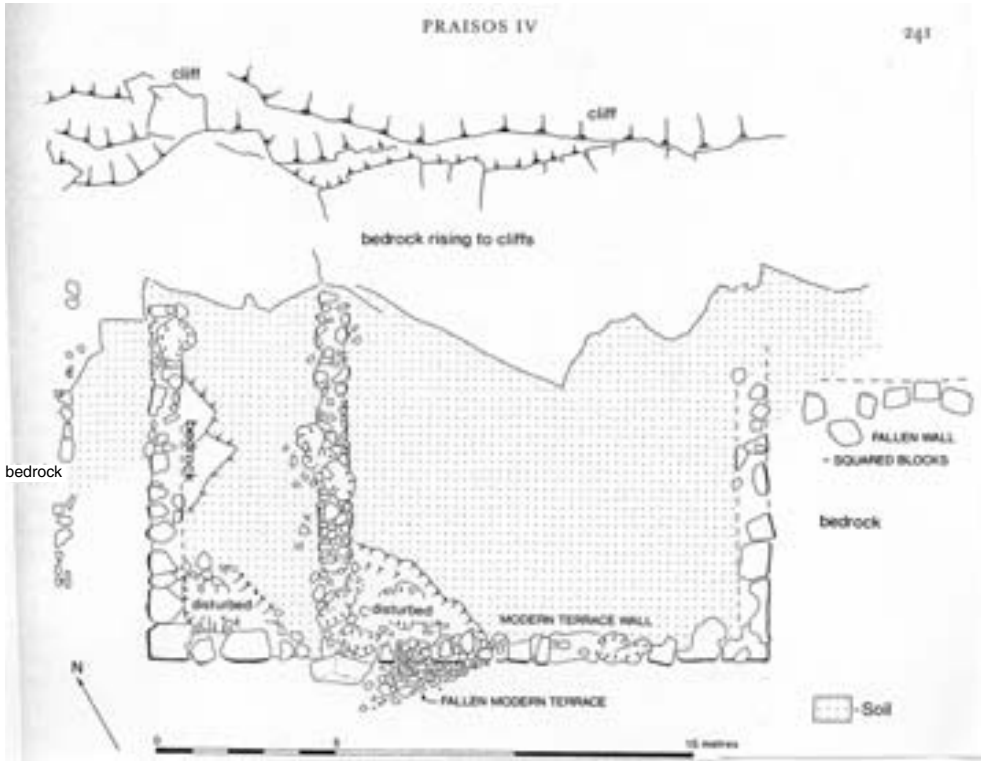


Figure 31.3 Plan of structure 40.1, at top of hill 1 in site 40 (see Figure 31.2)



Figure 31.4 LMIHC sherds (cups and kraters) from structure 40.1

Now where is this all leading? Not, I hasten to add, to the suggestion that this structure was the residence of a 'wanax' or 'basileus'. No-one who has stood here in the wind could think of this as a comfortable place to live. Rather, the presence of fine-ware drinking vessels suggests another possibility: this might have served as a special place for communal dining and drinking. In this case, this structure and the one at Karphi could be seen as the ancestors of that building that was to house that peculiarly Cretan institution of Archaic/Classical times, the *andreion*.¹⁹ This is perhaps a little speculative. What must be stressed however is that, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC, the drinking practices of the 'Eteocretan highlands' of eastern Crete were no different from those to be found in coastal settlements, which some scholars have even suggested were inhabited by 'immigrants'.²⁰

Two things stand out about the material culture of Crete in LM IIIB and LM IIIC. One is the extraordinary popularity of what I call 'krater-centred drinking practices', represented by the ceramic assemblage of kylikes, deep bowls and kraters we find at this time. These practices are equally clearly of 'Mycenaean' (i.e., mainland) rather than 'Minoan' (i.e., Cretan) origin. They are quite distinct from the assemblages, and the drinking practices, that scholars such as Peter Day, Carl Knappett, Yannis Hamilakis, David Wilson and Aleydis van de Moortel have been defining for palatial Crete in EM I to LM I times.²¹ The second is the general uniformity (or homogeneity) in material culture – there really do not seem to be any microregional patterns in pot style or architecture in this period.²² Such uniformity is the opposite of what one would expect in the aftermath of palatial 'collapse', or the collapse of state structures. It is certainly the opposite of what happens on the mainland. Apparent uniformity in material culture is a feature of the latest, LH IIIB, phase of the Mycenaean palaces, and one which apparently disintegrates in the changed conditions of LH IIIC.²³

Such uniformity in material culture in LM IIIC is all the more remarkable since it is highly likely that Crete was linguistically – and perhaps also ethnically – far from uniform at this time. We know from the Knossian Linear B tablets that speakers of Achaean Greek had established themselves on the island before the end of LM IIIA2. We can be sure that they had not entirely displaced speakers of

19 There is, unfortunately, no up-to-date discussion of this important Cretan institution, the best contemporary evidence for which remains the Spensithios inscription (Jeffery and Morpugo-Davies 1970).

20 For 'incomers' on Palaikastro Kastri, see Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 50–2.

21 See especially Day and Wilson 2002; Knappett 2002; Van de Moortel 2002. It has to be said that the definition of drinking/dining assemblages in these articles is more implicit than explicit.

22 For the evidence itself, see generally Kanta, *Late Minoan III*; articles in Hallager and Hallager 1997. It is also a theme that emerged strongly from a workshop organised by Anna Lucia d'Agata, 'Ariadne's Threads: Relations between Crete and the Mainland between LM II and Submin', held in Athens in April 2003.

23 This picture is the one painted by Desborough in *The Last Mycenaeans*. The accumulation of evidence since the early 1960s has not changed the picture substantially, and has done much to confirm Desborough's basic observation.

other, earlier tongues. This period seems to be the Crete of the five races of *Odyssey* 19.174–7. But, if so, none of these five peoples makes an appearance in the material record. Material culture does not seem to be being used to express any kind of ‘ethnic’ identity during this period.

The picture we gain from survey for the later part of the EIA, that is from PG to Early Orientalising, is patchier. Surface material from Hill 3 seems to date to the end of LM IIIC or the beginning of the Protogeometric, and it seems likely that occupation on Kypia Kalmafi had ceased by 900 BC. Occupation at Praisos seems to begin by this time – there are some sherds of ‘herringbone’ which may be LM IIIC or later, and some Protogeometric finds from the area to the east of the First Acropolis. By 700 (or perhaps 600) BC there are indications that much of the First Acropolis of Praisos was occupied, a settlement area of about two hectares or so.

EIA mortuary practices provide a fuller, more interesting if also more ambiguous picture. Mortuary practices are important from both a ‘traditional’ and a ‘processual’ perspective. Traditionalists (that is, cultural historians) have often used burial customs to define cultures; and ‘processualists’ have relied on burials to attempt reconstructions of social structure in prehistoric times. Metaxia Tsipopoulou has defined four types of interment facility used in eastern Crete (that is, everywhere in the *nomos* of Lasithi) from LM IIIC to Geometric times: tholos tombs, chamber tombs, grave circles and cave burial.²⁴ At least three of these types were used in our area; examples of tholos tombs include Bosanquet’s tombs A and C, ‘grave 53’, the tomb at ‘Mavrikia’ and site 31 located by our survey; a ‘grave circle’ has been identified near one of the three Acropoleis of Praisos; and cave burials are known from the Skales (or Skalais) cave, from near ‘Vavelloi’ (i.e., Nea Praisos) and at site 23 located by our survey.²⁵ Both cremation and inhumation were practised in east Crete during these periods, indeed there are reasons to suppose that cremations in urns developed first in east Crete during the EIA, whence they spread to other parts of Crete and Greece.²⁶ Though it is not absolutely clear if these rites were practised exclusively in any one type of interment facility, it seems that most cremations come from tholos tombs and most interments in caves seem to be inhumations. Different kinds of persons seem to have been treated differently in death. There is therefore much that could, in principle, be inferred about the ‘social archaeology of death’ in the region, that is,

24 In Tsipopoulou 1987, 1990b.

25 Protogeometric-Geometric tombs around Praisos: (a) tholos tombs; for tombs A and C see, Bosanquet 1902a: 240–5 and 248–51; for tomb 53, Marshall 1906; for tholos tomb at ‘site 31’, Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 261; (b) cave tombs; Skales (or Skalais) cave, Bosanquet 1902a: 235–6; Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985; cave burial at ‘site 23’ on E slope of Kapsalos hill, Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 249. The cave burial at Ayios Spyridon, *Kalathia* or *Petrova*, which lies outside our survey area, see Tsipopoulou 1990a; 1987: 259–60. For an overview of all Protogeometric to Orientalising burials around Praisos, see Tsipopoulou 1987: 263–6.

26 An observation first made by Snodgrass in *Dark Age*: 187–90, for which the LM IIIC inurned cremation in the tholos tomb at Photoula provides confirmation (Platon 1960).

the criteria by which persons were interred in one way rather than another, if the grave groups could be reconstructed with any degree of certainty and if the bones were still available for osteological study.

One pattern does emerge clearly from Tsipopoulou's study. While tholos tombs, grave circles and chamber tombs are to be found distributed more or less evenly across east Crete, the majority of cave burials have been found in the Sitia peninsula. Of the thirteen examples listed by Tsipopoulou (to which we can add one more from our survey area), eleven come from locations clearly within the later boundaries of the state of Praisos, the only exceptions being two examples from Vrokastro.²⁷ Cave burial seems to mark a cultural difference from the rest of EIA Crete. Are distinctive burial practices a mark of a distinct 'ethnicity'? Certainly other aspects of the material culture of the region appear to become more distinctive in the years before 700 BC. Nicolas Coldstream has defined a style of east Cretan Late Geometric, which is clearly different from styles further to the west, which he calls 'Eteocretan'.²⁸

Perhaps more relevant to the process of 'state formation' is the appearance of sanctuaries. By 700 BC several sanctuaries had been founded in the area close to the city. The earliest finds from the Altar Hill or Third Acropolis at Praisos included cauldron tripod handles. The earliest votive plaques from the site of the 'Spring at Vavelloi' also seem to date stylistically to c.700 BC, and the same may be true of the shrine at Mesamvrysis. Finds from close to Praisos are therefore contemporary, or even slightly later, than the earliest finds from the temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, which, as we know from the Moni Toplou inscription, was once within the territory of the later state of Praisos.²⁹ The analogy that springs to mind here is the appearance of 'border sanctuaries' at mainland sites in Greece, which de Polignac has argued as being one of the material symptoms of state formation.³⁰ If valid, however, this is an inference based not on survey but on the re-interpretation of material from earlier excavations.

Survey has, however, substantially changed our picture of the early sanctuaries of Praisos. Combining the results of Halbherr's and Bosanquet's excavations and our survey yields a distinctive pattern. Moving from north to south, the finds are as follows (see Figure 31.5):

1. 'Trial pit below and two the west of Acropolis I', i.e., within the city, where terracotta plaques similar to those from 'Vavelloi' were excavated in 1901. Our urban survey (1994) revealed two plaques of Classical/early Hellenistic date (in tracts 536.2 and 536.3), though none earlier.³¹

27 Figures from Tsipopoulou 1990b.

28 Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*: 257–61.

29 On this inscription, see *I. Cret.* III.4.9, especially lines 37–40 and 61–5. On the early finds from the temple of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro see Bosanquet 1905; Hutchinson, Eccles and Benton 1940: 51–6. These discoveries have recently been reviewed by Prent (2003).

30 De Polignac in *Origins*; see also Perlman 1995.

31 Forster 1902: 271.

2. Small late Archaic-Hellenistic votive deposit (terracottas), just east and below the north end of the 'cemetery ridge' (site 70, tract 843), discovered by survey in 1998. These finds seem to be associated with a cistern.
3. The Altar Hill (Third Acropolis), a major open-air sanctuary excavated by Halbherr and Bosanquet (tract 690).
4. The 'Spring at Vavelloi' (site 68, tracts 918, 919 and 920), further to the south below the modern village of Nea Praisos. The terracotta plaques from this site are well known, examples being held in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Heraklion Museum, the Ashmolean, Oxford and (perhaps) the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This sanctuary was re-located in 1998. More terracotta plaques and, something earlier investigators had not noticed, numerous lamp fragments were also recovered.³²
5. The Shrine at 'Mesavrysis' (site 61) just below the chapel of Ayios Konstantinos, which our survey was unable to re-locate.³³
6. The hill of Prophitis Ilias (site 14, tract 2101), a 'peak sanctuary' where only two terracotta plaques but numerous late Archaic-Classical cups were found. Ancient blocks seem to have been incorporated into the later chapel.³⁴

There are no votive inscriptions (none that is that we can read) that would enable us to identify the various deities worshipped at these sites. Interpretation has to be based on three criteria: (1) topography; (2) finds and (3) architecture. The following classification can be proposed:

- *Spring and water shrines*: these would include site 70, the 'Spring at Vavelloi', the 'Spring at Mesamvrysis', and (possibly) the votive deposit on Acropolis I. Finds from these sites are exclusively terracotta, that is plaques, figurines (sometimes quite large) and (in at least one case) lamps.
- *Hilltop shrines*: these include the 'Altar Hill' and Prophitis Ilias. Both have substantial evidence for architecture, though neither for the characteristically Cretan 'bench temple'. There the similarity ends. Excavated finds from the Altar Hill include terracotta plaques and figurines, architectural terracottas, inscriptions, bronze tripods, bronze miniature armour and other bronzes.³⁵ Finds from the (unexcavated) shrine (if shrine it is) of Prophitis Ilias include two terracotta plaques and numerous cup fragments, of which more later.

32 For the 'Spring at Vavelloi', see Forster 1902: 280–1; for the terracotta types found at the 'Spring of Vavelloi', the 'Altar Hill' and from a deposit on the First Acropolis, see Forster 1905; Dohan 1931.

33 For the 'Shrine at Mesamvrysis', see Forster 1902: 278–80.

34 Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999: 249–51 (with references).

35 For finds from the 'Altar Hill' (Third Acropolis), see Halbherr 1901: 376–92; Bosanquet 1902a: 254–9; Hutchinson, Eccles and Benton 1940: 56–9; Forster 1902: 272–8; Maass 1977: 58, n. 36.

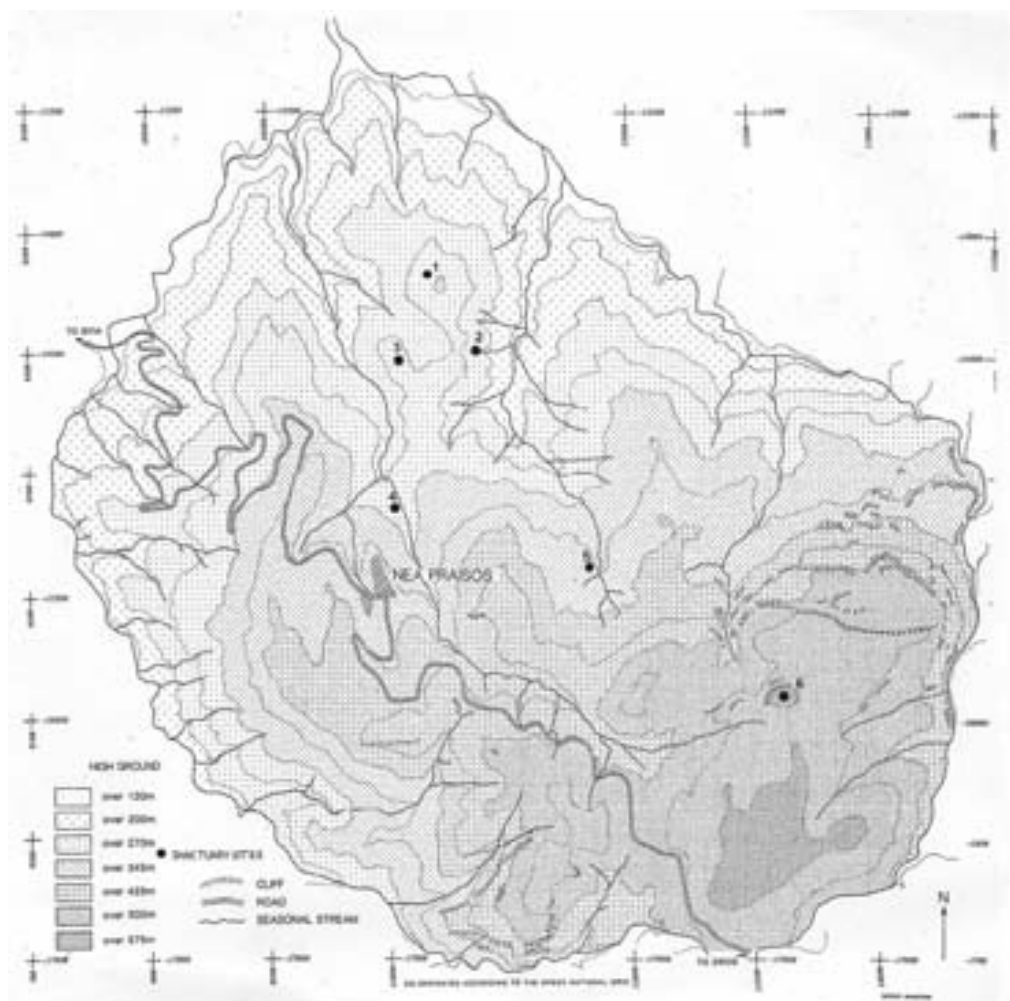


Figure 31.5 Distribution of 'sanctuary sites' around Praisos (numbered according to list in text)

How should we interpret such shrines? A traditional approach might be to try to identify the deity venerated, on the basis of finds and topography, by analogy with other Cretan sites. So for the 'Spring at Vavelloi', its location at some distance from the city and the finds of lamps and terracottas might suggest similarity with the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos;³⁶ the location and finds from the 'Altar Hill' might be consistent with the worship either of Athena or of Zeus; and Zeus too (Dictaeon Zeus?) is the most plausible candidate for the mountaintop shrine of Prophitis Ilias. But such identifications with Olympian deities are haz-

36 Coldstream 1973.



Figure 31.6 Terracottas from the ‘Spring of Vavelloi’ (site 68), found in the 1998 survey season

ardous at the best of times in Crete, since the evolution of historical Cretan religion clearly took a different path from religion on the mainland. They are even more so in our ‘Eteocretan’ area.

Another approach might be called ‘phenemonological’. While hilltop shrines are to be found throughout Crete, Archaic to Hellenistic spring shrines are something of a rarity. Major ‘votive’ deposits of terracottas in Archaic to Hellenistic Crete, such as those from ‘Kako Plai’ at Anavlochos, the sanctuary (of Athena?) on the Acropolis of Gortyn, the shrine of Demeter at Knossos, come from locations other than springs.³⁷ But there seems to be a peculiar concentration of such ‘watery’ shrines from around Praisos and in other areas of east Crete likely to have been within Praisian territory. The similarities go further. The terracotta plaques from the spring shrine at Anixi (*Timios Stavros*) near Roussa Ekklessia are not only of the same types as those from the Altar Hill and the Spring at Vavelloi; often too they are from the same mould.³⁸

Praisian cults therefore distinguished themselves from those of their ‘Greek’

37 On the terracottas from these sites: Higgins 1973: esp. 57–8 (Demeter at Knossos); Cassimatis 1982 and Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968 (Acropolis sanctuary at Gortyn); Demargne 1931: 379–407 (deposit at ‘Kako Plai’, Anavlochos).

38 For the shrine at Anixi, see Platon 1954: 511; Papadakis 1989: plate 273b.

neighbours to the west (Hierapytna) and north (Itanos) in three respects: first architecturally – major shrines seem to have been open air ('hypaethral') and there are no 'bench temples'; second topographically, through a marked preference for 'watery' locations; and lastly materially, through a distinctive range of locally produced and locally consumed terracotta plaques and figurines. There are other signs that the material culture of this region became more distinct from its neighbours during Classical times. Our survey recovered numerous examples (that is, about thirty in all) of a distinctive pedestalled base, with 'rilling', probably from some kind of drinking vessel such as a cup or kantharos. Such finds were concentrated in two sites: Praisos itself and Prophitis Ilias. Our visiting experts (Brice Erickson and Natalia Vogeikoff) could find no parallels for this base type. Its place in the sequence seems to lie between the early Classical and the early Hellenistic (i.e., in the fourth century), and no parallels have so far been found (to my knowledge) in the territory either of Hierapytna or of Itanos. These cups (if cups they are) are then doubly distinctive. While late Archaic and early Classical drinking vessels from Praisos conform to the picture of 'Cretan austerity' in drinking practices, these bases show a touch (albeit muted by Attic standards) of flamboyance. It is a flamboyance unknown to Praisos' Greek neighbours.



Figure 31.7 Fourth-century bases from Praisos and Prophitis Ilias (site 14), showing feet of kantharoi with 'rilling'

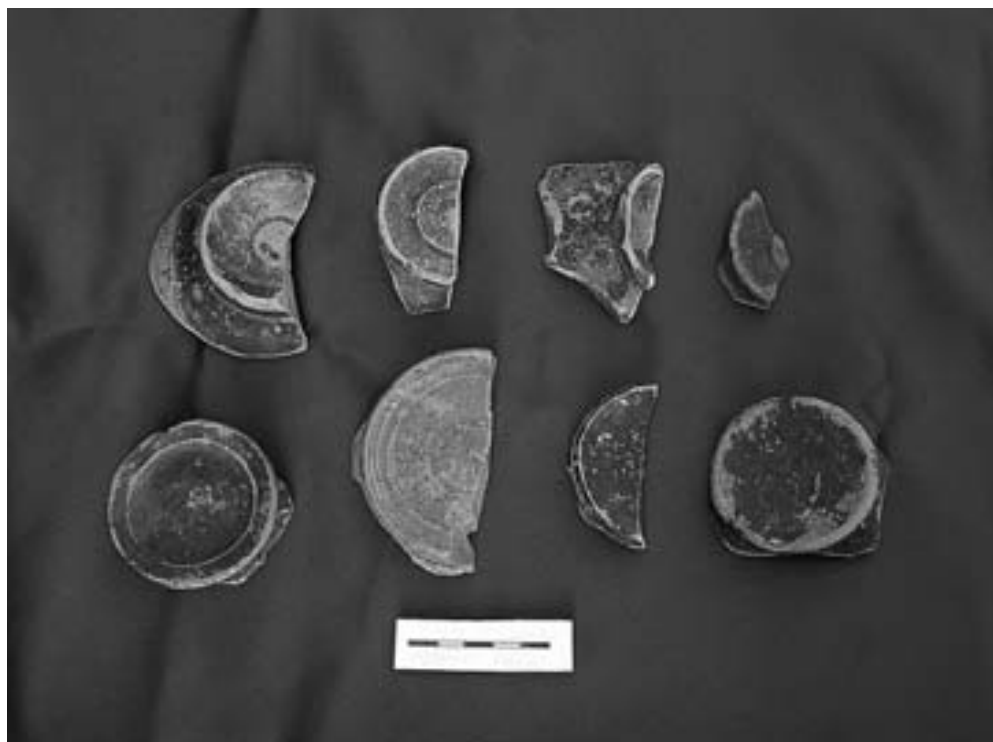


Figure 31.8 Archaic bases (550–450 BC) from Prophitis Ilias (site 14), showing cups of the usual ‘austere’ Cretan type

How superficial then have our results been? Certainly they shed little light on the process of political development, strictly considered. But they do shed some light on settlement pattern. In both the LM IIIC and the Archaic period, settlement seems to have been nucleated and concentrated in the highlands of east Crete. Refuge settlements had been abandoned by 900 BC, and it is from this period onwards that Praisos and sites like it (let us call them ‘acropolis’ sites) become important. This is surely something worth knowing. But can the results of survey tell us anything else? They can, but we have to adjust our focus a little.

First, survey can tell us more about settlement in the *longue durée*, not because it throws up high-quality evidence, but because it reveals patterns that require some kind of broader perspective to be explained. One of the curious results of our survey is that some periods are very well represented, whereas others are invisible. Settlement in the area seems to begin in the Final Neolithic or, at the latest, EM I, but there are no identifiable EM II or EM III sites. Known sites of this period seem to be coastal. Upland use of the area (I will not speak of occupation) begins again some time in MM II at the latest, consisting of ‘guard towers’ and one ritual site (site 46). Definite signs of neopalatial occupation

remain extraordinarily elusive, whereas it is relatively easy to find material of LM III to Archaic date. The region remains densely settled until the middle Hellenistic period, Praisos reaching its maximum size in the fourth century BC when it was about sixteen hectares in extent. The Roman period is poorly represented, and the Late Roman not at all. Judging by our survey, the current medieval to 1950 pattern of upland settlement was established by 1000 AD. Now, however, upland villages are being deserted, and the population is moving to the coast or to Athens.

What survey underscores is that this alternation between upland and lowland settlement is not a new phenomenon, and seems to be largely independent of the cultural/political developments (the rise and fall of palaces and *poleis*) that dominate the study of Greek history as a whole. It is not a fact we can ignore in our search for understanding smaller-scale social and political processes, such as those from '*wanax to basileus*'. Another curious feature of our survey is that people in LM III chose to return to sites first occupied in the Final Neolithic or EM I. Is this chance? Or is it a 'phenemonologically' meaningful choice? Only more and better surveys in Crete can help us to resolve this issue.

But if this phenomenon is a matter that concerns all areas of Crete, there is another dimension to our survey that is peculiarly east Cretan. Praisos, as is well known, was famed in antiquity as the city of the Eteocretans, a fact confirmed in the eyes of most scholars by the discovery of the Eteocretan inscriptions between 1884 and 1910.³⁹ The time of their discovery was the heyday of cultural-historical archaeology, when it was expected that different races could be distinguished equally by their dress and manners (that is, by their material culture) as by their language. Moreover, the cultural-historical view of the Eteocretans stressed their derivation from the Bronze Age inhabitants of the island – the 'Minoans'. The east Cretan highlands have been viewed, through the prism of imperial archaeology and British medieval history, as a 'Cretan Wales', where the aboriginal remnant of the subjects of King Minos held out against the tides of history and the successive invasions of Achaeans and Dorians, preserving their culture, their traditions and their identity intact.⁴⁰ In this perspective, an Eteocretan identity is something which is simply *transmitted* – it is something natural, something passive. One empirical problem this perspective encounters is the material picture

39 On the whole question of Eteocretan language, see Duhoux 1982. The five certain Eteocretan inscriptions from Praisos are discussed in detail.

40 It is worth quoting Bosanquet here, first on the 'Eteocretan' peninsula (Bosanquet 1940: 61): 'Such is the region in which the old population of Crete, the Eteo- or True- Cretans, maintained their independence and preserved their language, down to the second century before our era'. And further (p. 64), 'the old population shrank back from the coast into the mountains of the interior, where they were reinforced perhaps . . . by refugees from the centre of the island. The Sitia peninsula is a Cretan Wales; and, like Wales, it has its Pembrokeshire. On its north-eastern angle, where the Salmonian peninsula runs far out to sea, there grew up a new city, where inhabitants made no claim to Eteocretan descent, the maritime city of Itanos . . .'

from LM IIIB/C Crete. If 'Eteocretan' east Crete had a distinctive identity at this time, it did not manifest itself materially.

Nowadays we do not talk about race, and we know, from a century or more of anthropological and ethnoarchaeological investigation, that the relationship between ethnic identity and its expression in either language or material culture is more complicated and more problematic than earlier scholars had thought. There has nonetheless recently been a revival of interest in this relationship, which has reached some important conclusions. Most of these conclusions are negative. There seems to be no general law that governs the relationship between ethnic identity and its expression in material culture. We can document times and places where material culture is used to express such identity, and 'counter factuals' where strong 'ethnic identity' exists, but its material expression is weak or non-existent. The one positive conclusion from all this work is that the *sine qua non* of ethnic identity is the shared belief in that identity.⁴¹ Ethnicities are *willed*, and culture (and sometimes material culture) is brought into play to make that identity appear natural.

One of the remarkable things about Herodotus' narrative concerning the 'Praisioi' is that they clearly cherished a collective charter myth (Herodotus 7.170–1) that set them apart from other Cretans. They had willed their own ethnic identity by c.450 BC.⁴² Our survey and other archaeological investigations allow us to chart the degree to which these differences are manifested in material culture, since we can compare them with finds from excavations of the sites of their Greek-speaking neighbours to the west (Azoria/Hierapytna) and north-east (Itanos). It is clear that differences are manifested from at least the eighth century BC onwards. Praisos was clearly the centre for a range of terracotta plaques, beginning c.700 BC and lasting until the city's destruction c.140 BC, which are simply not paralleled elsewhere in Crete. Pottery production seems to have been localised, to judge by Brice Erickson's assessment of the finds from site 14 (Prophitis Ilias).⁴³ By the fourth century BC drinking practices in the 'Eteocretan' territories seem to have diverged slightly from their neighbours. The plain one-handled cup had been the Cretan's cup of choice from at least 800 BC, and this continued. But after 400 BC, if our type series is correct, the Eteocretans began to prefer a cup or kantharos with a distinct 'rilled' base, which cannot so far be paralleled in the French excavations at Itanos nor the American at Azoria. This contrasts with the situation around 1200 BC when there were no discernible differences in drinking practices between the people of the Praisos region and those on the coast.

41 See Hall 1995; 1997: 17–33. The most systematic 'ethnoarchaeological' investigation of the relationship between material culture boundaries and what we might call ethnicity remains Hodder 1982.

42 For arguments to this effect, see Whitley 1998: 27–32.

43 I owe this observation to conversations with Brice Erickson. The Prophitis Ilias material is discussed in his Ph.D. thesis (Erickson 2000: 315–30).

We are faced then with the intriguing possibility, raised at least in part through the superficial results of survey, that in east Crete the processes of ethnogenesis – the emergence of a distinct ethnicity – and of state formation went hand in hand. Superficially it seems that, as the institutions of the city-state of Praisos developed, and as the city itself grew, so a feeling of Eteocretan distinctiveness increased. Jonathan Hall has argued that the appearance of public inscriptions in the Eteocretan language around 500 BC is clear proof of the emergence of a Praisian or Eteocretan identity.⁴⁴ But we should always remember that the relationship between identity and its material expression remains problematic. What we are trying to explain is not ‘ethnic identity’ per se, but three related questions that arise from the fact that the ‘Praisioi’ did seem to have acquired an ‘ethnic’ identity by c.450 BC. The questions are: first, why ethnic identity comes to be expressed in concrete, material terms; second, what the relationship is between the processes of polis or state formation and the accentuation of a distinct identity; and third, why certain aspects of material culture (drinking vessels, sanctuary locations) become vehicles for ‘ethnic’ identity, where others (domestic space and the general layout of the city) do not. Only through more archaeological work – that is, both superficial survey and less superficial excavation – can we investigate this further.

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44 Hall 1995: 89–90; 1997: 178–9.

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THE GILDED CAGE? SETTLEMENT AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGE AFTER 1200 BC: A COMPARISON OF CRETE AND OTHER AEGEAN REGIONS

Saro Wallace

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses developments in Aegean economy between the twelfth and ninth centuries BC, addressing the organisation of subsistence practice and the production and exchange of value goods.¹ In understanding both, it seems important to have a good overall picture of settlement character, size, distribution and chronology. This is still lacking for many Aegean regions in the period, though new data, like those presented in this volume and resulting from many current rescue projects in Greece, are improving our overview (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*; Stampolidis and Giannikouri 2004). But obscurities in settlement data have not prevented enterprising scholars from putting forward generalising models of economy for the central Greek mainland, which are discussed in some detail here (Foxhall 1995; Small 1998, 1999). A very substantial and comprehensive settlement record is now available for Crete, deriving both from survey and excavation. It richly deserves analysis in its own right (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 1), and has recently encouraged examination of some aspects of economic and social organisation in the island (Haggis 1993, 1999, Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*; 2002; Wallace 2002, 2003a, 2003b). Polarised, ‘binary’ interpretative models, mapping out alternative basic trajectories of political and economic development towards polis emergence between regions have been shown to be useful by Morris (1998; *Archaeology*). In such analyses, Crete is sometimes presented in a very simplified way as an ‘other’

1 The title originally requested was ‘(Aegean) Bronze to Iron Economy’. I altered this in order to discuss my particular area of research in more detail while still trying to address cross-Aegean developments. I would like to stress the superficiality of my treatment of central Greek EIA material culture here in an artificially polarised model. Generalisations about subsistence practice for the central Greek mainland are much less valid than for Crete in the absence of a coherent published record covering this large area, and are not attempted here: a thoughtful overview is provided by Palmer 2001. Further discussion of social structure in EIA Crete is found in Wallace 2001, 2003b, while subsistence changes in EIA Crete are addressed in detail in Wallace 2002, 2003a.

against which to define and clarify sociopolitical developments in central Greece (Morris 1998). From the opposite point of view, interpretation of the complicated data for central Greece may be assisted by the testing of a coherent and well-founded Cretan paradigm against them. Morris's interest was to explain sociopolitical developments of the eighth century and later through reference to the archaeology of the EIA. Approaches from the other end of the timescale often use the circumstances prior to the settlement destructions and systemic collapse of the twelfth century to predict their social and economic consequences, in a somewhat circular way, as Sherratt (1998: 292) has noted. Here, I want to work directly from the material record for the period of interest moving forward in time.

It seems that the nature of early cultural adaptations in Crete to changing political conditions *c.* 1200 BC helped determine a particular trajectory of social and economic development there. A distinctive framework of settlement created in the twelfth century restricted both political and economic growth, and this seems in turn to have been a factor behind further cultural changes from the tenth century, including widespread settlement nucleation. The changing material conditions must have been brought about by, and helped create, new social parameters, including structures of collective identity. A strong continuity is apparent in sociopolitical development from the tenth century right through the archaic period in Crete: even though the island experienced a set of changes similar to those of mainland regions in the eighth century, these seem to be an extension of the existing sociocultural framework, and less revolutionary. Clearly, Crete's geographical position between Levantine core and Aegean periphery greatly influenced its EIA social development. However, this was not simply a reactive process, in the mould of classic secondary state formation; nor can we properly analyse it by means of reference to general models of a Mediterranean world-system (e.g. Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 1993). Recent social and cultural history mediated and created the island's response to a changing economic environment: a full historical and material dialectic was in progress which can only be properly interpreted by the use of a regional focus.

In central Greece, much less concerted and pre-emptive reactions to the crisis period starting *c.* 1200 BC seem to have produced a longer and patchier 'transitional' period of cultural and social adaptation, lasting through the twelfth century and into the eleventh. From at least the late tenth/early ninth century on, central Greece engaged with the expanding east Mediterranean trade system in a pro-active way which laid its communities open to considerable social tensions (Morris 1987; 1989; 1998: 101; *Archaeology*: 238; Sherratt 1994: 76; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; 1993: 364–6; 1998; Whitley 1991a). No very effective or long-term social boundaries seem to have been set on this engagement until the eighth century. Instead, ineffective limited structural adaptations, including a focus on representing the power of the individual within large communities, seem to have accommodated ever-escalating opportunities for economic competition. This lack of earlier social institutionalisation may have helped boost the explosive growth of

central Greek societies into the dynamic small states of the eighth century, which became more and more heavily involved in a flourishing export trade. In contrast, Crete's early and significant degree of institutionalisation placed it in a more buffered, bounded position during the same general economic growth spurt. While always able to consume incoming value goods at an exceptionally high rate, thanks both to geographical position and to the early emergence of institutions moderating the central social role of competitive consumption, Cretan societies were unable to maximally use these advantages to fuel economic and political expansion. I choose the metaphor of the gilded cage to represent this kind of boundedness. The important tenth-century cultural changes in Crete, in which we appear to see the foundations for later state formation, may only represent an escape from a smaller 'cage' into a larger and more luxurious one, which seems in some ways to have been consciously constructed. In one sense, Cretan social and economic adjustment from c.1200 BC is one of the success stories of the EIA, in another, one of its side-alleys, leading to a Classical Crete of many conflicting, small bounded states taking a long time to build growth.

My background assumptions here are that the settlement abandonments, destructions, the apparent collapse of state structures, and the widespread changes in material culture patterning in the twelfth- and eleventh-century Aegean were human in origin and locally embedded, whether or not natural events or large-scale population movements enhanced instability. The undermining of political and economic systems substantially derived from and promoted the actions of groups outwit the control of major polities (*Crisis Years; Mediterranean Peoples*; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993; Sherratt 1998, 2001). Their increased degree of socio-economic and physical mobility post-c.1200 BC allowed them to engage in opportunistic activities – competing for new routes and contacts, raiding, and even settling some areas (Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 1998; Sherratt 1994, 2001; Eder this volume). Concerning terminology, the twelfth century in Crete belongs for me within the EIA period – in the sense that it post-dates a coherently defined LBA period of political and economic organisation ended by a major cultural shift, as well as in a more literal sense, in seeing the first uptake of iron goods (Sherratt 1994: 88). On the mainland, a set of cultural changes often seem most clearly identifiable as 'taking off' in the late eleventh/early tenth century (Eder, *Argolis*; Whitley 2000: 77–9). However, I think it still makes most sense to analyse the record from 1200 BC onwards, since the best understanding of the causes of these developments lies in the collapse of state systems themselves. In my view, leaving the LH IIIC period aside in EIA studies, or simply paying lip-service to it as a complex period needing to be studied separately from a 'true' EIA starting at 1100 or 1000 BC, makes the understanding of processes of socioeconomic change in the following centuries more difficult, rather than easier (Morris 1987; Whitley 2000: 77–9; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 1).

SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMY IN LM IIIA–B CRETE

The island had large economic nodes at Knossos,² Chania, and Phaistos/Kommos, with sub-regional nucleated settlements integrated into partly centralised systems of subsistence and value good distribution/exchange through much of this period (Bennet 1987b, 1990, 1992, 1995; Davaras 1973; Driessen 2001; *La Crète mycénienne*; Godart 1997; Halstead 1992; Pelon 1997; Hallager and Hallager 2000, 2003; Hallager 1988, 1999; Killen 1964, 1985). Most settlements of both types were located on the coasts or in low-lying valleys or plains (e.g. Davaras 1973; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*; Watrous et al. 1993; L. Platon 1997; Tsipopoulou 1997b). Scattered through the landscape were individual farm-houses, hamlets and shepherding bases, whose users were probably also to some degree tied into the centralised system (Davaras and Soles 1996; Haggis 1992; Hayden 1997; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1990). Exchange of craft and other products (including textiles and oil) took place with other Aegean regions and parts of the east and west Mediterranean via port and/or gateway settlements including the three main centres and their harbours, although the volume and character of exchange seems to have reduced or altered somewhat by the end of the thirteenth century (Catling et al. 1980; Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*; Godart and Tzedakis 1997; Hallager 1985; Karageorghis 1979b; Popham 1979; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Watrous 1992: 159–60, 161–3, 181–2; 1993). Beyond these generalisations, knowledge of the different levels or functions of LM III settlement is in fact rather limited. It is increasingly recognised that the Linear B records refer to only a limited range of contemporary economic interactions (Galaty and Parkinson 1999; Halstead 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2001, *Economy and Politics*). The relationship between centralised authorities and the subsidiary groups exploiting the hinterland seems to have been a highly interdependent one, with balanced feedback from one resource base into the other, rather than a one-way drainage of goods and resources. In spatial terms, no across-the-board equation can be made between the dominant power groups and residence in large central settlements, or between subsidiary groups such as farmers or the so-called ‘collectors’ involved in wool/textile production, and residence in hinterland areas or smaller settlements (Bennet 1992; Carlier, *Royaute*; Driessen 1992; Godart 1972, 1992; Rougemont 2001). We should be prepared to accept a potentially complex socio-spatial map, with some of the elite resident in or moving regularly

2 Substantial parts of the Neopalatial settlement area and of the palace were clearly in use through both LM IIIA2 and IIIB (Hallager 1977; 1999; Hatzaki 2005; Palmer 1963; Popham 1970: 85). In whichever ways the settlement had changed its function by this period, the evidence for contact with the still-operating economic and administrative centres at Chania and on the Greek mainland, involving continued use of the Linear B script (appearing on exported inscribed Cretan stirrup jars, some of which are likely to have moved through Knossos), and possibly continued involvement in the operation of an administrative system using clay nodules, suggest it retained at least a regional central role, however much its prosperity may have declined since a destruction in the LM IIIA period.

into the countryside, as in the case of powerful families dispersed by marriage within a region, or elite members personally overseeing their personal territories through permanent or temporary residence. We might also expect diverse residence patterns on the part of lower-status individuals and groups in connection with seasonal subsistence activities, exchange, employment in craft production, or marriage. That socioeconomic inequalities existed at both the regional nucleations and the largest centres is hinted at by the widespread use of sealings; the 'collector' references in the tablets, and in other areas of material culture, like the differentiated use of tholos and chamber tombs at cemetery level (Godart and Tzedakis 1994; Haskell 1997; Papadopoulou 1997; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1995; Tzedakis 1971, 1978, 1980, 1993). In mainland Greece, perhaps in connection to the larger territories involved, as well as to political history, a more extreme hierarchy of settlement seems identifiable by LH IIIB. Major centres, medium-sized villages, and small villages/farms can be fairly well mapped out in the landscape, with the documented example *par excellence* being Messenia (Bennet 1995, 1998, 1999a; Chadwick 1972; McDonald and Rapp 1972a, 1972b), though there are some gaps in the pattern. As in Crete, social and political hierarchy may be less clearly spatially represented than economic function. For example, Small has pointed out that outside the palace-owned territories, much land may have been worked in the form of estates by powerful groups permanently based there, rather than at the main centres (Small 1998, 1999).

SETTLEMENT CHANGE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN TWELFTH- TO ELEVENTH-CENTURY CRETE

This aspect of cultural change occurring in Crete around 1200 BC – or even at the very end of the thirteenth century – has been extensively documented and discussed (Gesell, Day and Coulson 1983, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1995; Haggis 1993, 2001; Haggis and Nowicki 1993; Hatzi-Vallianou 1980, 1999; Hayden 1988; Kanta 2001; Kanta and Stampolidis 2001; Karageorghis 2001; Nowicki 1987, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, *Defensible Sites*; 2001; Pendlebury, Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1938; Rocchetti, Prokopiou and D'Agata 1994, 1995; Rocchetti 1994; Vokotopoulos 1998; Wallace 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Watrous 2001). It involves the movement of settlement away from low-lying coastal areas and valleys to defensible, sometimes fortified locations. These were not always at very high altitudes or great distances from former settlement foci, but were strongly distinguished by their topography. In comparison to pre-existing settlements, they were considerably less accessible from surrounding arable land and natural routes, highlighting a concern with security in their establishment. Detailed and wide-ranging investigation of the subsistence implications of the shift (Wallace 2002, 2003a) has produced conclusions contrasting with some earlier models of subsistence economy and settlement in EIA Crete (e.g. Haggis 1993), indicating that it

is not possible to attribute the move to economic motivations. However, the number of completely new settlements, those known through surface studies and excavation together totalling over 120, suggests the relocation had a significant and widespread impact on social and economic life. The distribution of settlement size also changed significantly, to a generally more equally-balanced one within a small to medium size range, and without clear evidence of hierarchical or functionally-related distribution by region (Figures 32.1 and 32.2). The most important LM IIIA–B settlements, at Knossos, Phaistos and Chania, continued in use after the relocation phase, but in a way which suggests a disjuncture in social and political systems. At Phaistos, the settlement seems to have reduced in size, becoming focused on the probably fortified summit of the Acropoli Mediana (Borgna 1997, 1999; Hayden 1988: 5–7); at Knossos, new building phases started in the Stratigraphical Museum and Little Palace areas as the main palace was finally abandoned, and the total occupied area at the site severely contracted: new cemeteries were founded at both Knossos and Phaistos in the late twelfth to eleventh centuries (Catling 1996a; Coldstream 2000; Hatzaki 2005; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 179–80; Popham 1994b; Rocchetti 1970, 1974; Savignoni 1904; Warren 1983, 1997). Some population from the cluster of polities in north central Crete appears to have dispersed for some time to defensible sites in the region, including the impressively fortified Jouktas and Kastrokefala (Figures 32.3 and 32.4). These two sites, although each of a different character, may parallel in some respects the site of Gla, where elaborate defences were invested in for specialised or sporadic use by a large and very prosperous polity shortly before 1200 BC (Hayden 1988: 3–5; 10–12; Iakovidis 1989; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 19, 34; Karageorghis 2001; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 42–5; Platakis 1970). At Chania, no clear reduction in the limited settlement area so far investigated seems to occur in the twelfth to eleventh centuries, but the nature of LM IIIC building re-use there after a destruction in LM IIIB2 seems patchy and individually-orientated, less unitary than it had previously been (Hallager and Hallager 2000; 2003: 286; Vlasaki 1991b, 2004). Knossos and Phaistos have not yet produced good evidence for a destruction in LM IIIB2, although the greatly changed character of occupation soils at Knossos between LM IIIB and IIIC might suggest a uniform physical disturbance of some kind (Hatzaki 2005).

These formerly most important sites seem to have stayed in use because their remaining populations were large and prosperous enough to defend and maintain themselves without long-term recourse to defensible topography, and because their pre-eminent function as trade gateways was too valuable to give up. We might expect that the groups continuing to live there would include many members of the former elite. Even so, some redistribution of population at the former centres and within their hinterlands must have had a significant effect on regional economic and political operations. This would apply even more emphatically to the other major settlement nuclei now abandoned in other parts of the island. Since mobilisation of the produce of many small farmers or shepherds had

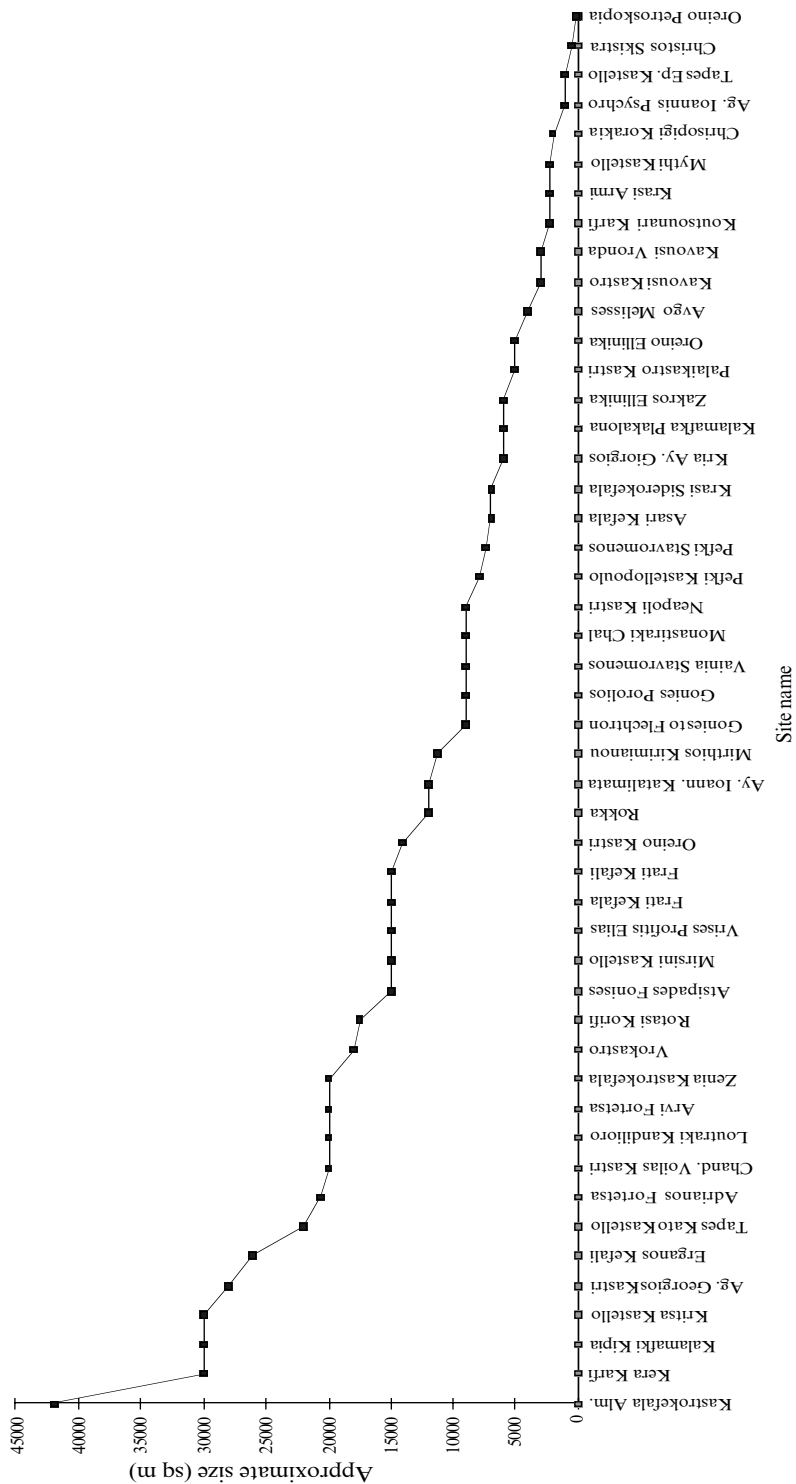


Figure 32.1 Graph of defensible known site size range in LM IHC Crete (all sites where size is possible to estimate accurately)

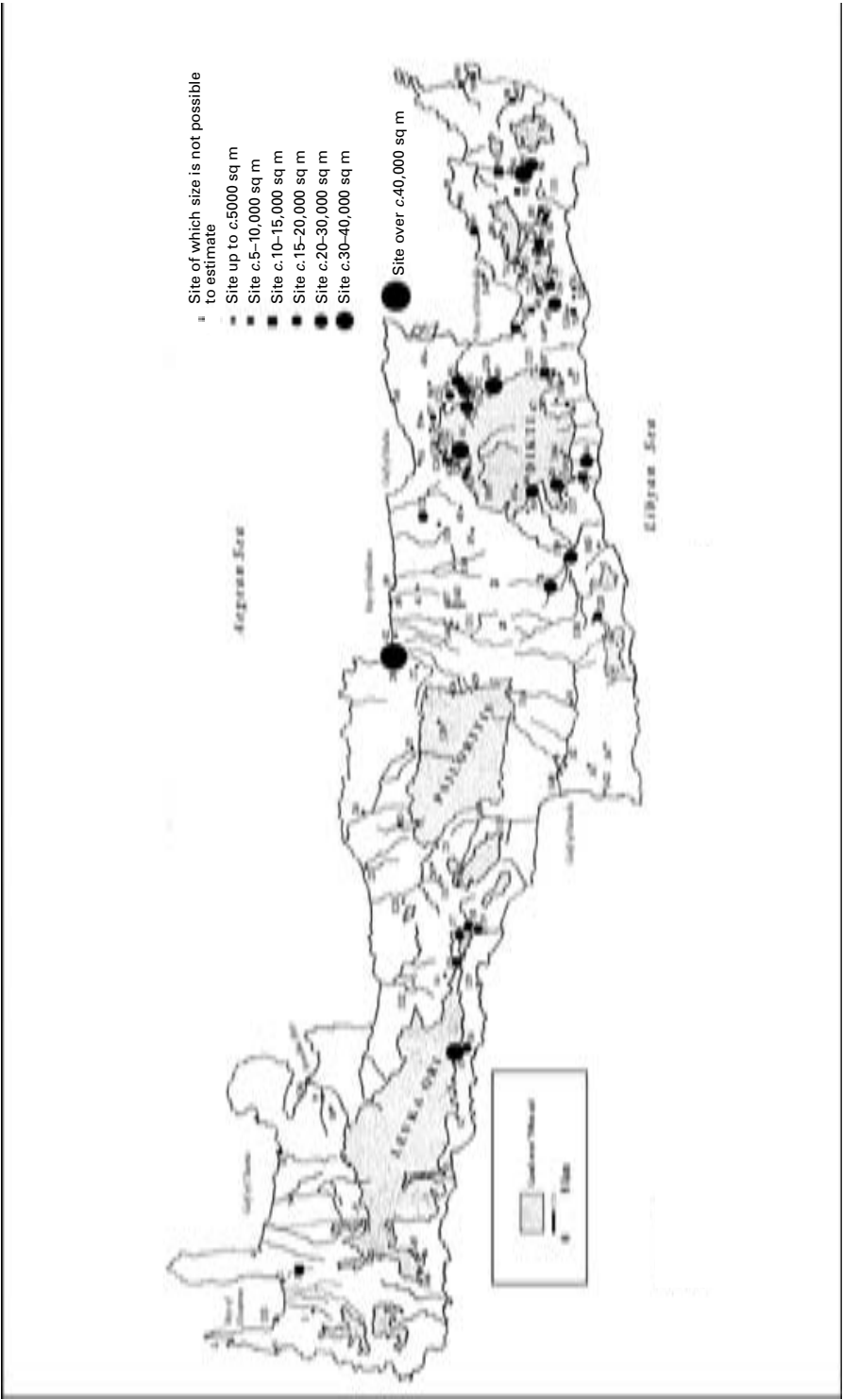


Figure 32.2 Distribution map of site sizes in LM IIIC Crete



Figure 32.3 Kastrokefala from the west



Figure 32.4 Jouktas fortification wall – façade and collapsed section from east Scale – exercise book at bottom right

almost certainly been orchestrated via these units, no part of the existing system could have remained unaffected. In no case do we see evidence for direct transplantation of the populations of entire large settlements to single new defensible sites, which might have promoted direct continuity of political systems. Large new sites or high-density patterns of new sites do not even regularly match up with the areas of former large settlements, with the universal determinants in the size and location of new settlements being, instead, adequate defensible dwelling space and enough nearby arable land to support the biggest group a site could physically house (Wallace 2002, 2003a). Some continuity in population concentration is glimpsed at a regional level – in central Crete, for example. This may have been due to the area's particularly rich and extensive arable land and its very high existing population, as well as its directly continuing role as a major gateway for trade, indicated by eastern imports at twelfth- to eleventh-century Knossos and the apparently strong mainland contacts with the Mesara continuing into the twelfth century (Borgna 1997; D'Agata 1999: 235–6). Yet on the other hand, the Lasithi mountains see a significant influx of population in the twelfth century, probably due to the region's defensible characteristics (Nowicki 1998; 47; *Defensible Sites*: 109–70; 1999: 167).

A still under-investigated phenomenon is the use well into the twelfth century of a number of important, non-defensible LM IIIB settlements before abandonment, presumably in favour of defensible sites in the same region. Examples are Chamalevri, Kastelli Pediada, and Tachieri in the northern Mesara (Rethemiotakis 1997a, 1997b; Vasilakis personal communication; Vlasaki 1991a, 1996; Vlasaki and Papodopoulou forthcoming). Archanes and Tylissos, both important LM IIIA–B settlements, also seem to have continued in use through LM IIIC and beyond and were perhaps never fully abandoned, even though neither is at all defensible (Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997; Hatzidakis 1921: 82–6; Hayden 1987; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 12–13; Sakellarakis 1986; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997). This fact seems linked, again, to the special history and characteristics of the prosperous central Cretan region, where large populations had most to lose from relocation.

It is noteworthy that the use of former cemeteries sometimes continued well into the twelfth century, with people returning from their new defensible settlements to the area of the abandoned ones to bury the first one or two generations after the shift. This pattern is most common where the former cemetery was in the near vicinity of the new site, and is not especially characteristic for any region (Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 134–9, 163–73, 179–80; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 121–3, 125–8, 233–4; Platon 1960a; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti forthcoming; Xanthoudidis 1921). A variation on the practice occurs in the dispersed and irregular continued use or re-use of older tombs at Knossos during LM IIIC–SM, perhaps reflecting a felt need to represent some kind of personal or group links to particular areas of land, or to the settlement generally, in an environment where territory rights and political status were being partially renegotiated.

(e.g. Cadogan 1967; Evans 1906: 140–1; Hood and Coldstream 1968; Wallace 2003b). These examples of delay or reluctance in spatial link-breaking show the perceived importance of existing social and economic infrastructure, especially in former core areas like northern central Crete, and highlights the overwhelming strength of the imperatives behind the relocation, and its deliberate character, since the above cases constitute minority exceptions to a dominant pattern of basically contemporaneous spatial re-organisation.

It is impossible to conceive that the shift did not create new relations within and between social groups. Even if clear spatial boundaries *had* existed in LM IIIB between elites and their support base of farmers and shepherds, these would seem unlikely to have survived such radical settlement changes. Yet some legacies of economic and social inequality were likely to have applied in the post-shift environment. People already controlling material wealth, particularly when it was in easily moveable form, as in the case of animals, were likely to have attempted to bring it with them or to have continued to use it at/from the new locations. We see a differentiated ability to display wealth at the level of the family unit represented in the mortuary record of twelfth- to eleventh-century burying groups at Karfi and Knossos, as well as broad contrasts in levels of wealth deposition between whole groups, e.g. those of Karfi and Knossos, or the small groups using rich single tombs in the regions of Mouliana, Vasiliki and Praisos and the users of poorer cemeteries like that at Liliانا near Phaistos (*Knossos North Cemetery*; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 146–7, 175–6, 180; Pendlebury et al. 1938: 101–9; N. Platon 1960b: 179–80; Savignoni 1904; Seager 1906: 129–32; Xanthoudidis 1904).

Social legacies of the LM IIIA–B period were also likely to have been important in the foundation of new power bases. Previously-existing relationships of friendship or obligation might facilitate collaboration, for example, in the procurement and exchange of goods and food produce between the new settlements. Such links were likely to have weakened over time, though, as new everyday contacts occasioned by new spatial relationships took their place. Continuity in the direct control of land and its produce would often have been difficult to maintain. It would be rare for any LM IIIA–B territory to have remained fully integrated, given the often considerable distances between old and new settlements and the high density of new settlements in some areas. Some control over distant areas could be retained through the use of fieldhouses, and in cases where movement was very short-range and/or territory was of very high value, direct continuity of use is likely to have occurred (e.g. at Profitis Elias (Kanli Kastelli) Rokka/Korifi, Kritsa, Milatos and Prinias, all with LM IIIA–B settlements very close to them; Marinatos 1952, 1955; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 120–3, 170–1, 180–1, 182–3; Rizza 1983). Considerable variability existed from the start in the quality of the new settlements' immediate hinterlands and in the amount of investment required in land improvement, affecting the perceived importance of continuing to use formerly exploited areas. The insecure atmosphere which the concern with defence indicates to have existed during the twelfth and eleventh centuries, as well

as the dense settlement pattern in many regions, suggest that physical security of investment in very spread-out land plots was lacking, discouraging very extensive subsistence practices and fundamentally limiting scope for economic growth. Economic inequalities could be partly balanced out by transactions couched in terms of obligations of actual or fictive kin to each other, of dual community membership for some individuals, of complementary exchange, or occasionally of whole-group obligation after large debts were built up, but conditions seem to have permitted mostly small-scale, rather than expansive, types of economic activity through the twelfth and eleventh centuries.

Another area in which material change played a role in transforming socio-economic structures was the production and exchange of goods in local and long-range trade systems. Demand for imported value items or items made from imported materials, and their wide-ranging, socially unrestricted consumption, seems to have applied right through the period of settlement change. However, the types of goods accorded value status were changing, in conjunction with the emergence of new, diversified supply sources and socially broader demand structures in the post-state era. They began to include iron objects, and otherwise ranged from gold jewellery and large bronze items to special ceramic forms with valued contents, including lentoid flasks, bird askoi, and exotically decorated stirrup jars: Catling 1996a, 1996b; *Knossos North Cemetery*: 310; Crielaard 1998; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994; Hoffman 1997; Matthäus 1998; Pendlebury et al. 1938: 34; Sherratt 1994; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993; Tegou 2000). Their highly varied distribution across tombs of couple or small family type, at a variety of new and continuing sites, suggests that social access to most types of valuable was unrestricted and that a substantial degree of convertibility applied to high intrinsic-value items like metal weapons, knives and jewellery (e.g. Boyd 1901: 32; Catling 1996a; Gesell et al. 1983: 396–405; Hall 1914: 100–5; Hood, Huxley and Sandars 1959; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 100; Pendlebury et al. 1938: 101–9; Savignoni 1904; Seager 1906; Xanthoudidis 1904). Whether metalworking or other craft activities had been concentrated in the main centres as late as LM IIIB, or were already very regionally based (Banou and Rethimiotakis 1997; Doxey 1987; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 286–9; Haskell 1997; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 289; Pendlebury et al. 1938; Popham 1994b: 90–1; Poursat 1997; Tzedakis 1969), the appearance in new LM IIIC settlements like Karfi of everyday bronze items of all sorts, and the possible production of bronze tripods at Palaikastro as early as the end of LM IIIB, suggest dispersed local production and a fairly strong internal regional exchange system in ceramics and metal goods. The luxury import sector drew particularly on the east Mediterranean (though contacts were also ongoing with the west and never ceased with the wider Aegean).³ The export sector was much more limited in scale

3 I leave aside here the question of how many such goods were brought or produced locally by newly-arrived immigrants, focusing on their general patterns of consumption by the inhabitants of Crete at this period.

though some export of organic goods (e.g. textiles) might have remained a familiar niche for those with available surplus to finance it (Borgna 1997; Catling 1997; Coldstream and Catling, *Knossos, North Cemetery*: 721; Eder this volume; Hallager 1985: 295–6; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 172–3, 179; Hemingway 1996; Hoffman 1997: 7, 255–6; Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 175; Maran 2005; Macdonald 1986; Rethemiotakis 1997b; Sherratt 1981; 1994; Stos-Gale, Gale and Evelyn 2000; Warren 1983: 79). With the disturbance or decline of craft workers' regular major support systems at the old settlements, a fragmentation and partial relocation of workshops or producer groups may have occurred, and support for the latter through agricultural surplus was probably more restricted in the changed economic conditions post-1200 BC (see above), limiting production volume. This seems reflected especially clearly in the pottery record, with major regional workshops stopping production or their products becoming less widely exchanged in IIC than in IIIB, and the concurrent development of localised pottery production within groupings of new sites (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 163–4, 173, 194; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 267–9).⁴ The probable downsizing or dispersal of production and exchange networks does not mean that the acquisition of exotic value goods became much more passive than it had been in the thirteenth century. It may have involved active procurement abroad by individual Cretan merchant venturers, or regular arrangements with foreign merchants of a similar status from abroad to stop at the island's ports for provisions or perishable items, exchanging some of their stock of value goods with locals for personal consumption or onward exchange (Markoe 1998; Negbi 1992). The areas with which Crete was in exchange contact changed through the course of the twelfth century, showing the establishment of some regular new links.

While the consumption and display of wealth items in twelfth- and eleventh-century Crete was undoubtedly competitive, it took place within a framework of strong social institutions. One of these appears to have been the family or close kin unit, as already discussed. Wealth seems to have been inheritable, and it was likely that birth had a significant role in promoting status, even within a newly opened-up competitive environment (Allen 1984: 20–1; Wason 1994: 45–9). Another was public cult operating at both a settlement and inter-settlement level, and apparently on a separate plane from feasting, display and other ritual activities related to social competition (Alexiou 1963; Boardman 1961; Day 1997; Eliopoulos 1998, 2004; Kanta 1991; Lembessi 1975, 1985; Pendlebury et al. 1938; Rutkowski 1987; Schäfer 1991; Schäfer, Alexiou et al. 1992; Tsipopoulou 1999; Wallace 2003b; Watrous 1996: 100–2; 108–11). Both institutions, which already had a significant social role in LM IIIA–B Crete, were able to be smoothly

4 It appears that a significant amount of standardisation in ceramics was present at and around LM IIIA–B nucleations – Palaikastro, Chania and Knossos – suggesting an organised, unified character of production at these localities. A substantial portion of this production was exchanged beyond the manufacturing region. This pattern declines in the record from soon after the period of the settlement shift (Hallager and Hallager 1997b; 2000: 171–2; 203–4).

transformed, and actually to gain importance, in the new communities, apparently thanks to the early, widespread and basically contemporaneous nature of the transition to new types of physical and political unit *c.*1200 BC. Another important binding structure for the new communities seems to have been a newly-defined concept of local regional identity, linking physically dispersed small groups together, which I shall discuss below (Haggis 1993: 150–1).

POST-1200 BC SETTLEMENT AND ITS ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS IN CENTRAL GREECE

Using settlement as a framework of analysis once again, we seem faced with at least two main patterns on the central Greek mainland post-1200 BC.⁵ One is the apparently continued ability and concern to use many existing large regional or sub-regional centres, or locations in their very close vicinity, and often to nucleate regional population at these locations (a wide-ranging set of examples are Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Orchomenos, Tiryns, Argos, Asine, Chalcis, Amarynthos; the areas around Mases and Ermioni in the southern Argolid; see Andriomenou 1972; Boardman 1957; Eder, *Argolis*: 25–72; Fossey 1988: 199–205, 351–9; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998; Iakovidis 1962; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994: 254–7, 372–81, 466–7, 487–9; Papadimitriou 1998). The other is a limited concern with defensibility of settlement, though of a somewhat different kind from that represented by the LH IIIB citadels. In a few known cases, as with Gla just before the end of the thirteenth century,⁶ the use of separate fairly small defensible or fortified locations occurs, apparently as refuge places for short-term or sporadic use by populations continuing to reside elsewhere. Teichos Dymaion, Kranidi Profitis Elias and Kato Melpia Krebeni⁷ (Figures 32.5–8) all seem to fit elements of this model (Jameson et al. 1994: 444–5; McDonald and Rapp 1972a: 143; Mastrokostas 1962a, 1962b, 1963,

5 The mainland's patchily recorded and researched EIA record severely limits useful generalisation on settlement or economy. Presented here are only initial ideas about mainland settlement, to be developed and interrogated further in a planned monograph. Major gaps are apparent in the hypotheses advanced. For example, the supposed eleventh-century foundation of Elis in a fertile inland valley does not fit well to any part of the model proposed here, though the modelled pattern of settlement nucleation and of graduality and irregularity in social readjustments during the twelfth century might explain the slow abandonments of existing dispersed cemeteries and probable settlements to the east in favour of a nucleation closer to the coast which may well have occurred as early as the twelfth century (Eder 1999a, 1999b, 2001b, 2001c; Parlama 1974; Vikatou 1999).

6 Unlike the Cretan forms of settlement adaptation or the small fortified or defensible sites built in late IIIB/early IIIC on the mainland, Gla failed severely as a long-term solution to contemporary political problems – it may have been founded too early and proved too tempting and wealthy a target, resulting in its destruction along with the major polities in the area.

7 A very defensible site with an almost inaccessible rocky summit: a settlement area dating between LH III and Archaic lies on its high slopes. It is not clear which local LH IIIB group founded this settlement, which lies off a major trans-Messenian route with numerous medium-sized LH III settlements along it.



Figure 32.5 Teichos Dymaion from the west



Figure 32.6 Kranidi Profitis Elias from the south



Figure 32.7 Fortification wall at Kranidi Profitis Elias from the east



Figure 32.8 Kato Melpia Krebeni from the south-east

1964a, 1964b, 1965). The existence of more small defensible sites of this type with a short use-span than are currently known is hinted at by the very limited quantities of LH IIIC–SM material at some sites of this type with clear evidence of both LH IIIA–B and PG–Geometric occupation. The pattern contrasts significantly with Crete, where the move to defensible or fortified sites was a mostly permanent and large-scale one. In some cases, the existing large LH IIIB sites themselves or their immediate environment incorporated enough natural defensibility to promote either directly continued occupation (perhaps with the use of the defensible area only in times of need) or a short-range movement to the defensible part – examples are Aigeira, Kardamyli Kastro, Kalamata Kastro, Argos, the Cave of Nestor area on Palaeokastro above the Bay of Navarino;⁸ the slopes of Acrocorinth, Athens, Asine, Nichoria, and Antheia Ellenika (Figure 32.9; see Bammer 1998; Deger-Jalktozy 1991; Eder, *Argolis*: 25–72; McDonald and Rapp 1972a: 264, 288, 290; *Nichoria III*; Papadopoulos 1991; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994; Pfaff 1999; Pierart 1991; Rutter 1979). The sites listed are less

⁸ Evidence that there was ever a LH IIIC settlement here is thin to say the least: I have tried to include it in a broad-brush model of settlement, but it might represent a cult or burial use. The use of the Koryphasion peninsula immediately below the hill for settlement from at least PG seems significant. The same need for interpretative caution applies to the Velika cave (near the continuing LH III site of Nichoria), which has a very inaccessible location, in a cliff in the middle of a river gorge, which today requires deep wading or boat access in winter/spring (McDonald and Rapp 1972a: 282).



Figure 32.9 Palaeokastro and the Cave of Nestor from the north

inaccessible, and could retain better access to former territories and infrastructure, than most of the new Cretan settlements. Some nucleation from the spread-out pattern of LH IIIB settlements appears to happen slowly over the course of the twelfth century after the destruction or abandonment of smaller settlements, a pattern contrasting with the more uniform, contemporaneous, pre-emptive relocation seen in Crete. The Corinthia is a good example (Blegen 1928; Morgan in *Isthmia*: 347–69; Morgan, *Early States*: 55; Rutter 1974, 1979). A concern with coastal proximity is strongly apparent in the choice of locations for continuing residence, but also for new residence, at this time. Although the coasts may have been risky places to live, they were clearly also extremely profitable ones, especially in the newly freed-up economic environment. Coastal trade was so important that clusters of settlements without any defences were founded or developed/expanded in significant coastal areas like the Euboea/Volos gulf (e.g. Lefkandi, Chalcis, Amarynthos, Kynos; Nea Ionia/Pefkakia: Adrimi-Sismani this volume; Andriomenou 1972: 19; Batziou-Efstathiou 1992, 1994, 1999; Boardman 1957; Dakoronia this volume, 1993; *Lefkandi I*; Popham and Milburn 1971). The interests guiding the continued use of so many large coastal or otherwise economically well-infrastuctured settlements on the mainland seem similar to those behind the continued use of Knossos, Chania and Phaistos – their large populations may have helped them to avoid the use of anything other than temporary and limited defensive measures. Retention of coastal settlements may have been not only more generally rewarding than in Crete, but more secure, thanks to a larger-scale and more pro-active participation in maritime economic

activities by mainland-based groups, which are likely to have dominated coastal trading/raiding activity all over the Aegean.

In the Cycladic islands, the pattern of settlement change is more similar to that of Crete, with a widespread, long-term move to small- to medium-sized defensible sites (often, but not always, coastal). It shows strong concern to retain profitable involvement with changing networks of trade through large coastal sites, even if this necessitated fortification, as in the case of Grotta (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998; Koehl and Schilardi 1999; Kourou 2001; Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001; Lolos 2001; Schilardi 1975, 1976, 1984, 1986; Televantou 2001b; Vlachopoulos 1999). The building of fortifications within the twelfth century occurs more often in the islands than on Crete, and seems to represent an uneasy compromise by small and vulnerable island communities between physical insecurity and an economic resource of especially high importance to them – maritime trade. It was not entirely successful, since some island sites seem to have been attractive targets for attack within the twelfth century (e.g. Koukounaries), a fact perhaps related to their high level of involvement in trading and raiding. The exact character of settlement adaptation between islands varies, perhaps depending on degree of physical risk and the changing value of existing coastal routes in a new economic environment – so that Phylakopi was abandoned for settlement within the twelfth century while Grotta was kept in long-term use. As in Crete, relocation must have entailed considerable social restructuring – for example in the case of groups dispersing from former local centres like Phylakopi to defensible sites like inland Agios Spiridonas (Barber 1987: 226; Cherry 1982: 306).

Although central Greek communities were apparently not under the same degree of pressure to relocate as those on Crete, it seems likely that their inhabitants were also making social and economic adaptations – perhaps less coherently, rapidly or completely, in the absence of either a spatial ‘clean slate’ or a previous history of significantly decentralised political organisation. David Small and Lin Foxhall have used various sorts of evidence, including settlement, to model the mainland economy after 1200 BC. Using Linear B and archaeological evidence from Messenia, Small argued that economically semi-autonomous groups farming their own estates within the LH IIIB centralised system were likely to have remained structurally stable, and to have expanded economically, after the systems collapse, when greater political autonomy became achievable. The thesis, echoed by Foxhall for other mainland regions (Foxhall 1995: 247), should be evaluated in the light of the fact that settlement in Messenia saw a radical change after *c.* 1200 BC, from a highly ranked pattern to one of many fewer, more similar, medium-sized nucleated settlements like those at Nichoria and Antheia Ellinika – the probable bases of former regional sub-elites. The process must have changed significantly the ways in which territory was controlled by such groups, with power balances likely to have altered substantially in connection with either the expansion or reduction of territory. Foxhall’s statement that ‘though the framework (i.e. the way

the various components of the agricultural system are integrated) changed dramatically, many of those individual components remained relatively unchanged themselves' (Foxhall 1995: 239) may not be tenable. Population increase or loss necessitating territorial renegotiation, security issues involving temporary residential relocation for some inhabitants, and engagement with new exchange systems must have substantially affected social systems. Like Messenia, the case of the Euboean gulf, with its increased concentration of population from IIIC onwards, suggests a need for significant economic readjustment, involving increased specialisation in particular activities or the need for territorial enlargement, rather than a straightforward maintenance of the regional status quo.

Evidence is generally lacking in the twelfth- and eleventh-century record for the types of strong social bond likely to have been useful in maintaining small unitary groups intact through the collapse of state structures. There is little trace of the importance of kin bonds by the eleventh century, for example: wealth-based competition for social and economic power had become more highly individualised and drew on a changed set of resources, including, in particular, the exploitation of a freed-up value goods exchange sphere. Though Foxhall points to the Lefkandi heroon as exemplifying the relevance of kin bonds to social ranking, its exceptional character, non-direct re-use and public scale suggest a very much constructed set of references back to the monument were being made by rather a wide section of the community. Her point that distinct kin affiliations might be represented by spatially distinct cemeteries around the settlement at Xeropolis is only partly convincing, given the different rates in the cemeteries' use (see Lemos this volume). Foxhall argued that settlements which were able to continue in flourishing use and to expand after 1200 BC were often those which had fulfilled peripheral roles in LH IIIA–B economic systems, and were physically distanced from the main centres in their regions. Apart from the issues discussed above, problems with the model include the emphasis on links to former centres as the main factor in determining EIA settlement success, and lack of attention to other considerations – in particular, a new focus on exploiting coastal trade – in explaining site prosperity and longevity. The high proportion of former large centres which seem to remain in use during the EIA suggest 'flattening' – an equalisation in the role and function of settlement – and the interplay of new regionally-affective factors rather than a uniform, radical swing of the balance of prosperity away from former centres.

The abandonment of some former major settlements is not likely to have automatically allowed other areas to 'bubble' of prosperity and security. As in Crete, we should see cultural change (in the form of settlement) as actively changing social and economic structures across the board, sometimes in uncomfortable ways.

For Crete, the Small and Foxhall models are of little help,⁹ since the driving force in settlement there at this time can be so clearly shown to have been

9 And are not extended by the authors to Crete: again, Crete is treated as an undefined 'Other' and the complications of regional diversity, even though potentially illuminating, are avoided.

defence, and since most of the island's former main centres were abandoned. Where physical economic infrastructure could be defended by sizeable populations, it was simply too valuable to give up in Crete's less richly-resourced environment. In contrast, larger concentrations of population on the mainland seem to have allowed a generally higher number of sizeable LH IIIA–B sites to continue directly in use, causing less fundamental disruption to economic activity. Foxhall's argument that settlements furthest away from the old centres in sheer distance terms would flourish best post-1200, while areas immediately adjacent to or exploited directly by the main centres were abandoned, clearly does not work for Crete, where other, complex criteria influenced settlement prosperity. Though existing infrastructure near former centres seems sometimes to have constituted an economic bonus, as in the whole of north central Crete, some IIC sites established very close to Late Minoan predecessors – like Kastri at Palaikastro, Ellinika above Zakros in the Zakros gorge, Arvi Fortetsa above Kamini in the valley below, Asari above Gournia, and Kipia above Praisos, are small and/or short-lived (Nowicki 1996, *Defensible Sites*: 50–2, 54–5, 56–8, 106–7, 139–43; Popham and Sackett 1965; Vokotopoulos 1998; Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999). This fact relates, however, to a new set of priorities in settlement emerging from around the tenth century, which I shall discuss further below. One element of Foxhall's model which does have relevance to Crete is that of existing strong sub-regional political structures as facilitating smoothness in social and cultural transitions, though never allowing them to be avoided (Foxhall 1995: 247). Crete's very uniform cultural reaction to large-scale developments c.1200 BC was undoubtedly promoted by strong regional political structures and the lack of dependence on a single pre-eminent centre in the thirteenth century, in contrast to parts of the mainland (Small 1998: 284; Bennet 1999b).

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY IN TWELFTH- AND ELEVENTH-CENTURY CENTRAL GREECE: WEAK INSTITUTIONS, VALUE GOOD ACQUISITION AND THE COMPETITIVE INDIVIDUAL

From the eleventh century onward, social access to value items used in the 'status war' (iron and bronze weapons and jewellery, luxury ceramics) began to be circumscribed by tight rules and customs in mainland central Greece. Morris ascribes this to the undermining effect which freed-up trade threatened to have on unstratified societies, given the attachment of elites to representing and creating themselves through links to the exotic (Morris 1987; 1989: 514; *Archaeology*: 178–85, 195–257; Whitley 1991a).¹⁰ These never-fully-successful attempts at social control of consumption/representation persisted until the late eighth

10 A good model for this sort of adaptation is the case of central European Iron Age chiefdoms' response to the influx of Greek trade goods, outlined by Kipp and Schortman 1989.

century when value good consumption and display were more firmly displaced into the cult sphere. The need and scope for attempts at this sort of control seem to have arisen for several reasons. Concerted, rapid and widespread socio-cultural adaptations to state collapse had not taken place in twelfth-century central Greece. Strong, uniform social institutions of the type seen in Crete, which allowed consumption of value goods to continue without attempts at social control, had apparently not emerged, perhaps partly as a result of the large spatial scale on which societies developed, with a lack of geographical insulation making it difficult for uniform social systems to take hold quickly. central Greece from c. 1200 BC seems characterised by little-institutionalised societies containing often problematically high numbers of equal competitors for the sources of power (Coldstream 1983; Morris 1986; Qviller 1981; Winter 1995). The generally lower intensity and more fluctuating nature of eastern contacts in central Greece than in Crete allowed better scope for attempts at social controls. Even so, higher levels of contacts in some regions than others must have produced substantial variations in the social potential of exotic good consumption. The type of controls identifiable in Attica may have been impossible ever to try to apply, for example, in central Euboea or in Locris (Dakoronia this volume; *Lefkandi I*). In the Cyclades, relatively unrestricted consumption shows more similarities with Crete – again perhaps because exposure to value imports had been more consistently intense from soon after 1200. Exposure to value imports and their social assimilation newly affected all central Greek areas from the ninth century. Some (e.g. Attica and Euboea) were more dynamic than others (e.g. Corinthia) in engagement with trade, starting to specialise in the manufacture of added-value goods for export to the east from an early date (Coldstream 1986, 1988, 1996). This energetic response, not seen in Crete, may relate to the consistently volatile social role played by the acquisition of exotica in many of these communities. Large, widely-spaced groups, which possessed considerable potential for economic extensification in their territories, were able to become more quickly and substantially prosperous through participation in trade than was possible for their smaller, more densely-packed, socially-buffered Cretan counterparts.

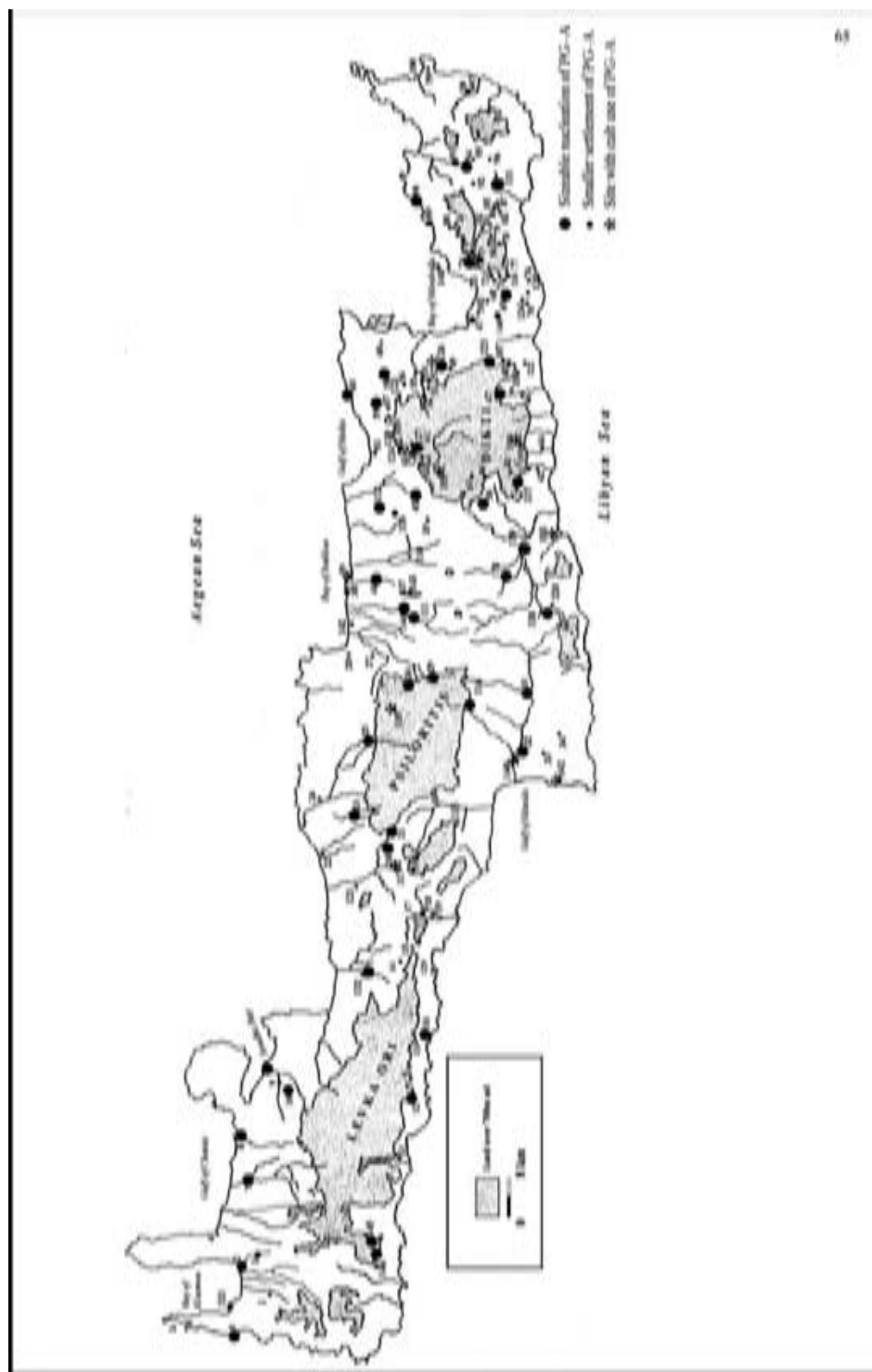
Lemos's overview of the SM–EPG tomb record in central Greece highlights a very widespread move to individual burial during the course of the eleventh century, and it was to stay the rule in most areas for the rest of the Iron Age (Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*: 151–84). The number of SM cist burials, smaller than that dating to EPG, shows a graduality about the process, and its universality argues against the notion of a single external source for the custom, or of its uptake as sweeping suddenly through Greece. It seems more likely to indicate changed concerns in social representation and reproduction. Lemos (*Protogeometric Aegean*: 186) notes the already high cost of investment in cist burials by the PG period, eliminating economy and simplicity as the explanation for their popularity. The fact that a varied volume of burial wealth accompanies the people buried in them across Greece (whatever the total access to burial in PG

society) also suggests they should not be read in terms of a take-up of new fashions (which we might usually expect to be associated with elite consumption), but of a more deliberate and widespread structural change. In the permanent adoption of individual burial, after more than a century of often sporadic, fragmented use and re-use of family (or claimed 'family') tombs, increased stress appears to be placed on the representation of the individual as an economic and social unit within a highly competitive arena (Cavanagh and Mee 1978; Eder this volume). This seems to acknowledge and promote a new reality – the foundations of social power in a basically untrammelled competition for acquisition and display of value goods.

If a restraining factor in uncontrolled wealth-based competition in Crete was the enshrinement of public cult from immediately after the c.1200 settlement shift, it would be easy to read the mainland's notorious 'lack' of separately-institutionalised public cult as further evidence for the unwieldy and wholly competition-oriented character of societies there (Mazarakis Ainian, *Dwellings*). Yet cult sites at regional level, sometimes located on former Bronze Age settlement sites, must have had some kind of collective or public remit, in some cases from as early as LH IIIC. Examples include Kalapodi, Olympia – where cult use may have started at least as early as the eleventh century – and Isthmia, where public cult starts from PG, if not earlier (Antonaccio 1994; Eder 2001a; Felsch et al. 1996; Kyrieleis 1992, 1999; Morgan 1994, *Oracles, Isthmia*). The frequent re-use of Bronze Age sites or their vicinities for public kinds of sanctuary as early as LH IIIC–PG suggests there is much more to be said about the character and the symbolic reinforcement of social institutions emerging after state collapse. Rather than cult being institutionalised at a variety of levels, perhaps it developed at first in central Greece mainly in this broader form, distanced from the arena of inter-personal competition but far from able to displace it.

THE TRADE BOOM AND A SECOND HORIZON OF SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE IN CRETE

In Crete, as in some parts of central Greece including Lefkandi, a steady rise in the quantity and diversity of value imports seems to take effect as early as the tenth century (Hoffman 1997: 257; Morris 1998: 104; *Archaeology*: 238; Popham 1994a; *Lefkandi II*. 2: 358–9; Sakellerakis 1987, Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 67–101). A change of emphasis took place in Cretan settlement at about the same time. About fifty percent of the sites established around 1200 BC were abandoned from Protogeometric in favour of a concentration of other existing settlements, which had distinct characteristics in common (Figure 32.10). These included relatively good access to large extents of arable land and to communication routes, and thus to very large strategic territories. The continuing sites usually had less intrinsic defensibility than the abandoned ones, but possessed much more room for settlement expansion, and thus for defensibility through political means.



Significant expansion indeed seems to have occurred at most between the Protogeometric and Archaic periods (Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 241–7; Wallace 2003b). Examples include Arkades (Afrati), Gortyn, Prinias, Praisos, Dreros, Thronos, Agios Giorgios Papoura, and Anavlochos (some others are discussed below; see D'Agata forthcoming; Demargne 1931; Di Vita 1991; Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Lembessi 1969, 1970; Levi 1931, 1955, 1956; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 167–70, 171–3, 175–7, 186–7, 190–1, 241–9; Rizza and Rizzo 1985; Rizza and Scrinari 1968; Rizza 1983, 1991, 1995, 2000; Rocchetti et al. 1994, 1995; Rocchetti 1994; Watrous 1980; Whitley et al. 1999: 247). The change seems likely to have occurred partly in response to broader economic developments, but also, by consolidating and promoting the growth of some social institutions, to have mediated economic activities in new ways (Figure 32.11). The pattern of nucleation was distinctly regionally-bounded, and I think this is a strong argument for a sense of local regional identity having existed from soon after the foundation of the IIC settlements, now consolidated through settlement change. The development of these identity structures must have facilitated the move to a very substantial extent, improving the coherence of social systems in physically expanded groups. There are few or no examples of new site foundations at this date, suggesting that regional political integrity was deliberately maintained. Some examples of strong regionality in relocation are the movement from Karfi to Papoura; the abandonment of several small LM IIC sites in the north-eastern Lasithi

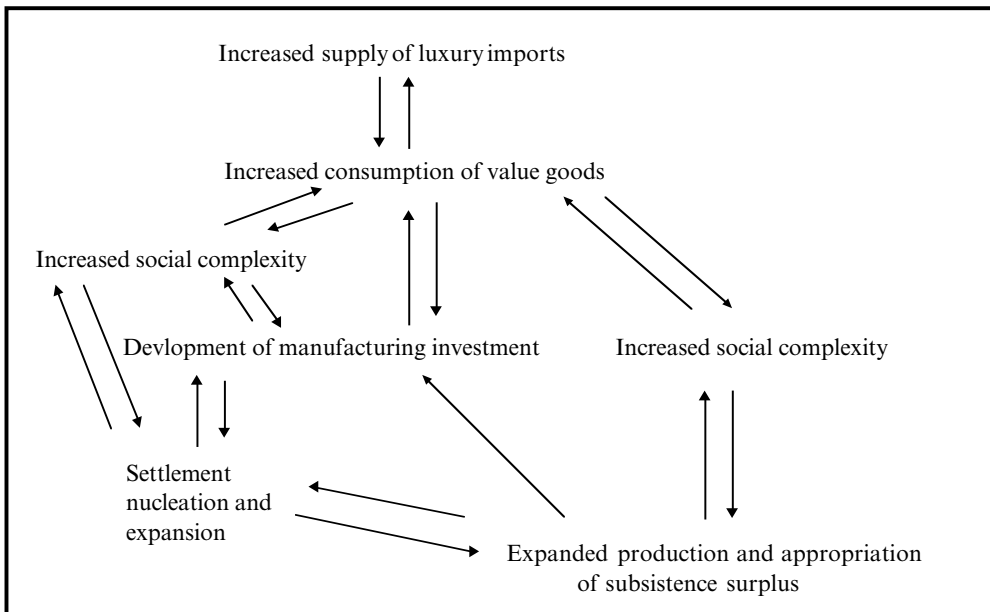


Figure 32.11 Model of relationships between aspects of socioeconomic and cultural change occurring in Crete from the tenth century BC

foothills as Dreros expanded; the growth of Rotasi Kefala in the Mesara after the abandonment of the highly defensible site of Korifi to its south, the abandonment of Kavousi Vronda and Monastiraki Chalasmeno in east Crete most likely in favour of the existing site of Azoria, the abandonment of Kalamafki Kipia for Praisos (Day 1997; Haggis 1992: 182–3; 1993: 148–9; Haggis and Mook personal communication; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 56–60, 92, 99, 120–7; 100; Wallace 2002; Whitley et al. 1999). In central Crete, fewer site abandonments are noted (though they do seem to have taken place): as noted above, LM IIIC-founded settlements here must already have been quite large. The large non-defensible sites at Knossos, Phaistos and Chania also seem to have expanded from PG (Coldstream 2000; Hallager and Hallager 1997a; Vlasaki 1991b, 2004). The social implications of the settlement record of this period are rather difficult to elucidate when only a few examples are selected and become more comprehensible when the broader picture is reviewed. James Whitley tried to use a very limited set of examples to argue for social ‘instability’ in some EIA Cretan communities, distinguishing between the social organisation of groups at abandoned settlements and those at large continuing ones mainly on the basis of length of site occupation, along with a limited, non-balanced analysis of the cemetery record. But the intra-regional pattern of settlement abandonment makes it seem improbable that inherently different social forms existed side by side for two hundred years. Conquest hypotheses for the nucleation phenomenon are also unconvincing – at present, no sites show signs of particular growth or other characteristics during the twelfth to eleventh centuries which suggest their residents were especially well-equipped to subdue people at neighbouring settlements by force and compel them to relocate – even if relocation had been politically desirable in such a context. None of the non-continuing sites (including several excavated examples) show signs of destruction (Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994; Day 1997). Other strong arguments against conquest as the mode of change are the rough contemporaneity of the nucleation process across all regions of Crete, and the specific characteristics shared by the continuing sites, which suggest strong economic motivations and an element of deliberate collaboration in the move.

There are signs of the expansion of the kin concept and its material representation in Crete at this time, which may be tied into the development of stronger collective identity structures at regional level (Haggis 1993: 150–1). Changes in burial start to appear from as early as the tenth century. Tombs established in the twelfth century tend to continue in long-term use from this period, rather than being abandoned after several generations, as had previously been the case. When new tombs were constructed, a high proportion of them saw very long-term use, and some also seem to contain rather larger contemporary groups than previously. The change is best exemplified at Knossos from LPG (Boardman 1960, 1967a; Brock, *Fortetsa Knossos, North Cemetery*, Whitley 1986: 275–7), but the same pattern is apparent in other regions (e.g. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*: 49; Davaras 1971; Galanaki 1993; Rethemiotakis and Dimopoulou 1993;

Tsipopoulou 1987, 1997a). It is interesting to reflect on how far this development may also be connected to the effects of life in larger political units – with a greater need becoming felt to assert and expand kin-group identity. It may at the same time have been a vital element in bringing about settlement change, permitting powerful groups to join together physically without risking complete loss of identity and autonomy.

I have already suggested that economic growth was limited in the small- to medium-sized dispersed settlements of the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Increased demand for craft goods, pushed by the higher availability of imports from the tenth century on, was probably not able to be properly supported in this environment. After settlement nucleation, improved proximity to communication routes and arable territories allowed and encouraged expansion in regional exchange and other kinds of economic collaboration. The volume of imported goods and materials entering and circulating the island, particularly the central part, rose substantially from the late tenth/early ninth century, and the flow continued and increased through the next several centuries (Catling 1996b; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*: 48–9, 271; 1996: 137; Hoffman 1997: 30–7, 54–65, 116–26, 149–52, 161–5; Matthäus 1998; Negbi 1992: 607; Sakellarakis 1983, 1987, 1988, 1992; Shaw and Shaw 2000; Stampolidis 1990, 1998). Procurement strategies for imported value goods were clearly becoming larger in scale and had an increasingly diverse scope, but consumption continued to be socially unrestricted (Coldstream 1996: 137; see also *Knossos North Cemetery*: 716–17; Whitley 1991a: 186–7; 1991b: 355–6). Local craft production seems to have expanded greatly in response to increased demand, and was almost certainly enabled by the larger-scale political and economic systems associated with nucleated settlements, with larger-volume subsistence surplus accumulation providing opportunities for increased specialisation (Hoffman 1997: 248–60). In notable contrast to central Greece, however, Crete did not develop the specialised manufacture of value goods for export until the eighth century, and only then as part of a multiregional production system of highly standardised products (Coldstream 1984; 1998; Hoffman 1997: 67–9).¹¹ This might be interpreted as a deliberate holding back from full engagement with the international market. Like the strengthening and extension of social institutions from around the same time, it would help Crete bypass the potentially destabilising effects of full competitive engagement with trade, while allowing local acquisition and display of value goods to continue unabated – although at the cost of long-term growth.

Some small and highly defensible sites remained in use in Crete from PG through the Geometric and Archaic periods, a pattern strongly paralleled on the

11 See Matthäus 1998: 134 and Lembessi 1996: 146 for the suggestion, on the basis of special technical details, that bronze-work may have been a significant Cretan export to the Aegean before the eighth century BC: if so, it seems to have had a fairly limited spread and to have closely imitated widely popular Cypriot and Near Eastern types, rather than having its own distinctive style, facts which do not suggest any concerted or large-scale effort to build an export market.

Cyclades (Boardman 1957; Gounaris 1999; Hall 1914; Hatzi-Vallianou 1980, 2000, 2004; Hayden 2003; Kourou 2001, forthcoming; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 128–9, 101–3, 170, 103–4, 216–17, 222; Marangou 1989; Schilardi 1975, 1976, 1986; Snodgrass 1991: 8–9; Televantou 2001a; Zapheirópoulou 2004). In Crete, the co-existence of these sites with the growing nucleations in the form of full settlements with cemeteries (rather than simply forts or guard-points)¹² suggests they maintained an at least partially separate identity which was allowed to remain physically tied to a territory by the larger and more powerful polities controlling the region. The highly visible and dramatic topography of the sites may have symbolised elements of the origins/identity of the particular (perhaps clan-based) groups resident there, or of the wider regional population, now centred on the nearest nucleated settlement – e.g. in the cases of Kavousi Kastro or Smari Profitis Elias or (by Geometric) Keraton Vigla and Vrokastro (Haggis 1993; Hatzi-Vallianou 1980, 2000, 2004; Hayden 2003: 13–14; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 107–9, 139). Many of the small continuing sites are located in east Crete, where the highly dissected landscape may, as in the LM II–IIIB period, have helped slow down physical centralisation (Bennet 1987a). Yet an element of deliberate choice is suggested by their location. The high number with coastal locations points to a continuing insecurity associated with maritime activity through this period, but at the same time a very strong interest in maintaining a coastal presence, perhaps for trade-related reasons.¹³ More complex interaction with the outside world through specialised types of site may have been starting to take place, as illustrated by the contrast of Knossos, which probably operated like mainland major sites, with Kommos, where a special type of trade interaction in association with cult was taking place by the tenth century, and again with the small, defensible coastal settlements (Shaw 1980, 1989, 1998; Shaw and Shaw 2000). It seems significant that some new defended sites of limited size on the Aegean islands (Zagora, Oikonomos, Minoa) appear actually to have been founded just around the period of increase in trade volume (Cambitoglou et al. 1971, 1988; Marangou 1989; Schilardi 1973). Many new or continuing defensible island sites were situated along an important eastern shipping corridor passing Amorgos, Paros and Naxos and up along the coasts of Andros and Tenos to Euboea and eastern Greece, or on a southern route touching the north coast of Crete. They seem only really to have lost their role by the Archaic period, as polis settlements emerged at other, usually already well-established, settlement bases, or expanded in the area immediately below the original defensible hilltop used in LM/LH IIIC, as in

12 *Contra* Snodgrass 1991: 8–9.

13 I have selected this aspect of the continuing small defensible sites for attention here, but the mode and motivations of their continued use are more complex, and deserve more detailed analysis – e.g. the pattern of continuing and abandoned small EIA sites in the northern approach to the Lasithi mountains, which probably reflects changes in the relationships of small groups to the largest settlement in the area, located formerly at Karfi, but from PG onwards at Papoura (Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 152–4, 166–7, 245).

the case of sites like Christos Schistra and Milatos on Crete, Xobourgo on Tenos, or Agios Elias on Melos, (Cherry 1982: 293;¹⁴ Kourou 2001; Nowicki, *Defensible Sites*: 134–5, 170–1; N. Platon 1957: 47; Schilardi 1986; Televantou 2000, 2001a, 2002; 2004). Thanks in part to twelfth-century history, on the islands these major sites were most often coastal, whereas on Crete many were still located inland.

Neither of the developments in settlement just described are closely paralleled on the central Greek mainland in the PG–Archaic periods.¹⁵ The divergence of regional patterns starting c.1200 BC was perpetuated, and this seems in part related to the trade volume increase. Large central Greek settlements, especially those already sited with an eye to trade, like the Euboea/Volos gulf group, helped build the boom and kept flourishing right through the EIA. Security became even less of a concern, as major power locales and claims over trading routes became more firmly ensconced. There was no need for nucleation or differentiation of settlement at this point, since earlier dispersal to highly defensible sites had not occurred on a permanent or large scale. The steady flourishing of large settlements increasingly involved in trade might have been expected to lead to or represent the development of some form of social stratification, but there are few very clear signs of this in the material record. As noted earlier, attempts at social regulation of access to the ever-increasing volume of value goods in circulation were never fully successful. Active involvement in trade produced more and more wealth, but an overwhelming need or ability to displace the central role of competitive consumption in the status structure had not yet emerged.

CONCLUSIONS

I have laid stress on the influence of cultural change from the tenth century onwards (situated within a specific set of cultural dynamics in Crete since 1200 BC), on socioeconomic structures in the island. A single social and cultural change horizon of a similar type is notably lacking from PG central Greece. Changes there (the development of specialised value goods exports, the adoption of single burial, the rise of some kinds of regional sanctuaries) seem more like part of a continuum of cultural developments, occurring at varying rates in different areas after the palatial collapse. This pattern seems related to the high degree of continuity of settlement occupation by large community groups in mainland regions. Settlement cannot be used as the only template in analysing socioeconomic change. Yet it does

14 A visit by the author and colleagues to the defensible peak with chapel above the polis site of ancient Melos in 1998 produced pottery dating between the LH III and PG periods. The Classical polis lies on the coast immediately below.

15 The case of Asine and its regional settlement context is reminiscent of some of the continuing (LM/LH IIIC through PG–Archaic) defensible sites of Crete and the Cyclades, but its exceptionally important natural harbour and its Bronze Age history all tie it much more closely to the mainland pattern of continuance of large coastal polities, especially those with partly defensible topography, from LH IIIB right through the EIA.

seem important for the understanding of mainland long-term sociopolitical development in the EIA that dramatic and large-scale change in this area of material culture is missing not only at c.1200 BC but at the period of major economic changes starting from the late tenth century. Many of the largest LH IIIA–B mainland communities had locations which permitted growth and development while maintaining adequate security for large groups of residents. This partly explains the absence of any comprehensive pressure towards settlement relocation at either of these periods. Both factors produced a payback in terms of relatively unhindered economic growth from the ninth century. Collective identity, though already being created/developed through regional sanctuary use by the PG period, did not need to be very strongly asserted in support of political and economic security, promoting fluid interaction between neighbouring regions or polities and allowing a continued emphasis on individual social competition, even during the emergence of greater economic complexity. Capital accumulation and investment in overseas trade, agricultural extensification and craft specialisation were not socially or spatially bounded.

Crete is marked by a strong degree of underlying stability in social and economic institutions from the twelfth century BC. This pattern is not nearly so clear in any other region, even though central Greece has proportionally more examples of continuity of site use. Settlement continuity thus cannot be seen as having straightforwardly reflected or promoted societal stability: rather, it was selectively driven by social and economic priorities. The Cretan economy shows considerable growth from the tenth century on, but accompanied by a further degree of social institutionalisation which ensured that fluctuations in the supply of value goods were unable to undermine social systems to any significant extent. A focus on servicing internal demand for value goods with internal supply, and an apparent lack of interest in export manufacture, does not fit classic models of secondary state formation, and had its own advantages and shortcomings. The early conjunction of all the developments described above has led me to refer elsewhere to the main type of continuing Cretan settlements from the tenth century as ‘proto-poleis’ in the sense that they represent larger, more complex physical and structural units than those of the LM IIIC–PG period (Wallace 2004). Many of them did indeed become Classical poleis, but of a specific, ‘Cretan’ type, about the structure of which we still do not know very much, or whether it is in fact legitimate to bundle them together as having a single structural form. One of their main attributes seems to have been a heavily bounded nature, with clan-linked governance, very strongly asserted individual identities and a particularly long, difficult and attritional process of political expansion (Morris 1998: 100; Perlman 1996; Willetts 1955: 181–5; 1965; 1977). In trying to improve our understanding of the Cretan poleis, it certainly seems instructive to look closely at the cultural history of EIA Crete.

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HOMERIC CYPRUS

Vassos Karageorghis

The title of this paper, I admit, is rather vague and presumptuous – ‘Homeric Cyprus’ might probably be a better one.

References to Cyprus in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are few. Homer mentions once that the island was ruled by a King with a Greek name, Iasidis (*Od.* 17.443); however at the same time he refers to the inhabitants of Tamassos, given that Temese is to be identified with the Cypriote Tamassos and not Tempa in Italy, as ἀλλόθροοι (literally speaking a foreign language) (*Od.* 1.184). In a recent paper Boardman proposes that Homeric heroes expected that the language in Cyprus would be Greek and were probably surprised to realise that they had to deal with Phoenicians in trading with the merchants of Tamassos, who mined for copper as early as c.800 BC (Boardman 2001: 11). Or was it because the Cypriote Greeks spoke Greek with a peculiar accent, as is the case today?

For Homer, Cyprus was the birthplace of Aphrodite who had a temple and a fragrant altar at Paphos (*Od.* 8.362). This temple was built at the beginning of the twelfth century BC and flourished during the lifetime of the poet. He also knew of the Paphian king Kinyras and his famous wealth, who sent a breastplate as a gift to Agamemnon, constituting a wonderful work of art, and which Homer described in detail. In Homer’s words ‘he [Kinyras] heard afar in Cyprus the great rumour that the Achaeans were about to sail forth to Troy in their ships, wherefore he gave him the breastplate to do pleasure to the King’ (*Il.* 11.18–23).

Geographically Homer refers to Cyprus together with Egypt, Phoenicia, Ethiopia and Libya, as the lands which wandering heroes visited after the end of the Trojan war (*Od.* 4.83, 17.448). Homer knew, however, about the Phoenicians, their art and their deeds. He appreciated the former, and disdained the latter. Unlike Herodotus, whose references to Cyprus are more precise, Homer’s references are rather vague, except for his conviction that Aphrodite was a Cypriote goddess by his usual reference to her as *Kypris*, ‘the Cypriote’. According to recent research, Aphrodite’s attribution is correct and she first became known to the Greeks at the very end of the Late Bronze Age, when they established themselves on the island and built a majestic temple for her at Paphos. She was adopted by the Greek immigrants and moved gradually from Paphos to Mount Olympus

(Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002). It is interesting that in Homer she does not side with the Greeks, like Athena, but with the Trojans, the enemies of the Greeks.

Why do we use the epithet 'Homeric' for Cyprus? During the last fifty years or so, ever since H. L. Lorimer wrote her book *Homer and the Monuments* (1950) and the publication of the series *Archaeologia Homerica* in 1967, scholars have been searching to find justification of the Homeric descriptions in the archaeological record. Since Homer lived during the Orientalising period, or what the Italians call *Orientalizzante*, a period of intensive cultural interconnections between the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, Cyprus offers the ideal place to trace Homeric connections, especially conditions and objects referred to in the *Odyssey*. The epithet 'Homeric' for Cyprus was used frequently after the discoveries in the 'Royal' Necropolis of Salamis, which correspond very strikingly with surroundings described in Homer's Epic. Using these discoveries as a basis for my argument, I propose to put them in a broader, Mediterranean context, trying to trace antecedents, both in Cyprus and elsewhere. In doing so I will consider archaeological discoveries made both in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Mediterranean after the excavations at Salamis. The gist of my paper, therefore, will deal with the re-examination, forty years later, of the arguments which induced me and others to attribute the epithet 'Homeric' to Cyprus in the 1960's.

Exactly forty years ago, in 1962, I excavated 'Royal' Tomb 2 in the Salamis Necropolis, initiating a period of important discoveries that lasted until 1967 (Karageorghis 1967, 1970, 1973). During these six years, discoveries were made which attracted international interest and took a prominent place in Cypriote archaeology. It is due to great good fortune that the final publication of the results of these excavations was achieved prior to the Turkish invasion and occupation of Salamis and the Famagusta Museum. Without prompt publication before 1974 this gigantic task could not have been completed.

During the short time I have at my disposal I will review ideas of my own and of others about the results of these excavations in the light of new discoveries in Cyprus and elsewhere, and after the experience of four decades of studying Mediterranean archaeology.

I do not regret the epithet 'Homeric' with which myself and others, such as my own teachers Mortimer Wheeler (cf. his introduction to Karageorghis 1969: 8–9) and Nicolas Coldstream, characterised the burial customs which were revealed in the dromoi of the built tombs of Salamis (Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*: 349–50). I remind you that all the chambers of these tombs had been looted before we began our excavations. Although skeletons of horses were known to have been found in the dromoi of tombs in the Aegean, namely at Marathon, it was the first time that such a phenomenon was revealed in Cypriote tombs of the eighth to seventh century. In 1896 British excavations of Salamis Tomb 3 did not notice the bones of horses and bronze objects, which their workers had discovered in the tunnel through the tumulus above the built chamber tomb, and obviously threw them

away; Ohnefalsch-Richter did not notice the skeletons of horses in the dromoi of the Tamassos Royal Tombs which yielded bronze blinkers and front bands of horses in the 1880s (Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 34–41). Symeon Klonaris, an experienced digger of the Department of Antiquities, had never before heard of horse burials in the dromoi of tombs, so when he was sent by Dikaïos in 1956 to excavate Salamis Tomb 1 he threw away many baskets of horse bones which he found in the dromos, thinking that they belonged to a donkey buried there some years ago by the villagers of Enkomi. In 1957 Dikaïos visited Symeon's excavation and retrieved what still remained *in situ* (Dikaïos 1963).

During the six years of systematic excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, Book 23 of the *Iliad*, namely the description of the burial of Patroclus by his friend Achilles, was for us a kind of Bible. Achilles sacrificed four horses on the pyre of Patroclus (Πίσυρας ἐριαύχενας ἵππους ἐνέβαλλε πυρί), and what we were finding in the dromoi of the Salamis tombs was a striking illustration of this Homeric burial custom. In the fill of the dromos of Tomb 2 we discovered the skeletons of two 'slaves', one of them almost intact, with his hands bound and evidence that he was killed before burying. Again Homer helped us to interpret this phenomenon: Achilles sacrificed twelve young Trojans (δώδεκα Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα) on the pyre of Patroclus. Although skeletons of slaves were found earlier by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in Cypro-Geometric tombs at Lapithos, they had not been associated with this Homeric burial custom (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 242–5). The excavation of Tomb 3 strengthened our convictions even further that we were revealing Homeric burial customs. The discovery in its dromos not only of skeletons of horses and a chariot but also of a 'silver-studded sword' (ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον), and an amphora bearing the painted inscription 'of olive oil' (= an amphora of olive oil), strikingly recalled similar Homeric customs.

This conviction about a Homeric association of the burial customs in the Royal Tombs of Salamis reached its apogee when we excavated Tomb 79, with its ornate ivory throne that recalls the Homeric throne of Penelope (κλισίη δινωτή ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ), the ivory bed recalling the bed of Odysseus and the silver-studded throne, matching the Homeric θρόνος ἀργυρόηλος. The bundle of iron skewers and the pair of fire-dogs recall the Homeric ὀβελοί and κρατενταί, indispensable tools of the hero's barbecue, the preparation of which is carefully described by Homer.

The preliminary reports, and then the final publication of the results of the Salamis excavations, excited the imagination of scholars, mainly classical scholars, who finally realised that Homer was not describing conditions or objects of his own imagination such as the gold front-bands and blinkers of horses, for we found real gold examples of them in Tomb 47. Coldstream came out categorically in favour of this Homeric interpretation. He went even further to suggest the following:

The circulation of epic not only prompted the worship of heroes; in several places there were frequent attempts to emulate the magnificence of heroic

funerals. Nowhere is this more apparent than at Salamis in Cyprus, a wholly Greek city which had been founded by Mycenaean refugees at the beginning of the Iron Age. Here we are concerned with the royal tombs of their descendants, who were cremated in finely built chamber tombs. Thanks to careful excavation, the burial customs are known in considerable detail, and may be closely compared with the funeral of Patroclus as described in *Iliad* xxiii, lines 108–261. (Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*: 349)

I still adhere to the epithet ‘Homeric’, but the interpretation which I will now give is different from that given in the 1960s and by Coldstream in *Geometric Greece*. The Salaminians did not imitate such burial customs under the sole influence of Homeric epic, but Homer himself was describing burial customs which were widespread among the elite society of his time and even earlier throughout the Mediterranean. The world of Homer cannot be correctly understood within the narrow circle of the Aegean region, but within the broad spectrum of the Mediterranean during the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, and even earlier, in the tenth century BC, starting with the *Herôon* of Lefkandi (*Lefkandi II.2*).

A horse-drawn chariot has always been a precious possession of a wealthy warrior, who could be driven to the battlefield with his heavy armour, or a king or noble who could go hunting, as we often see in Egyptian iconography. It is quite natural that chariots and horses were offered to the dead as status symbols in many ancient societies, over a wide area, spreading from China to Phrygia, the Aegean, Cyprus and the Etruscan world, often without any geographical connection between these various regions. Horse-burials and the offering of a bronze bed are recorded in Neo-Assyrian texts describing a royal funeral, and sacrifices of horses and chariots were practised in other areas of the Mediterranean (for references see Reyes 1994: 63), even as far west as Huelva in Spain, on the Atlantic coast (Garrido Roiz and Orta García 1978).

Ivory furniture was quite popular among the elite of the Near East, for similar furniture has been discovered in the Royal Palace of Mari and elsewhere (Barnett 1982). In the Bible, Prophet Amos complained that the rulers of his time had been corrupted, using ivory beds (King 1988: 139–49; Campbell 1998: 311–12). On Assyrian reliefs we see magnificent thrones, no doubt of ivory and other precious materials, where the king or the queen are seated, resting their feet on a stool (Matthiae 1998: 140, 183). On a relief from the Palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, the king and the queen are represented banqueting in an arbour. The queen is seated on a throne while he lies on a couch. In front of them there is a table with a bowl, again richly decorated (Matthiae 1998: 140). Salamis Tomb 79 yielded all three pieces of furniture, understood to be characteristic of a royal banquet: a couch, several thrones and a table, of which two ivory legs survived (Karageorghis 1973: 87–97, 119). These pieces of furniture appear also in banquet scenes on ‘Cypro-Phoenician’ metal bowls dating mainly to the eighth and

seventh centuries BC. The seated or reclining persons represented may be royal or divine (e.g. Markoe 1985: nos. Cy3, Cy5, Cy6).

On the relief which depicts the banquet of Ashurbanipal, apart from the musicians and the gift bearers who contribute to the well-being of the royal couple, another indispensable element of the banquet is the *thymiaterion*. There are two *thymiateria*, occupying a prominent place in the banqueting scene. No doubt incense was burnt in them to perfume the air.

Salamis Tomb 79 yielded three ivory stands for incense-burners, the prototypes of which are bronze *thymiateria* of a later period popular in Cyprus, but which were also exported throughout the rest of the Mediterranean (cf. Karageorghis 1973: 119, n. 1). There were also two other clay *thymiateria* from other Salamis tombs; their stems are decorated with female figures (*karyatids*), nude and draped respectively (Karageorghis 1967: 8, Tomb 47 no. 57; Karageorghis 1970: 52, Tomb 23, no. 5). *Thymiateria* are also recorded in the princely tombs of Etruria during the Orientalising period.

Thymiateria in bronze are known in Cyprus during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC: they were found in tombs at Palaepaphos and are connected with rich 'heroic' burials, at a time when the symposium played an important part in the life of elite members of society (Karageorghis 1990: 64, nos. N 65, 75–6; Flourentzos 1997: 210–11, nos. 70–1, figs 3–5).

An indispensable part of a symposium was eating and drinking. Homer describes in detail the preparation of meat to be roasted on charcoal, with all the technical abilities available at the time, i.e. with *obeloi* and fire-dogs (*Il.* 9, 205–17). *Obeloi* in bronze and iron appear in rich tombs of the eleventh century BC, both at Palaepaphos and elsewhere (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 75). During the Cypro-Archaic period, however, iron skewers and fire-dogs are found in several parts of Cyprus, in tombs of warriors, e.g. at Palaepaphos, Patriki and in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 79 (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 118 with references). An imported set of bronze fire-dogs and *obeloi* was found in a Cypro-Geometric I tomb at Amathus (for a discussion and bibliography see Hermay 1999: 56–7).

Already in the Late Bronze Age, drinking was one of the pleasant pastimes of the elite. Mycenaean kraters, richly decorated with abstract, floral or pictorial motifs were imported to Cyprus beginning in the fourteenth century BC and were also imitated by local potters (cf. Steel 1998). At Palaepaphos and Kourion we have bronze kraters at the very end of the Late Bronze Age in elite tombs (Karageorghis 1990: 63). Kraters with strainers in bronze or clay (for strainers in bronze see *Palaepaphos Skales*: 76) as well as dippers forming part of 'drinking sets', are quite frequent in tombs of the Cypro-Geometric period at Palaepaphos and elsewhere (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 351, type I (i); 363 types XIII (x and xii). Drinking cups are quite common (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 359 type XII; 364, type XIV and 75 for bronze bowls). But there are also 'trick vases' (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 122–4, no. 27) and composite drinking cups (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 174, no. 53). Ladles in bronze (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 174, no. 34) also formed part of such 'drinking sets'.

During the eighth and the seventh centuries BC, when trade relations with the Aegean resumed, rich Cypriots imported 'drinking sets' (kraters and drinking cups) from the Aegean, even dishes for eating. The 'set' found in Salamis Tomb 1 is a characteristic example (Dikaïos 1963: 199–208). In trying to interpret the profusion of imported pottery in this tomb, Gjerstad suggested that it was probably part of the dowry of a Greek princess married in the royal court of Salamis (Gjerstad 1979). Similar vases, however, were found in tombs at Amathus (Coldstream 1995a, 1995b). In fact, Coldstream suggested that the plates decorated with pendent, concentric semicircles were made in Euboea to meet the demand for them in Cyprus and the Levant (Coldstream 1995a: 200). Drinking cups from the Aegean were particularly appealing to the Cypriots and the Levantines; some of them may have been made by Greek potters working in Cyprus or Syria (Boardman 2001: 16–22), or by Cypriots (Coldstream 1987: 29–33). There are also Cypriote imitations of Greek imported pedestalled kraters (Karageorghis 1990: 131).

Male members of the aristocratic and military elite who were buried in the Salamis tombs, however, were not only interested in eating and drinking. During their active life they were warriors and hunters and in their tombs they were fittingly accompanied by their weapons and armour, which were of exceptional quality. The eleventh-century BC ancestors were equally mindful about their ivory-handled iron swords and bronze spears (cf. *Palaepaphos-Skales*: 24, 56, 155, 230, 373). This is the case with the silver boss of a shield covered with a thin sheet of gold from Salamis Tomb 79 (Karageorghis 1973: 117), the extraordinary bronze spearhead also from Tomb 79 (*Palaepaphos-Skales*: 118), the iron knife with an ivory handle from the same tomb and the iron silver-studded sword from Tomb 3. Silver-studded swords were known to Homer. Although swords or daggers with rivets in gold are known from the Late Bronze Age, Aegean silver-studded swords with wooden or ivory handles dating to the Archaic period are known only from Cyprus. These were probably manufactured in a workshop like Salamis, for the military elite (cf. Karageorghis 1967: 43; Karageorghis, Vassilika and Wilson 1999: 108–9). The Cypriote kings and nobles no doubt vied, in this respect, with the Assyrian kings and nobles who often appear on reliefs armed with very long swords, spears, large shields with bosses, and bows and quivers used in war and hunting (cf. Matthiae 1998: 8, 104, 121). Particularly well equipped was the warrior who was buried in Salamis Tomb 3 (Karageorghis 1967: 43–6).

The kings and nobles who were buried in the built tombs of Salamis were not only interested in utilitarian objects of everyday life. They were accompanied in their tombs by what one might call today 'works of art'. These include large bronze vessels, items which fascinated not only the Cypriots but also members of elite society in the rest of the Mediterranean during the same period, as we shall see later on. I have in mind two large bronze cauldrons from Salamis Tomb 79, which could not in any way be used in a kitchen but were placed in the tomb as objects of prestige and status (see discussion in Karageorghis 1973: 97–114).

When I published the results of the excavations in the necropolis of Salamis I tried to make reference to burial customs and objects found in tombs both in the Aegean and the Near East. Thirty years after the publication of volumes I–III of the Salamis Necropolis our knowledge about interconnections in the Mediterranean, especially during the eighth to seventh centuries BC, has increased considerably and we now know far more about parallel cultural phenomena in the Aegean (mainly on Crete), particularly in Etruria and even in the western Mediterranean. Below I shall try to relate the phenomena connected with the Salamis Necropolis to those in other regions in the Mediterranean in the order described above.

Cultural interconnections were particularly lively in the eighth to seventh centuries in the Near East and Levant, eastern Mediterranean, Aegean and the central Mediterranean. I have already mentioned references to horse and chariot-burials elsewhere in Cyprus and in the Near East; to these I should add the burial of a horse associated with a Late Cypriote II tomb at Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1968: 5) and recent evidence from the eleventh century BC cemetery at Palaepaphos-Plakes (Hadjisavvas 2000: 691).

Similar burials occur in association with tombs on Crete (Catling 1978–9: 50–51), at Lefkandi c.950 BC (*Lefkandi II*. 2) but particularly in Etruria, where this custom was quite widespread in the tombs of Etruscan princes. New careful excavations in the Etruscan cemetery of Cerveteri have brought to light a wealth of information regarding burial customs parallel to those found in the Salamis tombs. The publication of these excavations, as well as several recent exhibitions on the Etruscans, have underlined these relations (see various papers in Dore et al. 2000; Rizzo and Martelli 1988–89; Winther 1997; Emiliozzi 1998 and 2001). As we shall see later, it is not only the burial custom of sacrificing horses and chariots in Etruscan tombs that brings them close to the tombs of Salamis, but also a large portion of similar funerary furniture associated with these tombs.

Evidence for the sacrifice of ‘slaves’ was found in the fill of the dromos of Salamis Tomb 2 (Karageorghis 1967: 118–21) and reference to earlier occurrences of this custom in the Cypro-Geometric period at Lapithos has been made (for a description of this custom at Lapithos see Gjerstad et al. 1934: 243–5). During recent years dramatic evidence of human sacrifices on funerary pyres has been revealed at Eleutherna on Crete (cf. Stampolidis 1996: 149–200), thus substantiating the evidence from the *Iliad* (23.175–6), where Achilles sacrifices twelve young Trojans on the pyre of Patroclus. There are many indications that human sacrifices were practised also in Etruria during the Orientalising period (*Italy and Cyprus*: 232–78).

I have already mentioned Near Eastern comparanda for the ivory furniture and the *thymiateria* from Tomb 79 and other Salamis tombs. The *thymiateria*, *obeloi*, skewers, and ‘eating and drinking sets’, are all objects related to the symposium. Such objects, including ivory furniture, formed part of funerary gifts in other

parts of the Mediterranean, particularly in Etruria, where they occur in princely tombs from the ninth to fifth centuries BC onwards (for references see Winther 1997; Malkin 1998: 103, 106–7, with bibliography; Ridgway 1997: 338–9; Gras 2000; Ampolo 2000; Karageorghis 2000; Delpino 2000). Beds, chairs and tables, occasionally of metal, were found indispensable for banquets in Etruria. Symposia or banquet ceremonies (*marzeah*) were known in the Near East, and likely served as the origin from which they were transplanted by the Phoenicians to Crete during the early part of the ninth century BC; they were adopted by the Greek aristocracy and subsequently by the Etruscans (Matthäus 2001; for the Near Eastern *marzeah* see Pope 1981; Avigad and Greenfield 1982; Markoe 2000: 120). It should be noted, however, that Homer describes the older type of Greek banquet, not the symposium on *klinae*.

Recent excavations at the site Ierapetra-Chalasmenos in Crete, have uncovered a large rectangular construction built on the remains of an earlier Late Minoan III C *megaron*, dating to the second half of the eighth century BC. The numerous decorated *skyphoi*, two large pithoi and six decorated kraters have led the excavator to believe that this structure served as a place where the aristocratic elite gathered occasionally for *symposia* involving ritual drinking. This gathering aimed at strengthening social standing and bonds among members of the elite group (information based on the summary of a paper delivered by the excavator Metaxia Tsipopoulou at the *International Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece* held in Rhodes in November 2002).

We should mention here that a structure on the acropolis of Acquarossa in southern Etruria, dating to the second half of the sixth century BC, has also been identified as a formal dining room. Whether it is sacred or civic is unclear, however it is similar to those known from the Greek world that were used for banquets in which participants reclined on couches while dining. These banquet scenes are represented on archaic Etruscan tomb-paintings and reliefs (for a general discussion see Bergquist 1973).

Another sixth-century BC structure in Etruria (Murlo, Tuscany) has been identified by Rathje in a similar way, as a place where banquets and other activities were taking place. The influence from Assyria has rightly been underlined (Rathje 1993).

Banquet scenes with eating and drinking, music and also erotic scenes, appear on a bronze bowl of the seventh century BC from Salamis (Karageorghis 1993), recalling the events of a Near Eastern *marzeah* (Pope 1981: 176–9). Banqueting objects such as *obeloi* and luxury goods (*thymiateria*, bronze vessels, etc.), as well as prestige weapons, are also found in the Iberian peninsula, where they have been interpreted as ‘evidence of the introduction of an aristocratic banqueting ritual typical of heroic élites’, which were designed to ‘improve contacts and encourage the exchanges in East-West relations’ (Almagro-Gorbea 2001: 249–51). These new social conditions created and enhanced the creation of song and epic compositions ‘which praised the élites at banquets and ceremonies and were used in

sacred rituals and funerals, explaining the origin of the Tartessian poems to which Strabo alludes' (Almagro-Gorbea 2001: 250).

The Etruscans also adopted Greek mythology (cf. Rizzo and Martelli 1988–89) and the Greek alphabet (Haynes 2000: 64–71), thus associating themselves directly with Greek culture in general. It is not surprising, therefore, that the period of Etruscan civilisation, which the Italians call *Orientalizzante*, has been compared with the Homeric world (Ampolo 2000) in the same way as we identify the eighth- and seventh-century BC culture which is revealed by the Salamis tombs.

As I said earlier, the epithet 'Homeric' for the burials in the 'Royal' Tombs of Salamis is still valid. This 'Homeric' aspect, however, is not due to influences received from the reading of Homer's epics, but forms part of the development of a culture which started already in the eleventh century BC, namely with the Mycenaean aristocrats who established themselves in Cyprus at that time (cf. Boardman 2001: 22). It was further strengthened during the eighth and seventh centuries BC, at a time when the 'orientalising' period saw a kind of a *koine* culture shared by peoples in the eastern Mediterranean, Aegean, central Mediterranean and even further west, in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Salamis tombs now stand in a prominent place in a much wider world, a Homeric world which extends from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, a world which Homer knew and described and which started already at the end of the Late Bronze Age and ended with the political and social changes which began to develop after the end of the 'heroic' age (cf. Crielaard 2002: 245, with further bibliography). The rich and well-excavated material of the Salamis tombs helps to enrich this world and leads to a better understanding of it. Forty years after the excavations of Salamis, this material retains its great importance and may now be reinterpreted, placed within a wider context, while forever retaining the epithet 'Homeric'.

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INDEX

Note: Page numbers in *italic* denote illustrations.
BA Bronze Age; IA Iron Age

- Acemhuyuk, 33
Achaëa (Achaia), 235, 237, 246, 451, 454, 459, 562, 563, 570, 612
 basileis, 103
 in Homer, 103, 105, 107
 warrior tombs and burials, *154*, 157–61, 165, 168–9, 173, 557–61, 564–5, 569
Achaemenid Persia, 321
Achaia *see* Achaëa
Achilles, 58, 60, 104, 106, 236, 237, 264, 265–6, 363, 364, 367, 371, 374, 390, 433, 453, 454, 667, 671
 duel with gifts, 458
 shield of, 106–7, 441
Acquarossa, 672
Acrocorinth, 635
acropolis type settlements, 11
Admesu (Admitos?) of Tamesi, 319
administration, palatial, 73–86
administrative-craft complexes, 25–8
Adrimi-Sismani, Vassiliki, ‘The palace of Iolkos and its end’, 465–81
Aeacids, 363
Aeacus, 363
Aegisthus, 17, 428, 434
Aeolic language, 419, 420–1
Aetolia, 435, 560, 562, 563–4, 569
Aetos, ‘cairns’ area, 243
Afrati, 345, 347, 351–2
afterlife, of heroes and warriors, 370–5
Agamemnon, 57, 58–60, 61, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 264, 265–6, 338, 363, 369, 435, 458, 665
Agapenor, king, 322, 328
Agia Irini *see* Ayia Irini
Agia Triada, 21, 23, *571*, 628
 cemetery, 555, 555, 556
 sanctuary, 401, 403, 408
Agiros Ilias, 559, 563
Agiros Ioannis, 400
Agiros Konstantinos, 165, 166
Agiros Spiridonas, 637
agora, 385, 459, 587
agricultural production (goods), 67, 75–6
agriculture (farming), 118, 531, 561, 637–8
Agrilia, Thessaly, 215, 216, 217
Ahhiyawa, 451–2
Aiakes, 104
Aias the Lesser, 483
Aidonia, cemeteries, 16
Aigeira, 185, 191, 635
Aigina, 14
Aigion, 160, 239, 569, *571*
Akamas, 322
Akestor, king, 318, 319, 321
Akkadia, *sharru*, 317, 321
Akrotiri, 8
Al Mina, Syria, 304, 307
alabastra, 301, 474, 495, 550, *551*, 559
Alaca Huyuk, 34, 35
Alashiya, 325
Alasios, 327
Albania, 557, 560
Alcinous (Alcinoos, Alkinoos), king, 103, 106, 265, 428n, 454, 456
Alexander, 102
Alexander the Great, 315, 316
Alexandria, 315
Alexandros, 451
Alisar, 35
altars, 144, 185, 187, 385, 404, 473
 Dimini, 473, 478
 Tiryns, 124, 127, 142, 184, 244
alum, 82
Amarynthos, 277, 282, 283
Amarynthos-Palaiokhora, 278
Amasis, 321
Amathous (Amathus), Cyprus, 289, 290, 303, 316, 317, 319, 322, 323, 326, 669, 670
amber, 134, *139*, 141, 151, 166, 290, 484, 543, 558
Amnis(s)os, 345, 409
Amorgos, 117
Amos, prophet, 668
Amphiareion, 279, 280
amphorae, 165, 193, 302, 409, 474, 495, 497, 513, 539–40, 667
amphoriskos, 534, 535, 537–8, 538
Amyklai, 117, 556, 562, 568, *571*
Amyklaion, 121, 244
anactes/anassi, 329
anassalanax, 329
Anatolia, 13, 30–3, 34, 35, 289, 451, 452
Anavlochos, 609
anax see wanax

- ancestor cult, 57, 205, 384–5
 ancestors, 118, 383, 385–6, 387, 389, 393, 394, 544
 Anchises, 101
andreion, 604
 Androcles, king, 316, 317
 animal bones, 39, 118, 156, 185, 244–5, 402, 409
 animal figures, 244–5, 401, 404, 406, 407, 474, 561, 590
 animal hides, 76
 animals, 83, 629
 animal sacrifices 121, 162, 244–5, 404, 567; *see also*
 Lefkandi, Toumba warrior
 Anixi, shrine, 609
 Ano Mazaraki, 569
 Antheia-Ellenika, 561, 635, 637
 Antheia-Hellenika, 569, 571
 antimony, 214, 219, 224
 Antinoos, 103
 antiques *see* heirlooms
 Antonaccio, Carla, ‘Religion, *basileis* and heroes’,
 381–95
 Aphrodite, 121, 405, 665–6
a-pi-qo-ro-i, 64–5
 Apollo, 121, 193, 329
 Daphnephoreion, 195, 199
 Eretria sanctuary, 195, 197–8, 199, 200
 Thermon sanctuary, 563
 Apollon Hyakinthos, 562
 apsidal buildings, 9, 41, 185–8, 191, 195, 205, 287, 581,
 584
 Apulia, 118, 305, 306
 Aratos, 319
 Arcadia, 161
 Arcado-Cypriot dialect, 320, 322, 323
 Archaic period, 117, 274, 643, 645, 646, 647
 Archanes, 584, 628
 the Archegetai, 384–5
 archegetes, 393
 architecture, 7–51, 124–8, 174, 404, 465–81
 ashlar, 9, 17, 20–1, 37, 38, 326, 407
 corbelling, 35–7
 corridor-type plan, 20–1, 24, 25, 26, 28
 dwellings of rulers and *basileis*, 183–206
 timbering, 28–33
 of warrior tombs, 173
 see also apsidal buildings; megara; palaces
 Areopagus, Athens, 506, 513, 515, 517, 524, 526
 Arête, 265
 Argive Heraion, 18
 the Argolid, 123, 125, 143, 168, 277, 470, 531–47
 Argos, 168, 238, 239, 531, 532, 571, 635
 Acropolis, 532
 Agora, 532, 545
 Aspis buildings, 11
 cemetery, 532, 545, 584
 child burials, 540
 houses, 545
 Larissa, 18
 metalworking, 242
 as polis, 545
 pottery, 534–41
 settlement, 532
 tombs, 534, 545
 tumulus, 532–3
 Argus, dog, 445
aristeiai (*aristoi*), 457, 572
 Aristotle, 329, 339, 364, 427–8
 Arkadia, 236, 239, 245, 247
 armour
 as burial goods, 159, 170–1, 557, 670
 initiation ceremony, 405
 listed in tablets, 79
 in sanctuaries, 565
 for *wanaks*, 67
 see also greaves
 armourers, 75, 79, 81
 arm-ring, bronze, 155
 Arrian, 315, 316
 arrowheads, iron, 167, 497, 501, 569
 arsenic, 214, 217, 218, 222, 223, 224
 Artemis Orthia, Sparta, 562
 Artemis sanctuary, 282
 Arvi Fortetsa, 639
 Asani, 569
 Asari, 639
 Asea, 235
 Asia Minor, 281
 Asine, 168, 531, 532, 635
 cemetery, 532
 figurines, 532
 House G, 244
 houses, 8
 house sanctuary, 532
 megaron, 40
 pottery, 534
 Assyria (Assyrians), 317–18, 319, 321, 341
 banquets, 672
 fall of, 355
 monarchs, 317
 reliefs, 668, 670
 Atalante
 burial plots, 484–503
 Gouras graves, 486, 488–93, 494, 496, 498, 501, 502
 Karagorges graves, 484, 485, 487, 495–7, 498, 499,
 500
 metal artefacts, 497–8
 plain of, 483
 warrior burial, 498
 Atalanti, 291
 Athena, 102, 121, 368, 372, 408, 608, 609, 666
 Athena Chalkioikos, Sparta, 562
 Athens, 116, 118, 220, 239, 285, 505–30, 571
 Acropolis, 505, 506, 507–11, 512, 513–16, 515, 523,
 524; fortification wall (citadel), 508–9, 510, 514,
 524; seat of *wanax*?, 508; water supply and
 Fountain House, 509, 510, 524; wells, 512
 Agora, 505, 506, 507, 511, 512, 514, 515, 534
 Areopagus, tombs and wells, 506, 513, 515, 517,
 524, 526
 burials, 511, 512–13, 514–15, 516, 519, 523–5, 526
 cemeteries, 507, 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523–4,
 526, 584
 chamber tombs, 506, 507, 508, 511, 512
 citadels, 508–9, 510, 524
 cremation burials, 512–13, 516, 519, 525
 Dipylon vase, 418
 EIA period, 512–17, 524–5
 funerals, 526
 Ilissos River, burials/cemetery, 511, 512, 515, 524
 Kerameikos, 505, 512, 513, 515, 515, 516, 517, 526,
 534
 Klepsydra, 510
 Kriezi Street cemetery, 512, 517, 526
 LH IIIC, 509–11, 524
 metalworkers’ workshops, 514

Athens (*continued*)

- Mouseion Hill, 507, 515
- Mycenaean palace on Acropolis, 506, 507, 508
- Olympieion, 507, 512, 515
- Pelargikon wall, 510
- Philopappos hill cemetery, 507
- Pompeion cemetery, 512
- pottery, 569
- pottery production, 242
- pottery workshop and kilns, 514
- rubbish dumps, 506, 507, 508, 523, 524
- settlements, 507, 508, 512, 513–16, 523
- SM period, 511–12, 516, 524
- Stoa of Attalos, burials, 506
- tombs, 506–7, 511–12
- Vasilissis Sophias Street cemetery, 512, 515, 517
- warrior burials, 167, 511, 517, 525
- wells, 506, 507, 508, 512
- Atresias/Atreus, 451
- Attica (Attika), 118, 273, 280, 384
 - burials, 525
 - pottery, 289, 290, 534, 539, 555, 556
 - settlements, 11
 - tombs, 376
 - trade, 195, 588, 640
- Axos, 339
- Ayia Irini, 8, 14, 35, 400
- Ayia Triada *see* Agia Triada
- Ayios Giorgos, 18
- Ayios Kosmas, 40
- Azanes, 235, 247
- Azoria, 613, 644

Baalrom, inscription of, 329

Babylon, 318

banquets

- Assyrian, 672
- Etruscan, 672
- furniture at Salamis, 668
- in Homer, 83–4, 672
- incense-burners, 669
- Pylos, 83, 244, 549
- reliefs, 669
- ritual, 83–4, 287, 570, 671–3
- scenes on bowls, 668–9, 672

bards, 390–1

- basileus* (*basileis*), 53, 68–9, 120, 169, 175, 176, 266, 292, 393–4
 - archaeology of, 181–211
 - buildings used by elite, 181–2, 183–206
 - in Crete, 338, 339, 340, 355, 600, 604
 - Cyprus, 315–35
 - Euboean Gulf Region, 271–97
 - graves, 388, 389
 - in Homer, 54, 55, 56, 102, 103, 105, 340, 382, 383, 386, 387, 388–9, 572, 600
 - Lefkandi, 521
 - metal supply and manufacture, 181–2
 - as a priest, 185
 - religion and heroes, 381–95
 - residence in Tiryns?, 142, 191
 - 'royal box' for, 587
 - see also* Lefkandi, Toumba warrior burial

Basilicata, 305

battle descriptions, 457–8

beads, 119, 120

amber, 137, 139, 141, 290, 484, 558

bronze, 495, 496, 497, 498, 501, 503

faience, 343, 497, 498, 513

glass, 160, 290, 343, 497, 498, 564, 569

mould for, 468

Phoenician(?) glass, 564

rock crystal, 160, 290, 498

'Tiryns'-type amber, 558

beds, ivory and bronze, 668, 672

bench sanctuary, 400, 403

Berbat, 17, 117

Beycesultan, 30, 31

Big Man system, 183, 288, 330, 388, 390, 572

bird askoi, 630

bird-horse *askos*, 590, 590

bird-vase, 158

boar's tusk helmets, 161, 166, 392, 455

boats *see* ship construction; ships

Boeotia (Boiotia), 167, 273, 280, 435, 600

Boğazköy, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35

Boiotia, *see* Boeotia

border sanctuaries, 606

bothros, 201–2, 545

bowls, 347, 348, 349, 555

banquets scenes on, 668–9, 672

bronze, 159, 234, 497, 498, 503, 513, 552–3, 552, 559, 561, 569

bronze Cypriot type, 287, 346, 347, 409, 569

Cypro-Geometric II, 321

Cypro-Phoenician, 668, 672

silver, 319

bracelets

bronze, 497, 498, 503

gold, 319

brass, 219

Brauron, 11

Broglio di Trebisacce, 305

bronze and bronze-work, 77, 174

allocation of and distribution, 68, 182, 199, 327–8, 388

artefacts, 214, 484, 630

dearth of, 304

melted, 201

metallurgy (copper), 213–31

qa-si-re-u, 68, 182, 199, 327, 388

scrap, 130, 140

see also copper

bronze casting, 304

bronze industry, Italy, 558

'bronze shortage theory', 213, 228

bronzesmiths, 76, 95, 97–8, 194

bronzesmiths' workshop, 200

bronze-working, 81, 82, 241, 304, 327, 349, 388

bulls, 566

figurines, 244, 404, 407, 467, 566, 590

sacrifices, 244

wheel-made figures, 401, 407

burial cult, 57

burial customs and practices, 246–7, 555–6, 605–6

burial goods (gifts), 119–20, 151, 152, 155–64, 169, 170–1, 286–7, 289, 290, 487–93, 557, 564, 671–2

pottery, 120, 494–5, 501

burials, 151–2, 555–6

babies under floor, 581

caves, 605, 606

children, 288–9, 345, 540, 589–90

Crete, 644

East Lokris, elite, 483–504

- Etruria, 671, 672
 Iron Age elite, 120, 483–504
 marked by triangular structures, 384
 metal smith, 543
 Minoan, 581, 582, 588–9
 single, 119, 516, 524, 533, 555, 561, 563, 640, 641
 under floors, 518, 581
 western Greece, 557, 558, 560, 561
see also burial goods; cemeteries; chamber tombs;
 cist graves; cremation burials; larnax burials;
 tombs; warrior burials
 Bususu of Nuria, 319, 322
 buttons, 158, 560
 Büyükkale, 30, 35

 Calabria, 305
 Callinus, 375
 Carchemish, 352
 Carlier, Pierre, 'Ἀναξ and βασιλεὺς in the Homeric
 poems', 101–9
 Castor, 372, 375, 377
 cattle breeding, 561
 cauldron tripod handles, 606
 cauldrons, 194, 200, 218, 392, 543
 cave burials, 605, 606
 Cave of Nestor, 635, 636
 cemeteries, 16, 120, 152, 154, 159–62, 174, 175, 238,
 240, 246–7, 281, 282, 285, 286–7, 288–9, 290, 382,
 386, 389, 638
 the Argolid, 532, 545
 Athens, 507, 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523–4,
 526, 584
 Crete, 339–40, 349, 352–3, 355, 624, 629, 644, 646
 Cyprus, 319–20, 569
 East Lokris, 484
 Elis, 555
 Knossos, 582, 584–6, 588, 624, 629, 644
 re-used, 628
 tumulus, 246–7
 western Greece, 555–61, 563, 564, 569
see also burials; chamber tombs; cist graves; tombs
 Cerveteri, 671
 Chalcantor, 322
 Chalcidians, 200
 Chalcis, 188
 Chamalevri, 628
 chamber tombs, 13, 16, 18, 115, 116, 119, 155, 159,
 160, 161, 162, 165, 168, 172, 246, 623
 the Argolid, 532, 533, 544
 Athens, 506, 507, 508, 511, 512
 Elis, 555
 Euboean gulf, 274, 281, 282
 Knossos, 581, 582, 586, 588, 589
 Praisos, 605, 606
 western Greece, 552–4, 555, 556, 557, 558, 561
 Chania, 532, 622, 624, 636, 644
 charioteer vocabulary, 424
 chariots (chariotry), 65, 97, 121n, 168, 174, 282, 455,
 565–6, 566, 570, 667, 668, 671
 listed in tablets, 79
 for *wanaks*, 67
charis, 263–4
 chattel-slaves, 89, 90, 92
 chiefdom, 183, 382
 chieftains (chiefs), 56, 68, 324, 328, 329, 363, 381, 382,
 387, 388–9, 390, 572
 meeting place at Olympia, 566

 child burials, 288–9, 345, 540, 589–90
 Chloe, 246
 Chrysothemis, 58–9, 60
 Chytroi, 318
 cippi, 352–3, 355
 Circe, 442
 cist graves (cist tombs), 16, 119, 161, 285, 286, 533,
 534, 537, 563, 640–1
 Athens, 512
 East Lokris, 484, 494, 495, 498, 503
 Lefkandi, 519
 citadels, 9, 17, 18, 20, 35, 37, 144, 400, 509, 524
 Athens, 508–9, 510, 524
 Praisos, 600–1
see also Tiryns
 city-states, 25, 111, 321, 600, 614
 Clauss, 215, 217
 cloth production, 67, 79–80, 87
 coastal sites (settlements), 278, 400, 601, 611, 622,
 636–7, 646, 647
 coastguards, 79, 96
 coins, 235, 322
 Coldstream, J. N., 'Knossos in Early Greek times',
 581–96
 colonies and colonisation, 246, 299–300, 321, 322–4,
 570
 combs, ivory and bone, 152, 157, 172, 474, 557
 coming-of-age rites, 405
 commensal ceremonies, 62–3, 64
 cones, steatite, 156
 copper, Sardinia, 302
 copper-casting, 304
 copper industry, 281, 327
 copper ingots, 302–3
 copper metallurgy, 213–31
 copper mining, 665
 Corinth, 234, 238, 240, 266, 534, 563
 Corinthia, 636, 640
 Corinthian Gulf, 558, 559, 562, 563
 corselet, leather, 160, 560
 corvée service, 93–4, 95, 96–7
 craft production, 9, 645
 craftspeople, 13, 214, 240–2, 328, 590
 architecture, 33, 34, 37
 associated with *wanaks*, 67
 at Dimini, 478
 immigrants, 194–5, 308, 328, 346, 347, 349
 land grant holders, 75
 palatial administration of, 79–82
 social structure, 87–99
 cremation burials, 119, 155, 156, 158, 163, 164, 181,
 188, 193, 194, 281, 287, 532–3
 Athens, 512–13, 516, 519, 525
 Crete, 605
 in Homer, 386
 Knossos, 582, 583, 588
 Lefkandi, 519, 521
 'trench-and-hole', 513, 516, 525
 western Greece, 555, 564
 Crete, 238
 Achaean contacts, 558
 Archaic period, 620, 643
 architecture, 13, 21, 23
 banquets, 672
basileis, 338, 339, 340, 355, 600, 604
 cemeteries 339–40, 349, 352–3, 355, 624, 629, 644,
 646: re-used, 628

Crete (*continued*)

- citadels, 400
 - coastal sites, 278, 601
 - craftspeople, 13
 - cremation burials, 605
 - cults, 353, 397–414, 631, 641
 - culture of, 116
 - Doric invasion, 397, 399
 - drinking practices, 601, 604, 611, 613, 614, 672
 - Early PG, 403–10
 - ethnic/regional identity, 605, 606, 612–14, 643
 - fantastic animals, 401
 - fibula from, 286
 - horns of consecration, 401
 - kingship, 338, 339
 - landholdings, 75
 - languages, 337–8, 604–5, 613
 - Linear B, 115, 604
 - LM IIIA–B settlement and economy, 622–3, 636, 641–7
 - metal objects, 346–9
 - metalworking, 302, 630
 - and Mycenae (Mycenaean influence), 13–14, 23, 116
 - palatial system (cult), 244, 338
 - Phoenicians in, 337–60
 - pottery, 302, 341–3, 399, 401, 402, 404, 406, 407, 409, 568, 569, 601, 603, 604, 605
 - power hierarchy, 73
 - ritual pits, 402
 - ritual and religion, 349–54, 399, 609
 - rulers' houses, 339
 - sanctuaries, 346, 349, 352, 353, 355, 400, 403–7, 408–9
 - saws, bronze, 34
 - settlement patterns, 118, 399, 400–10, 598–9, 611–12, 619–32, 636, 638–9, 641–7
 - site sizes, 626
 - socioeconomic change, 619–32
 - stirrup jars, 115, 120, 539, 540, 541, 556, 558
 - temples, 353, 354, 406, 407–8, 606
 - tombs, 17, 116, 161–5, 339–40, 391, 644
 - trade and sociocultural change, 628, 641–7
 - urns, 588
 - 'villas', 26
 - wanax*, 338, 339, 599, 600, 604
 - warrior elite, 403, 410
 - warrior tombs, 161–5, 339–40, 391
 - workshops, 631
 - see also* defensible sites; Knossos; Praisos; refuge sites
- Crielaard, Jan Paul, 'Basileis at sea: elites and external contacts in the Euboean Gulf' region from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Iron Age', 271–97
- crowns *see* headgear
- crucible fragments, 222
- cult centres and buildings, 127–8, 142, 144, 243–4
- Dimini palace, 473, 478
 - in palaces, 184
- cult place, 195
- cults and cult practices, 184, 185, 187, 193, 240, 243–4, 382, 385
- ancestors, 205
 - archaeology of, 381–2
 - Crete, 353, 397–414, 631, 641
 - Knossos, 581, 582–4
 - Praisos, 609–10

- in rulers' houses, 243
 - see also* tomb cults
- cup of Nestor, 418
- cups
- from burials, 495, 498
 - from shrines, 607, 610–11, 613
 - miniature, 498
 - see also* drinking cups
- curry-combs, bronze, 162, 164, 170–1
- Cyclades, 8, 14, 162, 273, 278, 281, 289, 525, 637, 640, 646
- Cyclopean architecture, 17, 25, 28, 35–7, 124
- Cyclopes, 105
- Cyclops *see* Polyphemus
- cylinder seal, 392
- cymbals, 164
- Cypro-Geometric I, 320, 669, 671
- Cypro-Geometric II, bowl, 321
- Cypro-Geometric III, 537
- Cypro-Minoan script, 320, 323–4, 325
- Cypro-Phoenician, bowls, 668, 672
- Cyprus
- Arcado-Cypriot dialect, 322, 323
 - architecture, 326
 - Argos, contacts with, 542
 - basileus*, 315–35
 - boats, 570
 - bronze bowls, 287, 346, 347, 409, 559, 569
 - burial goods from, 193, 194, 281, 286, 287, 340, 343, 392, 582
 - cemeteries, 319–20, 569
 - coins, 322
 - contacts, 194, 213–14, 290, 542, 568–70
 - Crete, contacts with, 340, 343, 409
 - dagger, iron, 286
 - diadems, gold, 290
 - drinking, 669–70, 671
 - ear-rings, 137
 - flasks, 569
 - Greek literacy in, 324–5
 - Homeric, 665–75
 - imports from, 119, 558–9, 568–70, 582
 - iron technology, 221, 326
 - kingship, 317–19, 321, 322, 329–30
 - knives, iron, 559
 - kylikes, 567, 568–9
 - LBA crisis, 325–7
 - macehead, 199
 - metallurgy, 194, 213, 228, 303, 327
 - Phoenician inscriptions and alphabet, 321–2, 323
 - pottery, 289, 537, 558–9, 670
 - qa-si-re-u*, 324–5, 327–8
 - sanctuaries, 569
 - settlements, 320–1
 - ships, 570
 - spits, iron, 408
 - syllabic script, 194, 319–24
 - tombs, 326, 666–72
 - trade, 559, 670
 - tripod stand, 134
 - urn cremations, 181
 - wa-na-kalwanax/wanassa*, 54, 328–9
 - warrior burials, 391, 670

D'Agata, Anna Lucia, 'Cult activity on Crete in the early Dark Age: changes, continuities and the development of a "Greek" cult system', 397–414

- dagger makers, 82
 daggers, metal, 158, 159, 165, 166, 169, 172, 193, 286, 558, 670
 Dakoronia, Fanouria, 'Early Iron Age elite burials in East Lokris', 483–504
 Damastos, 319
da-mo-ko-ro, 64, 68
damos, 62, 74–5, 76, 106, 174
 Damusi of Qardihadasti, 319, 322
 Danaoi, 451
 defensible sites, 400
 Crete, 278, 339, 623, 624, 625, 628, 629, 635, 645–6
 Greece, 632, 635–7
 Deger-Jalkotzy, Sigrid, 'Late Mycenaean warrior tombs', 151–79
 Delos, 384–5
 Delphi, Temenos Tomb, 154, 165, 166, 173, 571
 Demaratus of Corinth, 308
 Demeter, 65–6, 121, 584
 sanctuary, 406, 608, 609
 Demeter Eleusinian, 407
 demigods, 363, 364–6, 373, 375–7, 386
 Demodocus, 418
demos, 174, 521
 Dendra, 14
 Derveni, 562, 571
 Dhrosia-Lithosoros, 278
 diadems
 bronze, 166
 bronze, with double axe, 501, 502, 503
 gold, 290
 Diadochoi, 315
 Dickinson, Oliver, 'The Mycenaean heritage of early Iron Age Greece', 115–22
 Dictaeon cave, 582
 Dictaeon Zeus, 606, 608
 digamma, 421
 Dikti massif, 404
 Dimini, 116, 465–81
 as administrative centre, 467, 476, 478
 altars, 473, 478
 cult centre, 473, 478
 domestic shrine, 467
 houses, 467, 475
 as Iolkos?, 479
 Megaron A, 467–71, 474, 475, 478
 Megaron B, 467, 471–4, 475
 metalworking, 468
 Mycenaean settlement, 277, 465–79
 Neolithic period settlement, 465, 466
 plant remains, 474
 potter's kiln, 466, 467
 pottery, 465, 467, 470, 471–2, 474, 475
 propylon, 468, 471
 ruins re-occupied, 470–1, 474–5
 tholos tombs, 465, 466, 476, 478
 workshops, 467, 468, 471
 dining room, 672
 dining and serving vessels, 40, 288
 Diodorus Siculus, 316, 317, 582
 Diomedes, 102, 104, 364, 392, 458
 dipper juglet, 286
 dippers, 669
 Dipylon vase, Athens, 418
 discs, bronze, 164
do-e-ra, *do-e-ro*, 89–90
 Donlan, Walter, 'Kin-groups in the Homeric epics (summary)', 111
do-po-ta ('house master'), 55, 384
dôra, 264, 265
 Dorians (Doric), 234, 397, 399, 533, 584, 612
dôron, 265
dôtinai, 264, 266
dotine, 264–6
 double axes, 220
 bronze, 543
 Dramessi, 279, 280
 Drepanon, 564, 569, 571
 Dreros, 339, 588, 644
 drills, in construction, 33–4
 drinking (ritual) ceremonies, 39–40, 174, 287, 549–50, 553, 555
 Crete, 401, 403, 601, 604, 611, 613, 614, 672
 Cyprus, 669
 see also feasting
 drinking cups, 304–5, 540, 669, 670; *see also* skyphoi
 drinking sets, 669–70, 671
 drinking vessels, 140, 157, 174
 Dyme, 168, 246

 earrings, gold, 137–8, 498
 East Ionia, 420–1, 423
 East Lokris, 233
 cemeteries, 484
 cist tombs, 484, 494, 495, 498, 503
 elite burials, 483–504
 pit burials, 494
 pithoi burials, 484, 494, 498
 plant remains, 498
 pottery, 494–5, 494, 497, 497, 498, 501
 sarcophagi, 484, 494, 498, 499, 503
 settlements, 484
 see also Atalante
 Echtemos, priest-king, 329
 economy, 67, 257–69, 619–48
 Eder, Birgitta, 'The world of Telemachus: western Greece 1200–700 BC', 549–79
 Egypt
 Alashiya, 325
 contacts, 13, 341, 345, 409, 542, 569
 in Homer, 665
 iconography, 668
 inscriptions, 451, 453
 objects in burials, 151, 281, 290, 345
 religious beliefs, 345
 Triad, 353
 Egyptian blue, 343
 Eileithyia, deity, 345
e-ke-ra₂-wo, 53, 62–3, 64, 68
 Ekron, 318
 Elateia, 240, 282
 Elateia-Alonaki, cemetery, 116
 Elektra, 59, 60, 61
 Eleutherna, 671
 bowls, bronze, 347, 348, 349
 bronze-working centre, 349
 cippi in cemetery, 352–3
 figurine, 344, 345
 pottery, 343
 shields, bronze, 347, 348, 349
 Elis, 246, 555–6, 560, 561, 571
 elites
 activities of, 282, 284

- elites (*continued*)
 architecture, 13–16, 26–8, 37, 41–2, 185–7
 burial behaviour, 120, 483–504
 and external contacts, 271–97
 feasting, 39–40, 181, 182
 grave marker, 193
 lack of in IA burial customs, 120
 metalworking, 200–5
 prothesis, 152
 western Greece in EIA, 564–8
see also basileus; warrior tombs
- Ellenika, cemeteries, 16
 Ellinika, 639
 Emporio, 191
 Enkomi, Cyprus, 325–6
 Epano Englianos, 9, 14
 Ephra-Xylokastro, 559
 epic heroes, 363–79; *see also* heroes
 epichoric alphabets, 235
 epics 392, 672; *see also Iliad*; *Odyssey*
 Epidauros Limera, 556, 571
 Epirus, 215, 216, 559, 560, 562, 563, 564, 570
 Eresu of Silli, 319
 Eretria, 185, 195, 196–8, 238, 273–4
 bronzesmiths' workshop, 200
 genos burials with sceptre, 199–200
 hoard of gold fragments, 200
 potter, 305
 temple, 238
 Esarhaddon, king, 318, 319, 322
 Eteandros of Pappa, 318–19
 Eteocretans, 604, 606, 609, 612–14
 'Eteocypriot' kingdom, 316–17, 323, 330
 Eteokles, 451
 Etewandros, king, 319, 321
ethne, 105, 108, 233–54
 ethnic identity (ethnicity), 245, 246–7, 605, 606, 613–14
ethnos, 25, 233, 234
 Etruria (Etruscans), 300, 304, 308, 669, 671, 672–3
 Euboea, 273, 280, 282, 435, 483, 484, 517, 525, 560, 600, 640
 emporion, 300, 306
 pendent semicircle skyphoi, 302, 304
 potters, 305
 pottery, 289, 569, 670
 Euboean Gulf, 638
 basileis, 271–97
 pottery, 274, 289–90
 settlements, 274, 277–8
 Eumaeus, slave, 444, 445, 446
 Eumedes, 82
 Eumelos, leader, 236
 Euripides, 59
 Eurycleia, maid-servant, 444–5
 Eurypylos, leader, 236, 368
 Euthymos of Locri, 366
 Eutresis, 8, 9
 Evagoras I, 322
- face-mask, gold, 164
 faience, 134, 343, 344, 345, 353
 families
 and architecture, 8, 9, 11, 125, 127, 144, 202
 burials (clan) and tombs, 11, 156, 158, 161, 175, 246, 588, 589, 630, 641
 and power, 143
 treasures, 131, 141
 wealth displayed, 629, 631
 family hero cults, 375–7
 fantastic animals, Crete, 401
 feasting, 185, 206, 282, 393
 by mourners, 386
 communal, 182, 553, 567, 604
 on Crete, 401, 402, 403, 404
 Cyprus, 669
 in Homer, 84, 382, 669
 in palaces, 39–40, 393
 Praisos structure for, 601, 603, 604
 qa-si-re-welbasileus, 388
 remains deposited in pit, 402
 ritual meals, 83–4, 187, 404
 sacrifices, 393
 at sanctuaries, 181, 393, 404
 status, 383
 wanax presiding over, 387
 warrior tombs with feasting equipment, 391–2
 women, 392
 see also banquets; meals
 feasting sets (equipment), 205, 391–2
 fibulae, 116, 164, 214, 219, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228–9, 280, 286, 402, 564
 bronze, 501, 503
 East Lokris, 497, 501, 503, 516, 519
 figs, 76
 figurines, 119, 245, 532
 animal, 401, 404, 474, 554, 554, 561, 566, 590
 Asine, 532
 bronze, 404, 407, 409, 554, 554, 565, 566
 bulls, 244, 407, 467, 566, 590
 clay, 400, 406, 565, 566
 Crete, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 607, 610
 Dimini, 474
 East Lokris, 484
 faience, 343, 344, 345, 353
 female, 400, 474
 from shrines, 244–5, 607, 610
 horses, 407, 566
 Knossos, 345, 401, 406, 407, 590, 590, 591
 men, bronze, 407, 409
 terracotta, 115, 406, 474
 as votives, 405, 406
 warrior, bronze, 404
 wheel-made animals, 401, 406, 407
 finger-rings *see* rings
 finishers (cloth production), 79–80
 fire-dogs, 134, 667, 669
 flasks, pottery, 495, 497, 498, 542, 569, 630
 flax, 77–8, 79, 82, 95
 foodstuffs, 64, 83, 87, 241
 foundation deposit (gift), 301, 351
 foundry refuse, Lefkandi, 304
 Foutoula, 155, 159, 160, 164–5, 169, 171, 172
 frescoes, 18, 20, 23, 25, 37, 39, 127–8, 142, 387, 418, 473, 553
 fullers, 95, 96
 funeral games, 374, 556
 funerals (funerary rituals), 120–1, 131, 374, 375, 497, 521, 526, 553, 570, 667–8
 furniture, 87, 246
 ivory, 671–2
 garments, 76, 77, 78, 80, 83
 gateways, 9

- gateway settlements, 622, 624, 628
 Gavalou, 563, 571
 Gavurkale, 35
 gems, 474
 amethyst, 590, 592, 594
 Genii tomb, 17
genos/geneê, 111, 199
 Geometric period, 181, 195, 196, 299, 405, 406, 545,
 562, 563, 645, 646
 metallurgy, 227–8
 gift exchange and gifts, 83, 131, 257–69, 392
 Girshu, weaving, 92
 Gla, 27, 27, 34, 37, 508, 624, 632
 glass objects *see* beads
 Glaucus, 458
 Glypha, 278
 Goddess of Cyprus, 328
 gods and goddesses, 58, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108,
 121, 368, 370–1, 372, 375, 393, 407, 443, 567–8
 and hero origins, 383
 Knossos, 584, 589
 Praisos deities, 607, 608–9
 gold, 130, 134, 137, 138, 138, 200, 214, 220
 objects in burials, 151, 162–4, 289, 351, 497, 498,
 503
 see also bracelets; diadems; earrings; ingots;
 jewellery
 goldsmiths, Near Eastern, 349, 351
 Goneus, leader, 236
 goods distribution, 82–4, 241
 Gortyn, 345, 400, 408–9, 609
 Gournia, 21, 22, 639
 grain (wheat, barley), 64, 66, 67, 75, 76
 grave circles, 16, 605, 606
 grave goods *see* burial goods
 graves, 159, 160, 167, 170, 172, 511, 564
 Greece
 colonies and colonisation, 299, 321, 322–4, 570
 dialects, 322–4
 EIA, 115–22, 175
 funerals, 120–1
 Mycenaean heritage of EIA, 115–22
 public religion, 120–1
 writing system, 418
 Greek language, 87, 417, 418–19
 Greek literacy, in Cyprus, 324–5
 Grotta, 155, 162, 164, 169, 170, 637

 Hades, 370, 371, 372, 374, 584
 Hagnon, 366
 Hala Sultan Tekke, 325, 326, 671
 Hallstatt period, 131
 Halos cemeteries, 246
 handle, ivory, 164
 headgear (crown?), lined, 159, 160, 164
 hearths, 404, 468
 central, 9, 128, 142
 ruler's dwelling, 185
 Hector (Hektor), 54, 58, 107, 371, 423
 heirlooms, 131, 152, 193, 221, 391–2, 498, 503
hekatompedon, 199, 200
 Helen, 367, 370, 372, 374, 377, 452
 Hellenes, 237
 helmets, 542, 564
 boar's tusk, 161, 172, 392, 455
hemitheos, 386
 Hephaestus (Hephaistos), god, 441, 442

 Hera, goddess, 368, 383
 Herakleion, 586
 Hermes Kedritis, 405
 hero cult, 181, 188n1, 383, 384, 385–6, 389, 393–4
 Herodotus, 266, 317, 339, 450, 613, 665
 heroes, 168, 381–95, 424, 441, 443
 afterlife, 370–5
 ancestors and, 385–6, 389, 394
 aristeiai, 457
 epic, 363–79
 Eretria burial, 199
 heroic burials, 669
 heroic ideals and lifestyles, 282
 Homeric, 54, 429, 433, 439, 456, 457, 458–9, 665,
 667–8
 at Lefkandi?, 193, 195
 origin, 383
 representations of, 174–5
 storerooms, 291
 heroon, 118, 120, 189, 191, 205, 393, 521, 638, 668
 Hesiod, 56, 57, 242, 259, 271, 434, 456, 600
 demigods, 364, 365, 366
 hemitheos, 386
 heroes, 363, 367, 369–70, 375
 Hexalophos, 154, 161, 170, 172, 173
 Hierapytna, 610, 613
 hilltop shrines, 607, 609
 Hisarlik, 452
 Historical School, 258–9, 260
 history, and Homer, 435–6, 449–62
 Hittites, 28, 33, 34, 35, 37, 451–2, 453, 533
 wanaks, 53, 57–8
 hoarding, 543–4
 hoards, 214
 Homer, 169, 182–3, 185, 271, 600
 archaic and modern worlds, 439–47
 BA element, 122
 banquets, 83–4, 672
 basileus, 54, 55, 56, 102, 103, 105, 271–2, 382, 383,
 386, 388–9, 572, 600
 breastplate, 665
 burial customs, 667–8
 Catalogue of Ships, 236–7, 366, 429, 435–6
 chariots, 455
 charis, 263–4
 city/town, 440–1
 cremation, 386
 Cyprus, 665–75
 demigods, 364
 East Lokris, 483
 epic, 272, 291
 feasting, 84, 382, 669
 formula, 431, 433
 funeral, 199
 gifts, 264–6
 gods and goddesses, 443
 Graia, 202
 hemitheos, 386
 hero cult, 386, 390
 heroes, 54, 363, 367–70, 371, 372, 374–5, 376, 383,
 429, 433, 439, 456, 457, 458–9, 665, 667–8
 heroic funerals, 667–8
 historical approaches to, 449–62
 history and, 435–6
 Homeric society (social background), 143, 455–9,
 570, 572, 600
 Hymn, 364

Homer (*continued*)

Iliad composed by, 427–8, 430–4
Keimelia, 131, 141
 kin-groups, 111
 kings, 101–9, 329
 kingship, 264, 266
 language of the poems (epic dialect), 417–26
 maid servants, 442, 444–5
 master, 101, 443, 444, 445–6
 military leaders, 442–3
 mistress, 446
 myths, 435–6, 450, 451, 455
Odyssey composed by, 427–8, 430–2
oikos, 202
 oral poetry, 430–5
 personal names, 54–5
 religion and ritual, 121, 382
 ruling elites, 557
 servants, 441–2, 446
 settlement (households), 125
 shield, 441
 ships, 291
 slaves, 441–2, 444
 songs and stories, 454
 Trojan War, 428, 449, 450, 451–5, 458–9
 tumuli, 386, 390
wanax (*wanaks*), 54–5, 57, 58–9, 60–1, 63, 68
 weapons, 172
see also Iliad; Odyssey
 hoplite phalanx, 458, 565
 Horace, 428, 434
 horns of consecration, 401
 horse burials, 188, 194, 287, 288, 389, 390, 391, 521, 565, 666–7, 668, 671
 horses
 figurines, 407, 566
 grooming equipment, 162, 164, 170–1
 keeping of, 565
 listed in tablets, 79
 for *wanaks*, 67
 horse trappings, 391, 667
 house cults, 243
 House of Kadmos *see* Thebes
 houses, 8–9, 10, 118, 544–5
 Knossos, apsidal houses, 581, 584
 Lefkandi, 517–18, 519, 523, 525
 Protogeometric, 586
 house sanctuary, Asine, 532
 hunting and hunting scenes, 39, 168, 182, 282, 553–4, 553, 570, 668
 hydriai, hydrophoroi, 406
 Ia, kings of, 317
 Iacovou, Maria, ‘From the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* to the Cypriote *pa-si-le-wo-se*: the *basileus* in the kingdoms of Cyprus’, 315–35
 Ialysos, 141
 Iasidis, king, 665
 Ida, 349
 Idaean Cave, 345, 346, 347, 349, 353, 569
 ivory (throne), 345–6, 353
 ‘shields’, bronze, 347, 348, 349
 Idalion, 317, 318, 322, 329
 Idomeneus, leader of Crete, 104, 338–9, 599
 Ierapetra-Chalasmenos, 672
Iliad, 84, 102, 106–8, 144, 341
 basileis, 340

 catalogue of ships, 236–7, 366, 429, 435–6
 composed by Homer, 427–8, 430–4
 continuous relationship, 392
 Cyprus, 665
 demigods, 364, 366
 dōt[i]n[e], 264
 epic dialect, 417, 420–1, 422, 423, 424–5
 etymology, 58–60, 61, 62, 64
 heroes, 374–5, 383
 Idomeneus, 338
 Keimelia, 131
 leaders, 442
 Patroclus’ funeral, 386, 667–8, 671
 siege of Troy, 429, 433, 435
 singer, 418
 slaves, 442
 Trojan War, 428, 449, 450, 451–5, 458–9
 Ilos, tomb of, 371
 Inatos, Inatos Cave, 345
 incense-burners, 669
 incense-burning ritual, 158
 Indo-European, 53, 55, 57, 420, 441, 443
 industrial production, 79–82
 ingots
 bronze, 134
 copper, 302–3
 gold and silver, 351
 oxhide, 215, 217, 219, 302–3
 initiation rites for youths, 405
 Ino/Leucothea, 377
 Iolkos, 239, 277, 475, 476, 479
 Ionian Islands, 246, 557–9, 562, 567, 569, 570
 Ionian Sea, 558
 Ionic and non-Ionic, 419, 420–1, 424
 Iphianassa, 58–62
 Iphigeneia, 59–62
 iron, 134, 217–28, 621, 630
 burial goods, 281, 286, 287, 497–8
 Sardinia, 302
 see also knives; pins; sickles; spears and spearheads; spits; swords; weapons
 iron ores, 341
 iron production, Cyprus, 326
 iron smithing, 304
 iron technology, 213
 ironworking, Pithekoussai, 304
 Ischia (Italy), 418
 Isocrates, 329
 Isthmia, 233, 245, 641
 bronze bowl, 234
 sanctuary (shrine), 234, 243, 244, 393, 556
 Italy, 299–313, 553, 558, 559, 560, 562, 570
 weapons, 119, 169
 Itanos, 409, 610, 613
 Ithaca, 445
 basileis, 103
 bronze bowl, 569
 kylikes, 568
 Polis cave, 566, 567
 ivory, 83, 134, 139, 151, 162, 164, 286, 345–6, 353, 667, 668–9, 671–2
 see also combs; thrones
 ivory-carving workshops, 23
 javelins, 67
 jewellery, 116, 119, 134, 140, 503, 557, 630, 639

- bronze, 161
 gold, 162, 286, 346, 349, 350, 351, 389, 630
 mould for, 468
 Jouktas, 624, 627
- Kakovatos, 20
 Kalamafki Kypia, 400, 601, 602, 605, 644
 Kalamata Kastro, 635
 Kalapodi, 121, 235, 240, 242, 282, 556, 571, 641
 animal bones, 245
 pottery, 282, 283
 ship representations, 279, 280
 kalathoi (kalathos), 158, 400
 Kalavryta, 564, 571
 Kalbaki, Epirus, 215, 216
 Kallithea, 157, 215, 216, 217, 219
 Kallithea-Langanidia, 154, 165, 166
 Kallithea-Spenzes, 154, 159, 160–1, 170, 173
 Kangadhi, tombs, 154, 165, 166
 kantharos, 562, 610, 610, 613
 Karageorghis, Vassos, 'Homeric Cyprus', 665–75
 Kardamyli Kastro, 635
 Karfi (Karphi), 400, 403, 581, 587, 601, 604, 629, 630, 643
 Karystos, 277
 Kastelli Pediada, 628
 Kastri, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221–2, 223, 224, 227, 228, 639
 Kastrokefala, 624, 627
 Katamachi, Epirus, 215, 216, 217
 Kato Melpia Krebeni, 632, 635
 Kato Symi sanctuary, 397, 398, 401–2, 403, 404–5, 582
 Kavousi Kommos, 345
 Kavousi Vronda, 400, 401, 403, 644
 Kayafa, Maria, 'From Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age copper metallurgy in mainland Greece and offshore Aegean islands', 213–31
 Kea, 273, 525
 Kefallenia, 559, 560, 571
keimelia, 131, 141, 265
 Kephala, 402
 Kephala Vasilikis, 244
 Kephallenia, 558, 559
 Kephallonia, tombs, 154, 165, 167, 173
 Kerameikos, 384
 Keressos, battle of, 235, 242
 Khalasmenos, 400, 403
 Khamalevri, 400
 Khania, 21, 23, 79, 338, 400
 Khorsabad, 318
 Kiafa Thiti, 11
 Killen, John T., 'The subjects of the *wanax*: aspects of Mycenaean social structure', 87–99
 kilns 240, 241; *see also* pottery kilns
 kin groups (kinship), 8, 57–8, 111, 240, 246, 289, 525, 526, 630, 631, 638, 644–5, 646
 kings, 101–9, 388
 burials at Salamis, 670
 etymology, 53, 56, 57–8, 61, 66
 initiation banquet, 83
 Mycenaean title, 446
 kingship, 124, 128, 143, 144, 175, 183, 185, 387
 abolished at Eretria, 199
 in archaic Cyprus, 317–19, 321
 and burials, 120
 Crete, 338, 339
 Cypriote *basileia*, 315
 see also leadership; rulership
 Kinyras, king, 665
 Kipia, 639
 Kisu of Sillua, 318
 Kition, 316, 319, 321, 322, 325, 326, 328, 329
 Klazomenai, 187
kleos, 386
 knives, 119, 155, 158, 160, 161, 165, 166, 167, 172, 219, 220, 228, 287, 402, 484, 497, 498, 501, 559, 564, 630
 with duck-head handle, bronze, 156
 Knossos, 87, 400, 581–96, 622
 agora, 594
 apsidal houses, 581, 584
 boar's tusk helmet, 392
 bronze bowl, 346, 347
 burials (graves), 23, 195, 340
 cemetries, 582, 584–6, 588, 624, 629, 644
 chamber tombs, 581, 582, 586, 588, 589
 cippi in cemetery, 352, 355
 cremation burials, 582, 583, 588
 cult, 581, 582–4
 Demeter sanctuary, 608, 609
 epic dialect, 423
 figurines, 345, 590, 590, 591
 Fortetsa, 581, 582, 585, 586, 589
 foundation deposit(?), 351
 goldsmith's workshop, 349, 351
 Gypsadhes hill, 406, 582, 584, 585, 586
 ivory objects, 345
 jewellery, gold, 350, 351
 Juktas sanctuary, 581
 Linear B tablets, 324, 337–8, 604
 Little Palace, 624
 'microstate', 409
 Minoans, burial, 581, 582, 588–9
 Mycenae contacts with, 23, 120
 North Cemetery, 172, 345, 392, 407, 581, 582, 583, 588–9, 590
 palace, 23
 palace cult and sacred wood, 406
 perfume industry, 81
 pithos burial, 407
 pottery, 23, 343
 Protogeometric house, 586
 Room of the Chariot Tablets, 63, 64, 66, 67, 79, 83
 sanctuaries, 406, 582–3, 585, 608, 609
 settlements, 73, 584–8, 594, 624, 636, 644
 Shrine of the Double Axes, 406
 Spring Chamber cult, 405–6, 583–4
 stand, Cypriot, 392
 Stratigraphical Museum site, 581–2, 584, 624
 Sub-Minoan period, 391, 581–2, 583–4, 586
 tablets, 75, 76, 77
 Tekke tholos tomb, 351
 temples, 406
 textile production records, 79–81, 88–90, 91, 94
 Theatral Area, 587
 tombs 582, 588–9: re-used, 628
 trade (imports), 628, 646
 unguent factory, 343
 urban nucleus, 405
 vessels, bronze, 346, 347, 349
 warrior cremations, 582, 583
 wells, 586, 594
 West Court, 587
 wheel-making, 81

- koine*, 37, 195, 282, 289, 322, 418
 Kokalos, 82
 Kolonos Agoraios, tombs, 506
 Kommos, 236, 302, 622, 646
 pottery, 341, 342, 343, 353
 temple and shrine, 353, 354, 407–8, 409
 Korakou, 40, 40, 243–4
 Kore *see* Persephone
 Korifi, 644
 Koryphasion, 16
 Kos, 163, 167, 171
kosmoi, 339, 355, 600
 Kotsonas, Antonios *see* Stampolidis, Nicholas Chr.
 Koukos, 200–1, 201, 206
 Kounavoi, 343
 Kourion, 316, 317, 319, 669
 Kourtes, 343
 Kranidi Profitis Elias, 632, 633, 634
 Krannon, 246
 kraters, 282, 495, 497, 669, 670, 672
 Agia Triada, 555, 555, 556
 bell-krater, 405
 bronze, 287
 in burials, 157, 193
 Cretan, 163, 164, 404, 407, 409, 601, 603, 604
 figural vase painting, 168, 174
 at Lefkandi (Near Eastern, Cypriot), 193, 287, 390, 392
 Pisaskion, 553, 553
 Protocorinthian, 564
 sanctuaries, 199, 205
 Krini-Drimalaika, 154, 157, 158, 160, 170, 173
 Kromna, 234
 Kromnites, Agathon, 234
 Kültepe, 30, 31
ku-pi-ri-jo, 328
 Kuprios, 327
Kupros, 328
 Kyklopes, 291
 kylikes (kylix), 117, 120, 155, 156, 161, 244, 549, 550, 553, 555, 562, 566–7, 567, 568–9, 568, 604
 Linear B on, 474
 Kyparissia, 550
 Kyphos, 236
 Kythera, 14

 labels, 76
 Lacedaimon, 562
 Laconia, 556–7, 560, 562, 568
 Laertes, 54
 Lagash, 90, 92, 93
 Lakonia, 11, 14, 237
 lamps, 607, 608
 land, control of and grants, 74–5, 78, 81, 623, 629
 landholdings, 62–3, 75, 81–2, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97
 Langada, tomb, 155, 163, 167, 171, 173
 languages, 87, 319–24, 325, 337–8, 417, 418–19, 439–47, 604–5, 613, 665
 Laodike, 58, 60, 61
 Lapithos, 316, 667, 671
 Larnaki, 224
 larnax (larnakes), 555, 556
 larnax burials, 121, 152, 164, 169, 172, 586–7, 590, 601
 re-used, 589–90
 Lasithi mountains, 628, 643
 Late Helladic IIIC, ideology and power, 123–50
 Latium vetus, 300, 305, 307

 Lato, 588
 Lavrion, 281
lawagetas, 39, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 95, 272, 387
lawaks, 56
 lead
 in bronze, 214, 217, 218, 220, 222–9
 burial goods, 281
 vessel, 474
 lead and lead mines, 301, 302, 304
 leadership, 143, 144, 183, 236, 266, 570
 lebetes, bronze, 564
 Ledra, 319
 Lefkandi, 120, 175, 237, 284, 292, 571
 basileus, 521
 cemeteries, 285, 286–7, 288–9, 290, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 525–7, 638
 Cypriot macehead, 199
 EIA, 285–91, 519–23, 525
 foundry refuse, 304
 houses, 517–18, 519, 523, 525
 Khaliotis cemetery, 521, 522
 LH III period, 517–19, 525
 Linear B tablets, 517
 megaron, 40
 moulds and crucibles, 221–2, 223, 225–6, 227, 228, 229
 North cemetery, 521
 palatial period, 517
 Palia Perivolia cemetery, 225, 521, 522
 Phoenicians in?, 352
 pottery, 282, 283, 285–6, 289, 290, 517, 518, 519, 525, 534, 569
 ships illustrated, 279, 280, 551
 Skoubris cemetery, 199, 225, 286–7, 518, 519, 521, 522, 526
 SM period, 519, 525–6
 South cemetery, 521, 522
 Toumba cemetery, 120, 175, 193–5, 225, 288–9, 290, 392, 393–4, 521, 522, 523, 525–6
 Toumba warrior ('hero') burial, 188–95, 287–8, 375–6, 389–91, 392, 393, 521, 523: female burial (consort), 188, 191, 193, 194, 287, 288, 320, 390, 521; 'heroon', 118, 120, 188–9, 189–191, 191, 638, 668; horses sacrificed, 188, 191, 287, 288, 389, 390, 391, 521, 565; krater from Cyprus, 193, 287, 390, 392; tumulus, 287, 288, 521, 523; weapons (sword, spearhead), 193, 287, 390, 391; whetstone, 287, 390, 391
 workshops, 518
 Xeropolis mound, 188, 191, 280–1, 280, 285, 286, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 523, 525, 527, 638: moulds, 194
 legumes, 76
 lekythoi, 286, 343, 495, 534, 535, 557
 Lemos, Irene S., 'Athens and Lefkandi: a tale of two sites', 505–30
 Leonteus, leader, 236
 Lerna, 9
 Levant, 194, 221, 281, 290, 409, 670, 671
 lex sacra, 384
 Liatovouni, 559–60
 libation channel, 184
 Linear A tablets, 320, 599
 Linear B tablets, 115–16, 184, 245, 299, 320, 323, 325, 424, 478
 banquets, 549
 basileus, 388

- buildings for, 26, 42
- chariot, 565
- 'collectors', 623
- in Crete, 115
- decipherment, 450
- deities, 567
- divinities, 383
- economy, 622
- estates, 637
- foodstuffs, 241
- gods, 121
- Knossos, 324, 327–8, 604
- on kylix, 474
- lyre players, 418
- maid servants, 442
- Pylos, 324, 549, 550
- qa-si-re-u*, 324, 327–8
- ritual, 382
- on stone object, 468
- syllabic r, 422
- Thebes, 277, 324, 418
- ti-ri-se-ro-e*, 383, 384
- Triple Hero, 370
- wa-na-kal/wanaks*, 54, 55, 57, 62, 63, 64, 65–6, 68, 69, 74, 87, 124, 173, 175, 182
- linen, 67
- linseed, 95
- literacy, 324–5
- Livanates (ancient Kynos), 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283
- Lokris, trade, 640
- Lokris, 235, 273; *see also* East Lokris
- longhouse, 190
- lyre players, 418, 549
- Maa-Palaeokastro, 324
- Macedonia, 289, 560
- maces and mace heads, 199
- Machaon, leader, 236
- maid servants, 442, 444–5
- ma-ka*, 65, 66
- Mallia, Chrysolakkos, 33
- Malthi, 9, 10, 11, 13
- Mantineia, 236
- Maran, Joseph, 'Coming to terms with the past: ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC', 123–50
- Marathon, 274, 524, 666
- Mari palace, 668
- Marion, 316
- maritime activity, 637, 646; *see also* ships; trade
- Masat, 33, 34
- masks, gold, 164, 171
- master, 101, 443, 444, 445–6
- Mauss, Marcel, 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 264
- Mavriki, 564
- Mazarakis-Ainian, Alexander, 'The archaeology of *basileis*', 181–211
- meals 181, 242, 264, 265, 404; *see also* banqueting; feasts and feasting
- megara (megaron), 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 37, 39, 40–1, 124–5, 127–8, 144, 182, 183–4, 191–3, 243–4, 508, 672
- Megara Hyblaia, 234
- Meges, 104
- Meier-Brügger, Michael, 'The rise and descent of the language of the Homeric poems', 417–26
- Meleager, 54
- Menelaion, 11, 12, 20, 25, 116, 508
- Menelaos (Menelaus), 102, 104, 338, 372, 374, 377, 549
- Menidi, 215, 216, 217
- Mesara, 401, 408–9
- Mesopotamia, workgroups, 91–3, 95, 96
- Messenia, 13, 68, 237, 242, 549–54, 561, 568, 569
 - burials, 119, 167, 550, 564
 - chamber tombs, 115
 - contacts by ship, 550–3
 - landholdings, 75
 - mortuary architecture, 16
 - power hierarchy, 73
 - settlements, 11, 550, 561, 623, 637
 - tholos tombs, 16, 20, 277
- metal finds (metalwork), 87, 301
 - Atalante, 497–8
 - on Crete, 346–9, 630
 - exchange system, 630
 - Nichoria ruler's house, 185
 - Phoenicians, 569
 - western Greece, 558, 559
 - see also* bronze; copper; gold; iron; lead; silver
- metallurgy, 300
 - copper, 213–31
 - Cyprus, 213, 228, 303, 327
 - Sardinia, 302–3
- metals, 241–2, 243
 - chemical analyses, 214–29
 - supply and control of, 181–2, 193, 199, 327
- metalsmiths, 229, 241, 543
- metalworkers, 214, 301, 303, 514
- metalworking
 - Argos, 242
 - Crete, 630
 - Dimini, 468
 - and elite status, 200–5
 - metal smelting(?) oven, 281
 - Sardinia, 302–3
- Metropolis, Thessaly, 246
- Midas, 272
- Midea, 40, 117, 244, 531
 - citadel, 124, 125, 532
 - Megaron, 128, 244, 532
- migrations, 116, 118, 323, 324, 325, 327, 355, 560
- Miletus, 34, 91
- military
 - leaders, 442–3
 - prowess, 168, 174–6, 338, 557, 565, 570
 - rank and burial, 501–2
 - service, 74, 78–9, 84, 96, 263–4, 551–2
 - wanaks*, 67–8
- Millawanda/Miletus, 451
- millers, 92–4
- Minoan, 117, 646
- Minoans, 116, 339, 397, 399, 404, 612
 - architecture, 14, 17, 20, 23, 28
 - burial and cemeteries, 581, 582, 586, 588–9
 - cult symbols in Cyprus, 325
 - goddess, 407
 - palaces, 8
 - religion, 353
 - ruins re-used, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410
 - sanctuary, 405
 - symbols, 401
 - wa-na-ka* derived from, 54
- mirrors, 152, 156, 219, 307

- mistress, 446
mlk, 317, 321, 326, 329
 Monastiraki Chalasmeno, 644
 Moni Toplou inscription, 606
 Monodhendri-Agios Konstantinos, 154, 165, 166
 Monte Sa Ida hoard, Sardinia, 303
 Morgan, Catherine, 'Ethne in the Peloponnese and central Greece', 233–54
 mortuary architecture, 16–18; *see also* Lefkandi, Toumba warrior burial
 moulds, stone, 222, 349, 468
 Mouliana, 155, 163–4, 165, 167, 171, 172, 629
 Mouriatadha, 25, 40
 Mycenae, 168, 219, 531, 532
 Acropolis, 531, 543
 ashlar masonry, 37, 38
 Atreus tholos, 17, 18, 34
 Building of the Artists and Artisans, 28
 chamber tombs, 13
 citadel, 124
 corbelling, 35
 and Crete, 13–14
 excavations, 450
 fortified wall, 11
 frescoes, 473
 Granary, 28
 Grave Circles, 182
 Grave of the Tripods, 139–40
 House of Columns, 28
 House of the Shields, 28, 83
 House of the Sphinxes, 28, 78
 House of Tripod Vessels, 215, 216, 217, 218
 Houses Outside the Citadel, 23, 24, 25
 Klytemnestra tholos, 17, 18, 34
 kraters, 168
 Lion Gate entrance, 17, 18
 Megaron Court, 28
 megaron porch, 37, 38
 oxhide ingots, 215, 217
 palace, 23
 Panagia Complex, 25
 'Perseia' springhouse, 35
 Petsas House, 23, 28
 Pithos Burial, 542, 543
 Poros Wall Hoard, 215, 216, 217
 pottery, 533–4
 Ramp House, 23, 24
 revetments, 37
 Shaft Graves, 13, 40
 South House, 28
 South-western Quarter, 128
 stele, 172
 stone blocks, 34
 tholos tombs, 17–18
 Tripod Tomb, 542–3
 Tsountas Chamber Tombs, 216, 217
 Tsountas House, 23, 24, 28, 29
 vessels, 40
 wall construction, 28, 29, 30
 warrior burials, 153, 168
 warrior vase, 172
 West Extension, 25
 wool, 80
 workshops, 23
 Mycenaean period
 Argolid, 531, 532
 citadels, 509, 524
 collapse, 533
 Dimini settlement, 465–79
 epic dialect, 417, 421, 422, 423, 424
 frescoes, 23
 heritage of EIA Greece, 115–22
 palatial administration, 73–86
 social structure, 87–99
 states, 73, 84
 tombs and cults, 376–7
 warrior tombs, 151–79
 writing, 417
 see also palaces; *wanax*
 'Mykenaiia', 127
 Myrsini, 165, 167, 172
 myths, 116, 382, 386, 613, 673
 demigods, 364, 366
 in Homer, 435–6, 450, 451, 455
 Nausithous, king, 57n
 Naxos, 162, 169, 170, 172
 Nea Paphos, 319
 Near East
 contacts with, 120, 290, 409, 550, 671–2
 gemé-dumu, 90, 91, 92
 immigrants from, 195, 347, 349–54, 590, 594
 imports from, 119, 193, 194, 290, 513
 objects found in Crete, 341–9, 355
 necklaces, 193, 286, 287, 390, 497, 498, 503
 Nefertum, figurine, 353
 Neo-Assyrians, 317, 321, 668
 Neolithic period, Dimini settlement, 465, 466
 Nero, 337
 Nestor, 104, 106, 107, 351, 454, 549
 cup of, 418
 netmaker, 82
 Nichoria, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222–3, 227, 237, 240, 242, 571, 635, 637
 abandonment, 117
 buildings, 23
 cattle bones, 118
 cattle breeding, 561
 cult structure?, 243
 flasks, 569
 kylikes, 568
 resettlement, 561
 ruler's house, 185, 186, 187
 tholos tomb, 84
 vessels, bronze, 243
 warrior burial in *pithos*, 188, 561
 Nicocles, king, 316, 319, 329
 Nicocreon, 316
 Nikoleika, 160, 169, 170
 Nineveh, 318, 668
 Nisos Raptis, 281

obeloi, bronze and iron, 205, 320, 669, 671, 672
 obsidian blades, 498
 Odysseus, 54, 264–5, 363, 371, 372, 374, 386, 392, 423, 428, 444–5, 455–6, 667
Odyssey, 60, 107–8, 131, 144, 264, 266, 341, 355
 basileis, 340
 composed by Homer, 427–8, 430–2
 Crete, 605
 the Cyclopes, 105
 Cyprus, 665, 666
 epic dialect, 417, 420–1, 422, 424–5
 gold, 351

- heroes, 368, 372, 374
 iron traded, 194
 kingship, 107–8
 master, 443–5
 mistress, 446
 relationships, 392
 servants, 443
 shield, 441
 singer, 418
 slaves, 442
 stories and songs, 454
 Telemachia, 549
 Telemachus, 103
 Oeneus, 54
 oenochoi (oenochoe), 343, 495, 498, 569
 oikoi (oikos), 102, 111, 125, 188, 195, 202
 Oikonomos, 646
 oil, 64, 67, 76, 77, 82, 83, 387, 622, 667
 Olenos, 246
 Olympia, 233, 235, 243, 244, 560, 570, 571
 sanctuary, 118, 393, 554, 554, 556, 561, 565, 566,
 566, 568, 568, 641
 Onasagoras of Lidir, 319
o-no, 82, 83
 open-air sanctuaries (shrines), 243, 582, 610
 Opheltas, 319–21
 Opountians, 483
 Opous, East Lokris, 484
 oral poetry (oral epics), 428–30, 450, 452, 453–4, 457,
 572
 Orchomenos, 116, 236, 277
 the Oropia, 273
 Oropos, 195, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 274, 304,
 389
 Osteria dell'Osa cemetery, 307
 oxen, 76, 83
 oxhide, 95
 oxhide ingots, 215, 217, 219, 302–3

 Pakhlizani Agriada sanctuary, 403–4
 Pakijane, 384, 387
 palaces, 87, 124–5, 127, 531, 612
 administration, 73–86
 chariots, 565
 control of land, 74–5, 87
 corbelling, 35–7
 craftsmen, 9, 13, 241–2
 Cyclopean walls, 35–7
 distribution of goods, 82–4, 241
 feasting, 39–40, 393
 formation, 18–25
 frescoes, 23, 37, 39, 142
 goods requisitioned, 75–8
 iconography, 565
 industrial production controlled, 79–82
 metal stores, 327
 Minoan, 8
 Mycenaean, 7–51, 73–86, 570
 as prestige object, 37–41
 procession, 39
 service obligations, 78–9
 stone for decorative elements, 33–4
 wall construction, 28–33
 wall paintings, 565
 wanax, 387, 393
 see also megara; Pylos
 palace societies (palatial period), 115, 116, 118, 123,
 124, 126, 127, 128, 141–2, 143, 144, 173, 274,
 277
 collapse (demise) of, 68–9, 87, 116, 168, 173–4, 175,
 277–8, 282, 324, 388, 509, 533, 544, 550, 551, 556,
 557, 572, 604
 Crete, 338
 damos, 174
 palatial administration, 73–86
 prothesis, 152
 Palaeokastro, Cave of Nestor, 635, 636
 Palaepaphos, 319, 669, 671
 Palaikastro, 345, 347, 599, 601, 606, 630
 Palaima, Thomas G., 'Wanaks and related power
 terms in Mycenaean and later Greek', 53–71
 Palaikastro, 154, 161, 170, 175, 215, 216, 217, 219,
 409, 556, 571
 Palaipaphos (Palaipaphos), 319–21, 325, 326
 palatial period *see* palace societies
 Palestine, 290
 Palia Perivolia, Lefkandi, 225
 Palia/Kastro, 476
 Panachaeans, 103–4, 105
 Panagia, 17
 panhellenism, 458
 Pantanassa, 340
 Papadimitriou, Alkestis, 'The Early Iron Age in the
 Argolid: some new aspects', 531–47
 Paphos, Cyprus, 316, 319, 320, 322, 328, 665
 Papoura, 643
 Paris, 58, 102
 Pariyamuwas, 451
 Pasargadae, Persia, 33
 Pasicrates, king, 316
 pastoralism, 245
 Patras, cemeteries, 168, 246, 557, 558
 Patras-Klauss, tombs, 154, 165, 170, 175
 Patroclus, funeral of, 386, 389–90, 483, 667–8, 671,
 667, 668, 671
 Pellana, cemetery, 556, 571
 Peloponnese, *ethne*, 233–54
 Pelops, 435
 pendants
 amber, 290
 bronze, 497, 498, 501
 gold, 193, 287
 gold foil, 137
 rock crystal, 290
 Penelope, 444, 446
 throne of, 667
 Perati, 141, 215, 216, 217, 511, 524
 chamber tombs, 119, 281
 warrior burials, 154–7, 154, 169, 171, 172, 173, 175
 perfume industry, 81, 82
 perfumed oils, 557
 perfumed oils workshop, 23
 Peristeria, 9, 10, 16, 20
 Persephone (Kore), 65–6, 121, 584
 Petras, palace, 599, 600
 Pevkakia, 475–6
 Phaeacian court, 418
 Phaeacians (Phaiakians), 264, 265, 266, 291
 Phaestos, 400, 401, 408
 Christos Effendi, 400
 Phaiakians *see* Phaeacians
 Phaistos, 343, 347, 622, 624, 636, 644
 Acropoli Mediana, 624
 cemeteries, 624

- Phaistos (*continued*)
 Liliana cemetery, 629
 trade contacts, 345, 628
 'phalara', 164
 Phaliros, 322
 Pharai valley, 239
 Pheneos, 236
 Pherai, 239, 246
 Philia, 242
 Philistines, 118
 Philoctetes, leader, 236
 Phoenicia
 alphabetic script and inscriptions, 321–2, 323, 329, 346
 banquets, 672
 burial gifts, 564
 cippi, 352
 colonisation, 300
 contacts, 306, 570, 588
 in Homer, 665
 ivory, 345
 metalwork, 346, 348, 569
mlk, 317, 321, 326, 329
 pottery, 341–3, 353
 Phoenicians, in Crete, 337–60
 Phoenix, 454, 455
 Phokikon, 235
 Phokis, 166, 235, 277, 562
 Photoula, 600
 Phthiotis, 273
 Phylakopi, 8, 21, 22, 381, 637
 pins, 116, 214, 221, 222, 225, 402, 484, 516, 519, 564
 bronze, 160, 161, 164, 474, 497, 503
 iron, 498, 501, 503
 Pisaskion, 550, 552–4, 561
 pit burials, 119, 285, 494, 512, 533, 542–3
 pit caves, 582
 Pithekoussai, Ischia, 195, 300, 305, 306, 307
 metalworking, 202, 205, 205, 206, 304
 pithoi, for storage, 281
 pithoi burials, 191, 306, 407, 582–3, 583, 590
 Crete, 672
 Drepanon, 564
 East Lokris, 484, 494, 498
 Mycenae, 542, 543
 Nichoria, 188, 561
 Stamna, 563
 Pitsa plaque, 234
 plant remains 474, 498
 plaques, 164, 400
 stone, 158, 161
 terracotta, 606, 607, 609, 610, 613
 Plati, 21
 Plato, 302, 365, 600
 Podaleirius, leader, 236
 Poggio Civitate, 307
 poleis, 105, 108, 116, 185, 233, 234, 235, 239, 456, 458, 565, 612, 648
 polis, 234, 238, 245, 321, 355, 456, 459, 545, 546, 614, 619
 Polis cave, 566, 567
 Pollianos, 428
 Pollux, 372, 375, 377
 Polyphemus (Cyclops), 264–5
 Polypoites, leader, 236
pompê, 264–5
poros limestone, 17, 18, 20
 Portes, cemetery, 558, 571
 Portes-Kephalovryso, 154, 159, 160, 170
 Poseidon, 62, 64, 65, 75, 83, 264–5, 421
 potmarks, 324
 Potnia, 383
 potters, 75, 81, 87, 95, 98, 306, 670
 pottery, 533–42, 544
 in Crete, 341–3
 Achaean and -style, 557–8, 559, 569
 Aegean-type, 305–6
 Albania, 560
 amphoriskos, 534, 535, 537–8, 538
 Attic, 289, 290, 534, 539, 555, 556
 Black-on-Red, 340, 343
 as burial gift, 494–5, 501
 compass-drawn decoration, 537–8
 Crete, 399, 401, 402, 404
 drinking cups, 304–5
 Euboean Geometric, 302
 Euboean gulf, 274, 289–90
 fine ware, 601, 604
 graffiti, 236
 Greek Geometric, 300, 304–5, 565
 hand-made burnished ware, 469, 471, 472, 475, 475, 477, 478
 hunting scenes, 554
 Italy, 301, 302, 304–6
 Laconian PG, 562
 Late Cypriot White Slip II ware, 302
 matt-painted, 563
 Matt-Painted Polychrome ware, 465, 467
 monochrome, 556
 monochrome painted, 494, 495
 Mycenaean, 23, 83, 115, 174, 563, 566–7
 painted, 470, 470, 471
 Phoenician, 341, 342, 343
 pictorial, 282, 283, 518, 553, 570
 Proto-White Painted Ware, 540
 Protogeometric style, 538, 544
 pseudo-Minyan/Grey, 469, 471, 471–3, 475, 476, 479
 SM period, 116, 285–6, 519
 trade, 630, 631, 639
 trefoil mouthed jugs, 498, 534, 536, 540
 type fossils, 117
 warfare scenes, 565
 warrior burials, 170–1
 White Ware, 286
see also amphorae; Crete; Dimini; drinking cups; flasks; Lefkandi; lekythoi
 pottery kilns, 281, 514
 Dimini, 466, 467
 pottery production, 18, 240, 241, 242, 305–6, 514, 631
 pottery storage workshop, 23
 pottery storeroom, 78
 Praisos (Praesos), Crete, 345, 597–617, 644
 Altar Hill sanctuary, 606, 607, 608, 609
 cults, 609–10
 ethnic identity, 605, 606, 613–14
 First Acropolis, 605
 Mesamvrysis shrine, 606, 607
 Prophitis Ilias, 607, 608, 610, 610, 611, 613
 sanctuaries, 606–11, 608, 614
 structure for communal feasting (on Hill 1), 601, 603, 604
 tomb, 155, 159, 164–5, 169, 171, 629
 'Vavelloi', 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 609
 Praisos-Foutoula, 159

- Praxippos, 316
 Priam, 54, 58, 366, 455
 priest, 144, 182, 185
 priest-kings, 328
 Prinias, 345, 400
 prisoners of war ('captives'), 90–1
 procession, in palaces, 39
 Prophitis Ilias, Praisos, 607, 608, 610, 610, 611, 613
 Protesilas, leader, 236
 prothesis (and scenes), 152, 555, 555, 556
 Prothoos, leader, 236
 Protogeometric period, 41, 117, 299, 545, 605
 tin-bronze objects, 225, 226
 Proto-Indo-European period, 418, 420
 Psychro (Psykhro) Caves, 345, 402, 403
 Pteleon, 274, 281
 Pumayaton (Pygmalion), king, 316, 329
 Punta del Tonno, 305
 Punta Meliso, 558
 Pylagoras of Kitrusi, 318
 Pyla-Kokkinokremmos, 324
 Pylos, 241, 571
 abandonment, 117, 167
 animal sacrifices, 244
 architectural decoration, 37
 banquets, 83, 244, 549
 bronze-working, 81
 coastguard series, 79
 corvée, 94, 96
 craftsmen, 95
 da-mo-ko-ro, 68
 epic dialect, 423
 Er 312 (text), 55, 62–3, 67, 68
 frescoes, 387, 418, 553
 harbours, 550
 kylikes, 549, 550, 553
 land grant records, 74–5
 libation channel, 184
 Linear B, 324, 549, 550
 Northeastern Building, 97
 palace, 14, 15, 20, 21, 243, 549–50
 perfume industry, 81–2
 provinces, 73, 74–5, 76–7
 PY Ta series, 63, 64, 66
 PY Un 718 (text), 62–3, 64, 68, 75, 83
 qa-si-re-u, 105
 smiths, 82
 Southwestern Building, 39, 77, 78
 tablets, 76–8
 Telemachus, 549
 textile production, 80, 88, 89, 90–1, 94, 97
 'thrice hero', and palace, 383, 384
 tombs, 376
 wall construction, 28, 30
 wanax, 387, 570
 workforce, 93–4
 pyres, funerary, 161, 162, 169, 172, 195, 374, 671
 Pyrrhic (armed dance), 405
 pyxides, 495, 496, 498

qa-si-re-u, 53–63, 68–9, 105, 175, 176, 182, 271, 281,
 292, 329, 382, 383, 387–8, 393
 bronze-working and distribution, 68, 182, 199,
 327–8, 388
 as 'chief', 324
 on Cyprus, 324–5, 327–8
 seats of, 517

 'Qorinthios', 234
 Quattro Fontanili cemetery, Veii, 307

 Raaflaub, Kurt A., 'Historical approaches to Homer',
 449–62
 Ras el Bassit, 289
 Ras Shamra, 35
ra-wi-ja-ja, 90
 razors, 152, 157, 158, 161, 170–1, 172, 402, 557, 558
 reciprocity, 259–60, 263
 refugees, 91, 126
 refuge sites (settlements), 278, 339, 601, 602, 611,
 632
 religion, 120–1, 381–95, 545–6
 communal ceremonies, 183–4, 193
 Crete, 399, 609
 Minoans, 353
 religious offerings, 83
 religious symbolism, 243
 symbols of power, 124, 127, 128, 142
 and the *wanaks*, 64–6
 requisitioning of goods, 75–8
 Rhea, 406, 407, 582, 584
 Rhodes, 165, 167
 Rhytion, burials, 352
 Ridgway, David, 'Aspects of the "Italian connection"',
 299–313
 rings (and finger-rings), 222, 225, 228, 402, 516, 519
 bronze, 162, 166, 167, 484, 497, 498, 501, 503
 gold, 163, 164, 543
 moulds for, 468
 silver, 156, 157, 162
 ritual (ritual practices), 382, 383, 385, 387–8, 393, 531,
 567–8
 Crete, 349–54
 meals, 187
 mourning, 120–1
 in palaces, 39–41
 see also drinking; feasts and feasting; sanctuaries;
 shrines
 ritual pits, Crete, 402
 ritual sets (equipment), 400–1
 Roca Vecchia, 558
 Rotasi Kefala, 644
 rowers, 63, 78, 96
 rulers' dwellings, 183–206, 240, 243, 339
 rulership, 128, 142, 143, 144, 168, 184, 266

 sacred wood (grove), 406, 407, 582
 sacrifices, 39, 185, 187, 242, 382, 385, 393
 of animals, 121, 162, 244–5, 404, 567
 ceremonies, 64
 of chariots, 668, 671
 at feasts, 393
 at funerals, 386
 of horses, 138, 194, 287, 288, 389, 390, 391, 565,
 667, 668, 671
 of humans on pyres, 671
 'slaves' in tomb, 667, 671
 to the dead, 372
 to Erechtheus, 372
 to heroes, 370
 wanax's patronage, 387
 Sagdana, mill, 93
 Salamis, Cyprus, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322, 326,
 328, 363
 ivory throne, 346

- Salamis, Cyprus (*continued*)
 necropolis, 666–73
 pottery, 534
 sanctuaries, 65, 118, 181, 238, 240, 242–5, 385, 388, 545, 647
 bench, 400, 403
 border, 606
 communal, 184, 185
 Crete, 346, 349, 352, 353, 355, 400, 403–7, 408–9
 Cypriot, 569
 to Demeter, 608, 609
 Eretria, 195, 199
 feasting and ritual meals, 393, 404
 Isthmia, 234, 243, 244
 Knossos, 406, 582–3, 585, 608, 609
 open-air (hypaethral), 243, 582, 610
 panhellenic, 184
 Praisos, 606–11, 608, 614
 re-used, 641
 rural, 184
 western Greece, 554, 556, 561, 562, 565–6, 567
 Sant'Imbenia, Sardinia, 302, 304, 306
 sarcophagi, limestone, 484, 494, 498, 499, 503
 Sardinia, 301–3, 306
 alabastron, 301
 Antigori, Sarrok, 302
 Arrubiu, 301, 302
 metallurgy, 302–3
 Monte Sa Ida hoard, 303
 pottery, 300, 301–2, 304
 Sant'Imbenia, 302, 304, 306
 Serra Ilixi, 302
 vase, 351
 Sargon II, 317–18
 Sarrok, 302
 sauroter, 161
 saws, for stone, 33–4, 34
 scabbards (swords), 157, 158, 160
 scarabs, 343, 542, 569
 sceptres and sceptre-heads, 141, 199, 200
 bronze, 498, 500, 501, 502, 503
 Scheria, 103, 106, 418
 Schmidt, Martin, 'Some remarks on the semantics . . . in Homer', 439–47
 scrap metal, 130, 140, 218, 223, 302
 sealings, 26, 78, 623
 seals, 484
 sealstones, 84, 115, 119, 151, 162
 Sea Peoples, 118, 299, 533
 Sekhmet, figurine, 344, 353
 Selinous, lex sacra from, 384
 Serbo-Croatian singers and epics, 430, 432–3, 453–4
 servants, 65, 441–2, 444–5, 446
 service obligations, 78–9
 settlements, 175, 238–40, 242, 244, 544–5
 central Greece, 632–9
 Cyprus, 320–1
 destructions, 284, 620, 621, 624, 636, 644
 East Lokris, 484
 EIA, 117–18, 191, 619–48
 Euboean Gulf region, 274, 277–8
 Greece, EIA, 117–18
 Praisos, 598–9
 western Greece, 550, 555, 557, 560–1, 562, 563, 566
see also Athens; Crete; Knossos; Messenia
 shaft burials, 16
 Athens, 512, 513
 Knossos, 582
 Shaft Graves, 13, 40, 152, 387
sharru (kings), 317, 319, 321
 sheep flocks, 79
 shells, triton, 167
 Shelmerdine, Cynthia W., 'Mycenaean palatial administration', 73–86
 shield-bosses, bronze, 158, 166, 172, 498, 500, 503, 564, 670
 'shields', bronze, 347, 348, 349
 ship construction, 174, 551
 shipping routes, 570
 ships, 291, 292
 Cypriot, 570
 oared galleys, 278, 279, 280, 550–2, 551
 rowers, 551
 shrines, 243, 244, 377, 384, 386
 Dimini, domestic, 467
 hilltop, 607, 609
 open-air, 243, 401
 pendants, 498
 rural, 235, 402
 spring, 607, 609
 water, 607, 609, 610
see also sanctuaries
 the Sibaritide, 305, 306
 Sicily, 384
 sickles
 bronze, 134, 139
 iron, 134, 139, 140, 498
 signet-rings, gold, 141
 silver ingots, 351
 silver objects, 281
 silver refining, 540
 Simonides, 363, 364, 365
 singers, 418–19, 420–1, 424–5, 429–30, 432–3, 453–5, 457
 Skala Oropou, 284
 Skales (Skalais) cave, 605
skeptron (spear), 199, 200
 skewers, iron, 667, 669, 671
 Skoubris cemetery *see under* Lefkandi
 skyphoi (drinking cups), 540
 bell-skyphoi, 407
 Crete, 404, 407, 409, 672
 East Lokris, 495, 498
 Knossos, 590
 pendent semicircle, 302, 304–5
 Tiryns, 533
 wavy-line, 533
 Skyros, 289, 291, 292, 525
 slags, 200, 202, 222
 slaves 89, 91, 441–2, 444, 667, 671; *see also* chattel-slaves
 smelting, 468
 smiths *see* bronzesmiths; metalsmiths
 social structures, 7–8, 87–99, 151
 socioeconomic change, EIA, 619–48
 Socrates, 365
 Soloi, 316, 318, 319, 322
 Solygeia, 234
 songs (epic) 452, 453–5, 672; *see also* singers
 Sophocles, 56, 59, 61
 Spaliareika, warrior burial, 154, 157–8, 170, 173, 175
 Sparta, 117, 370, 375, 458, 560, 561, 562, 571
 shrines, 367, 377

- Spartans, 187–8
 spearheads (spears), 156–72, 176, 220, 287, 402, 497, 501, 561, 564, 570, 670
 spices, 64, 76, 77, 83, 387
 spindles, steatite, 484, 498
 spindle whorls, 166, 167
 spiral ornament, bronze, 157
 spirals, metal, 497, 498, 501, 503, 516
 spits
 bronze (*obelos*), 303
 iron, 408–9
 Spring Chamber cult *see* Knossos
 spring shrines, 607, 609
 Stamna, cemetery, 563, 564, 571
 Stampolidis, Nikolaos Chr., and Antonios Kotsonas, 'Phoenicians in Crete', 337–60
 stands
 Cypriot, 392, 582
 ivory, 669
 Stasicrates, king, 316
 Stasioikos, 316
 'state formation', 41, 606, 614, 620–1
 states, 73–86, 84, 620–1
 steatite, 156, 484, 498
 stele, Sargon II, 317–18
 Stesenor, king, 317
 stirrup jars, 37, 83, 115, 120, 151, 155, 158, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 474, 539, 540, 541, 542, 556, 557, 558, 630
 contents noted in tablets, 67
 with octopus decoration, 164
 stone (architectural), decorative, 28, 33–4
 Strabo, 205–6, 237, 673
 strainers, 669
strigilis, 164
 stucco, 17, 37
 Stymphalos, 236
 Sub-Minoan period, 391, 581–2, 583–4, 586
 Sub-Mycenaean period, 285, 391, 533, 543, 545
 subsistence practice, 619, 622, 623–4, 630
 Surbo hoard, Apulia, 559
 sword makers, 82
 swords, 176, 214
 Aegean type, 559–60, 561, 564
 burial goods, 84, 119, 155–72, 287, 390, 503, 557, 560, 561, 667, 670
 iron, 498, 564
 'killed', 163
 Naue II origin, 564
 workshops, 670
 Sybrita, 402
 syllabic script, 319–21
 symbols, 382, 388
 of authority, 141, 143
 place of throne and altar, 142, 143
 of power, 124, 127–9, 141, 143, 144
 symposia, 174, 199, 671–2
 Syria
 corbelling, 35
 cylinder seal, 392
 goldsmith, 349, 351
 immigrants buried on Crete, 351–2
 ivory, 346
 metal in Crete, 346
 oenochoe, 343
 potters, 670
 urns, 352
 Syro-Palestinian (coast), 152, 286, 340–1, 343, 346, 349, 351, 355
 Tachieri, 628
 Tacitus 57n
 Tamassos, 319, 328, 329, 665, 667
 Tanagra, larnakes, 121, 152, 555, 556
ta-ra-si-ja system, 80, 81, 82
 Tarquinia, 307
 Tarsus, 30, 34, 187
 Taruisa, 451
 Ta tablet set, 63, 64, 66
 taxation, 76–8, 80, 82, 84, 87
 tax system, 266
 Tegea, 236, 238, 328
 Teichos Dymaion, 559, 560, 571, 632, 633
 Tel Dor, 289–90
 Telemachus, 102, 103, 368, 392, 549, 570
 Tell Hadar, 290
 Tel Rehov, 290
 temene, 326
temenos, 62
 temples, 144, 185, 238
 Crete, 353, 354, 406, 407–8, 606
 Cyprus, 665
 terracottas
 figurines, 115, 406, 474
 plaques, 606, 607, 609, 610, 613
 Praisos, 607, 608, 609, 609
 statues, 244
 throne, 474
 vases, 290
 Teucer, king, 322, 328
 textiles, 67, 87–8
 exchange system, 622
 production, 79–81, 82, 83, 96, 550, 622
 religious offerings, 83
 women workers, 76, 78, 81, 87, 88–92, 94
 Thasos, metalworking 224; *see also* Kastri; Larnaki
 Thebes, 25, 83, 118, 273, 275, 277, 571
 House of Kadmos, 14, 21, 23, 37, 38
 Linear B tablets, 65, 66, 67, 83, 277, 324, 418, 517
 painted tomb, 16
 palace, 21, 517
thēmistēs, 266
 Thermon, Aetolia, 191, 192, 193, 240, 559, 563, 571
 burials, 389, 390
 Megaron B, 563
 sanctuary of Apollo, 563
 Thessaly, 560
 altar, 473
 burials and tombs, 115, 119, 161, 246, 564
 Catalogue of Ships, 236–7
 pendants, 498
 pottery, 471, 474
 see also Dimini
 Thetis, goddess, 368
 tholos tombs, 9, 11, 13, 84, 161, 163, 164, 173, 246, 274, 277, 281, 508, 524, 623
 Dimini, 465, 466, 476, 478
 Messenia, 16, 20, 277
 Mycenae, 16–18
 Praisos, 600–1, 605–6
 western Greece, 550, 551, 561
 Thorikos, 16, 20, 274, 281, 524
 pottery, 282, 283

- thrones, 37, 142
 ivory, 345–6, 353, 667, 668
 Penelope, 667
 terracotta, 474
 of Zeus, 346
 Thronos/Kephala, 402, 405
 Thucydides, 118, 449, 450
thymiateria, 669, 671, 672
 Timarchos, priest-king, 329
 Timocharis, priest-king, 328
 tin (tin bronze), 214, 216–29
ti-ri-se-ro-e, ‘thrice hero’, 383, 384–5, 387, 393
 Tiryns, 118, 123, 144, 215, 216, 217, 244, 509, 531, 533–4
 altars, 124, 127, 142, 184, 244
 basileus/ruling family residence, 142, 191
 bothros, 545
 Building T, 40–1, 40, 124, 126, 127, 128, 142, 143, 185, 244, 532
 cemetery, 532, 545
 citadel, 18, 19, 20, 23, 37, 124–5, 126–7
 corbelling, 35, 36
 cult room, 127
 Great Court, 124, 142, 143
 Great Megaron, 124, 125, 244
 helmet, 542
 House Alpha, 127
 intramural burials, 518
 kraters, 168
 Lower Acropolis, 531–2
 Lower Town, 125–7, 129, 130, 144
 megaron, 21, 40, 127, 142, 532
 Megaron W, 126, 128, 141, 142
 Oberburg, 11, 18
 orthostate, 14
 palace, 18, 25
 pendulum saw, 34
 pottery, 539–40, 544, 544
 Room of the Fresco, 127
 rulership, 144
 settlement, 11
 Southwestern Quarter, 127–8
 throne foundation, 33
 tombs, 544–5
 treasure (hoard), 129–42, 143, 168, 175, 543
 Unterburg, 25, 26
 warrior burials, 153, 168, 542
 tmesis, 421–2
 tomb cults, 246–7, 371–5, 376, 561
 tombs, 13, 118, 630
 Albania, 557
 the Argolid, 534, 540, 542, 544–5
 Athens, 506–7, 511–12
 central Greece, 640–1
 Crete, 116, 161–5, 339–40, 391, 644
 Cyprus, 326, 666–72
 family, 246, 588, 589
 of heroes, 386
 Knossos, 588–9
 re-used for burial (and worship), 376, 385, 511, 561, 582, 589, 628
 single, 629, 640–1, 647
 western Greece, 564
 see also Lefkandi
 tools
 bronze, 214, 219–20, 222, 543
 mould for, 468
 stone and bone, 468
 stone cutting and preparation, 33–4
 Torone, 200
 Torre Mordillo, 305
 Toumba, Lefkandi, 225
 trade, 83, 531, 620, 624, 628, 630–1, 636, 637, 638, 639–40, 641–7
 by leaders, 194–5
 Cyprus, 670
 heirlooms in graves, 391–2, 393
 Italian connection, 299–313
 partnerships through marriage, 195
 Tragana, 550–1, 551, 561, 571
 ‘trench-and-hole’ cremation, 513, 516, 525
 triangular structures, 384
 tripod legs, bronze, 138–40, 570
 tripod stand, bronze, 134, 141
 Tripod Tomb, Mycenae, 542–3
 tripods, 566
 bronze, 409, 607
 moulds for, 194
 production, 630
 Tritopatores (Tritopatreis), 384–5, 393
 Trojan Horse, 455
 Trojan War, 108, 363, 366, 428, 449, 450, 451–5, 458–9
 Trojans, 427, 666
 army, 369, 372
 tombs, 371–2
 Troy, 58, 60, 62, 103, 352, 364, 365
 attacked by Ahhiyawans?, 452
 excavations and ruins, 450, 451, 452, 458
 in heroic poems, 420
 siege of, 429, 433, 435
 as Taruisa(?), 451
 tombs of heroes, 386
 Tsoungiza, 8–9, 10, 20, 39–40
 tumuli, 16, 173, 246–7, 274
 Argos, 532–3
 in Homer, 386, 390
 Lefkandi Toumba burial under, 287, 288, 521, 523
 tweezers, 152, 157, 158, 161, 165, 166, 170, 172, 219, 221, 484, 557
 Tyliossos, 628
 Tyre, 289, 290, 315, 316, 321, 355
 Tyrrhenia, 306, 307

 Uluburun ship, 303
 Ulysses, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107
 underworld, 103, 370, 386, 584
 unguent-boiler, 95
 unguent boiling, 241
 unguent factory, 343
 Ur, 92, 93
 Urartian empire, 341
 urns
 Athens, cremations, 513
 cremation, 181, 532–3, 588–9, 605
 Crete, 588, 605
 Syrian, 352

 value goods, production and exchange, 619, 621, 622, 630–1, 638, 639–40, 641, 645, 647
 Vapheio, 14, 16
 vase painting 152, 168
 Vasiliki, 629
 Vasiliki/Kephala, 400, 403
 Veii, 305, 307

- Vergina, 220
vessels, 221
 bronze, 84, 134, 140, 151, 164, 243, 290, 346, 389, 503
 clay, 401
 in Crete, 346
 dining and serving, 40, 288
 Egyptian blue, 343
 lead, 474
Viglatouri, 205
Villanova, 305, 307
Virgil, 427, 434
Visser, Edzard, 'Homer and oral poetry', 427–37
Vitsa, 570, 571
Voïdokoilia, 16
Volos, pottery, 282, 283
Voudeni, metal artefacts, 215, 217, 219
Vrokastro, 345, 606
- wa-na-ka* 53, 421; *see also* *wanax*
Wagner-Hasel, Beate, 'Gift exchange: modern theories and ancient attitudes', 257–69
Wallace, Saro, 'The gilded cage? Settlement and socioeconomic change in Early Iron Age Crete and other Aegean regions', 619–64
wa-na-so-i, 64, 65, 66
wanassa, 54, 66, 328–9
wanax (*wa-na-ka*, *wanaks*) 7, 42, 53–71, 73, 120, 124, 144, 175, 182, 183, 184, 266, 271, 272, 281, 324, 325, 328, 387–8, 391, 421
 Athens Acropolis as seat of?, 508
 banquets, 83–4
 in Crete, 338, 339, 599, 600, 604
 in Cyprus, 54, 328–9
 feasting presided over by, 387
 hearth, 142
 Hittite (*wanaks*), 53, 57–8
 lineage, 53, 384, 387
 palaces, 387, 393
 patronage of sacrifices, 387
 Pylos, 387, 570
warfare, 39, 246, 282, 291, 340, 363, 391, 458, 565
warrior burials and tombs
 Achaean, 168–9, 173, 557–61, 564–5, 569
 Atalante, 498
 Athens, 167, 511, 517, 525
 Crete, 161–5, 339–40
 Cyprus, 391, 670
 Knossos, cremations, 582, 583
 Tiryns, 542
 tombs, 151–79, 181, 188, 194, 195, 287–8, 371, 389–92
warrior elites, 403, 410, 559, 564–8
warriors, 375, 389
 assembly of, 456
 chariots, 668
 Crete, 401
 death and afterlife, 370–5
 warrior identity, 383, 391
water management, 240
water shrines, 607, 609, 610
weapons
 bronze, 214, 215, 219–20, 455, 639
 in burials (gifts), 152, 155–8, 160, 163, 165, 169, 170–1, 175, 246, 287, 288, 390, 391, 392, 393, 557, 564–5
 dedications in sanctuaries, 565
 as elite burial, 501
 iron, 497–8, 639
 listed in tablets, 79
 metal, 242, 630
weavers, 80, 81, 82, 92
Wees, Hans van, 'From kings to demigods: epic heroes and social change c.750–600 bc', 363–79
weighing balance, bronze, 194
weights, stone, 194
wheel-making, Knossos, 81
wheels
 clay, 407
 gold, 141, 543
whetstones, 157, 158, 287, 390
Whitley, James, 'Praisos: political evolution and ethnic identity in eastern Crete c.1400–300 bc', 597–617
Wilusa, 451, 452, 453
wire
 bronze, 167
 gold, 138, 141, 156
women
 Atalante burial, 498, 503
 Athens burial, 517, 525
 burials, 157, 161, 286
 buried with cooking mugs, 392
 Lefkandi, in Tomba burial, 188, 191, 193, 194, 287, 288, 320, 390, 521
 textile workers, 76, 78, 81, 87, 88–92, 94
wool and wool production, 79–80, 94, 277, 622
workshops
 Athens, potters' and metalworkers', 514
 Crete, 631
 Dimini, 467, 468, 471
 goldsmiths', 349, 351
 Lefkandi, 518
 metal smiths', 543
 metalwork, 202, 205, 219
 Mycenae, 23, 543
 Oropos, metal, 202
 palaces, 241
 Pithekoussai, metal, 202, 205
 Sant'Imbenia, 302
 for swords, 670
Wright, James C., 'The formation of the Mycenaean palace', 7–51
writing, 173, 194, 323–5, 418, 456, 457, 550
- xeínia*, 264–5
xeneia, 392
xenia, *xeinos* (personal relations), 291, 456
Xeropolis *see* under Lefkandi
- Zagora, 185, 646
Zakro, 600
Zeus 54, 55, 57, 64, 65, 103, 188n, 365, 368, 372, 374, 408, 409, 423, 456
 sanctuary, 608
 throne of, 346
Zeus Thenatas cult, 409
zinc, 214, 219
Zygouries, 25

